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THE
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GRAFTON'S

CHRONICLE;

OR,

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

HIS TABLE OF THE BAILIFFS, SHERIFFS, AND MAYORS,

OF THE

CITY OF LONDON.

FROM THE YEAR 1189, TO 1558, INCLUSIVE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON; F. AND C. RIVINGTON; T. PAYNE; WILKIE AND ROBINSON; LONGMAN, HURST, REES AND ORME; CADELL AND DAVIES; AND J. MAWMAN.

1809.

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[*Original Title.*]

A

CHRONICLE AT LARGE,

AND MEERE

HISTORY OF THE AFFAYRES OF ENGLANDE,

AND

KINGES OF THE SAME,

DEDUCED

FROM THE CREATION OF THE WORLDE, VNTO THE FIRST HABITATION OF THYS ISLANDE:

AND

SO BY CONTYNUANCE VNTO THE FIRST YERE OF THE REIGNE OF OUR [illegible]T DEERE AND SOUEREIGNE LADY

QUEENE ELIZABETH:

COLLECTED OUT OF SUNDRY AUCTHORS,

WHOSE NAMES ARE EXPRESSED IN THE NEXT PAGE OF THIS LEAFE.

Anno Domini.

1569.

¶ Cum priuilegio.

¶ THE NAMES

OF THE AUTHORS

THAT ARE

ALLEGED IN THIS HISTORY.

A

lanus.
ntoninus.
nnales of Fraunce.
ugustine.

B

la.
rosus.
lia.
op Anthony.
as.

C

n.
s Commentaries.
seaux king at armes.
dus Vspergensis.
us Tacitus.
a Cronicorum.

D

s Siculus.

lay.

E

Hall.
Chronicle.
nt.

F

Geoffrey of Monmouth.
George Lylye.
Gerardus Mercatour.
Gildas.
Guydo de Columna.

H

Henry Archedeacon of Huntyngton.
Hector Boethus.
Hheronimus Marius.

I

Iames Bergamo.
Iohn Lidgate.
Iohn Hardyng.
Iohn Leyland.
Iohn Rastell.
Iohn Sleydon.
Iohn Bale.
Iohn Maior the Scot.
Iornalensis.
Iosephus.
Isidore.
Iustine.

L

Lanquet.

M

Mathewe of Westminster the author of the booke called the Flowres of histories.
Marian the Scot
Marlyn.

N

Nennius.
Nicholas Lira.
Nicholas Brodyngham.

P

Paulus Emilius.
Peter Pictauiensis.
Philip Commines.
Polidore.
Policarpus.
Polichronicon.

R

Rabutine Frenchman.
Reynulph of Chester.
Robert Gaguine.
Roger Houeden.

S

Saxo Grammaticus.
Sebastian Munste

T

Thomas Moor
Thomas Lan
Thomas Coo
Titus Liui
Trogus Po

Vincenci

Willya
Willy
Ca

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE SIR WYLLIAM CECILL KNIGHT,

PRINCIPALL SECRETARIJ TO THE QUEENES MAIESTY, AND OF HIR PRIUIE COUNSAYLE,

MAYSTER OF THE COURTES OF WARDES AND LYUERIES,

AND CHAUNCELOUR OF THE VNIUERSITIE OF CAMBRIDGE:

RICHARD GRAFTON CITEZEN OF LONDON, WYSHETH LONG HEALTH WYTH ENCREASE, OF HONOR.

DOVBTLES, your Honor and other maye maruayle, or paraduenture mislyke, that after so many books alreadie set forth, bearing the names and tytles of Chronicles of Englande, I should accomber the Readers superfluouslye wyth one mo of the same matter: Neuerthelesse, the contentes of thys and the sayde other former bookes being compared, your wisedome can well discerne, and other shall easely perceyue, that this labor of mine was neyther altogether needelesse nor vnprofitable. For among so many writers, there hath yet none to my knowledge, published any full, playne and meere Englishe historie. For some of them of purpose meaning to write short notes in maner of Annales, commonly called Abridgementes, rather touch the tymes when things were done, then declare the maner of the doyngs, leauing thereby some necessitie of larger explication, and referring the desirous Reader to a fur[illegible]serch and study. Other haue dealt but with the reignes of a few kings, & [illegible] haue made long bookes, with many tedious digressions, obscure dese[illegible]iuolous dilatations: which forme of writing if it should n[illegible] not in the whole be folowed without pestering the [illegible]lumes. Other haue intermyngled the affaires of other fo[illegible]

of Englande, yea, euen where the one had no concurrencie or dependaunce of the other. Others, namely straungers, as well in their bookes written purposely of England, as in discourses enterlaced in their histories of their awne Countries, and specially concerning the actes of later times, both in matters of Religion and ciuill pollicie, partly folowing common reportes, and partly vsyng enuious constructions haue eyther by ignoraunce or malyce slaunderously written and erred from the manifest truth: so farre as to me seemeth a better worke could not be taken in hande, then that some learned Englishe man of good intelligence would by some speciall worke, written in such a language as other Nations might for the more part best vnderstand, detect, and with plaine declaration of the truth, confute such errors & vntruths as are written and scattred in foreyn stories concerning this realme: For some supply of all which defectes and errors conteyned in the said former Chronicles of Englande, I haue to the best of my small skill & with the vttermost of my diligence, gathered this booke, conteinyng a complete and whole history from the first entrie and habitation of the Britons in this Islande, vnto the first yere of the reigne of our soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, presently reigning. Large ynough (I trust) without tediousnesse, short ynough without darknesse, meerely and onely of Englande, not mingling the same with foreyne matters impertynent to oure state, and finally true without misreporting, so farre as the following of the best Aucthors & reporters & mine awne experience (hauing of long time seene and purposely noted much thereof) could conceaue. And now hauing ended this worke, and seking to whom I might for testification of my speciall good will present it, or for patronage and defence dedicate it, and principally for all iudgement and correction to submit it: Among many I haue chosen your Mastership, moued therto by experience of your curteous iudgement towardes those that trauaile to any honest purpose, rather helping & comforting their weaknesse, then condempning their simple (but yet well mea[illegible]) endeuours. By which your accustomed good acceptation of other[illegible] rather boldened to beseeche your Maistership to receaue this my wo[illegible]n such maner as you doe those, in whome (howsoeuer there be[illegible]nteth no poynt of good will and seruiceable affectio[illegible]t, not meaning to trouble your Maistership with

with any farther tedious matter, my prayer shall be to God for your long prosperous estate with encrease of Gods grace, and so thereby to direct your trauayles in the seruice of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, and the common weale of this Realme, as you may alwayes leaue to the posteritie happy and plentifull matter of worthy report.

TO THE GENTLE READER.

AS I have (with my no little trauayle) collected this History, which I name a Chronicle at large and mere History of the affaires of Englande, for that the same is not intermixed with foreine affayres: so most gentle & louyng Reader, I beseche thee take these my said traueyles not only in good part, but also pardon the rudenesse of my stile & lack of learning which I acknowledge, or otherwise the same should haue beene better furnished. But for some instruction to the better vnderstanding of mine order obserued in the discourse of this History: I thought best to admonish thee, that forasmuch as this Island of Briteyn (whereof the greater part is now called England) had the same time of creatiō that al the rest of the earth had: therfore I begin this booke at the creation of the world, and so continue the same with the blessed line and issue of Adam by Seth his sonne, vnto our Sauiour Christ. And by the waye, when Brute, as by the testimonie of most aucthors, first entred this Island and named it Briteyne: there beginneth mine History of this Realme, and from thence lyneally I proceede to the reignes of all such as succeeded Brute in state of kings, euen to the tyme of Wylliam the Conquerour, where I begin my second volume, because in the former parte (as maye at large appeere) thys Islande being first inhabited by Brute, was afterwarde conquered by the Romaynes, and then subdued and possessed by the Saxons, & lastly by the Danes, and so was it neuer in perfect state of gouernement, vntill the last conquest of the Normanes, from whence the Histories of times doe more plentifully and plainely appeere. And in the discourse of this Historie, folowing the common opinion of the deuision of this Islande in three partes made by Brute to hys three sonnes, Locryne, Albanact and Camber, that is to say, of the part nowe called Englande vnto Locryne his eldest sonne, and of that part nowe called Scotlande vnto Albanact his second sonne, and of that part nowe called Wales to Camber hys third sonne, of whose name the same part is called to thys day in welshe

Cambry. For asmuch, I say, as before this deuision, this Island of Briteyn was but one entier Isle, therefore professing to write an History of the Princes of this part, now called Englande: I thought it not meete vtterly to omit Scotland, being a part of this Isle of Briteyn: And therfore in order as the Britones reigned, so I note also the succession of the kings of Scotlande, wherein I doe not professe to write of them any speciall Historie, farther then they had to doe with the kings of this Realme, or the kinges with them, but with a briefe recytall of their kings names & time of their reignes to passe them ouer.

I haue also to admonishe you concerning the numbers that stande in the margent of this booke, from the creation of the worlde to the birth of Christ, hauing a lyne stryken betweene them. Those numbers that are aboue the lyne, are the yeres of the world from the creation: And those vnder the line, are the yeres before Christ. But after the comming of Christ, then the vppermost numbers are the yeres of Christ, and the nethermost are the yeres of euery seuerall king and so it continueth to the ende of the booke.

Here also I must aduertise you that in the computation of yeres, I folow the accompt of the Hebrues, the which I take to be most true, the which accompt, I haue at large set foorth in the. 55 page of my first Volume.

Also in the ende of this booke, ye shall finde an exact table, wherein is expressed not onelye the reigne of euery king of this realme, sithen the time that the City of London hath beene gouerned by Bailifes, Maiors and Shrifes, and the day and yere that they first entred into their seuerall reignes: but also the names of those that then were and euer sithence haue beene Maiors and Shiriefes of London, with the yeres, monethes and dayes of their entrie into their seuerall charge. Also I haue placed in this booke two seuerall Tables*, the one in the ende of the first volume, and before the conquest, which I haue deuided into seuen parts, according to the. vij. Ages of the world, as may at large appere in the. 55. page of the said Volume as aforesaid, & the other at the end of the second and last volume, that is, from the conquest to the reigne of our Soueregne Ladye Queene Elizabeth, the which Tables serue for the readye fynd-

* The Tables have been blended together in the present Edition.

ing of anye name or speciall matter conteyned in the sayde booke, by the letter and order of the Alphabet.

And where I haue in the. xiij. yere of king Henry the first promised to place the maner & order that was first taken for the holding of the Parliament in the time of king Edwarde the thirde. I haue sithen that time for sundry good causes thought meete to omit the same, and therfore I admonishe the Reader not to looke for it.

And here to conclude most gentle Reader, I beseeche thee louyngly and fauourablye to iudge and report of mee and my booke, to whose iudgement I most humbly submit the same, and such things as shall seeme to be a misse, or not so well penned and fully set foorth as by a learned and skilfull man the same might haue beene, either fauourably doe thy indeuour to amende the same, or else impute the fault to the diuersitie and variance of Aucthors, among which differences, it shall be harde to trie the truth, and thus I bid the farewell.

RICHARD GRAFTON.

THOMAS

THOMAS N. TO THE READER.

FORASMVCH as the examples of good and euill doinges, in thys that the one sort doe allure to good, the other doe fraye from euill, doe tende both to one good ende in well disposed mindes, it hath euer beene thought a beneficiall woorke to the societie of men to set forth in historie and true report, the doinges and liues of men as they haue deserued. And though vertue of it selfe be of worthynesse ynough to be loued for it selfe, and in honest mindes free from vanitie, is to her selfe sufficient recompense, yet hath God for commoditie of mankinde planted in nature a prayse worthye affection to be well spoken of for doing well, and shame to beare infamy for doyng euill. Thys hath made vertue cõmended to encrease: This hath restreyned those from sinne, whom conscience coulde not: This hath holden men in order for feare of the sight of men, whome the feare of God that seeth all withheld not: This hath raysed men out of drowsie idlenesse, whome the sounde of Gods promises and threatnings awaked not: This, whereby is quickened endeuour to lyue after death, is the very proofe in nature, that mans minde confesseth and hopeth for immortality.

As true reporting therfore auayleth to the encrease of well doing, so good acceptation is profitable to the furtheraunce of the true reporters labour, and is the verie recompense that euerye honest trauayler in any good worke shall be sure to finde at the hands of euery one that feareth not to heere shame for his euill deedes.

And as it is reason that good be done to him that doth good to many, so where the author and gatherer of this woorke hath with his honest labors made the noble actes and good deseruings of many to liue in good memorie, so I thought it not reason, specially hauing among infinite other receaued commoditie by his labors, that his owne well doyngs should altogether dye in forgetfulnesse. I

must

must therefore good Reader, to the intent to prouoke thy fauourable receauing and construyng of thys worke, put thee in remembraunce how manye wayes the great labors of this man susteyned with great charge and perilles, haue bene to vs profitable, that we be not to him vnthankfull. It hath sufficed him to deserue well, it shall not suffise vs to receaue without receauing well, that is, to the encouragement of him and other to deserue well. That which he of modestie maye not vtter, we of honestie maye not hide. This therefore I am to affirme because I knowe it, and the more assuredly to affirme because many moe knowe it, and most reasonably to allege because the whole Realme hath profite by it, that the man hath not spent one quarter of hys lyfe to his owne ease or commoditie, but as a good Citezen for the benefite of the Citie of London, as a good Englisheman for the profite of the Realme of Englande, and as a good Christian for the furtheraunce of true religion. The Bible in English, that vnvaluable Iewell, we haue by his trauayle, first with his charge and attendaunce procuring the translation thereof, then sundrie times copying the same out with his owne hande, thirdly printing it in Fraunce with his great expense and perill, when the rage of those holy fathers which then enuyed Christiā mens christianity, not only would not suffer it to be done in England, but also procured the same beyng printed to be attached in Fraunce & openly burned, himselfe hardly escaping with his life. Not discouraged herewith, but still caried with zeale to doe good, he attempted the woorke againe, and to Gods great praise and to the edification of Christes Church, performed it. Sithence that, how beneficiall he hath beene in furthering good wittes to learning, in setting learned wittes to working, because the rehearsall in particularitie cannot but haue some affinitie with exprobration, I leaue to their remembraunce that haue tasted of it, and shall be mooued in their conscience where it maye doe him good, to testifie it. But the Citie of London may not forget, or forgetting may not be vntolde of it, or well remembering may not suppresse it, that moe maye be mooued by his example and their thankfulnesse, to be suche Citezens as he hath beene, how he hath trauayled in their affayres from time to time, as if anye priuate man among them had but a seruaunt or factor of such faythfulnesse, policie and painefulnesse, as he hath shewed himselfe for them all,

all, it should not for shame be forgotten, I will not saye vnrecompensed. Who knoweth not his diligence in laboring for and attending on that noble worke of that most blessed Prince, King, yea saint, Edwarde the sixt, in erecting the Hospitalles? his labors and expences in ouerseing the same beyng erected, preferring it before all his awne businesse to his great hinderaunce? It is proueable ynough if any will be so past honest thankfulnesse to denie it. And nowe lastly, beside a number of good bookes by him published, he hath for the whole realme gathered thys Chronycle of Englande, wherein thou mayest readily see with small trauayle and coste that which heretofore scattered in manye woorkes was chargeable to get and troublesome to finde, beside very much that in none heretofore hath beene vttered.

In this he hath brought thinks vnknowne from darknesse, vntrue reportes from error, confusion of affayres from disorder, impertynent tediousnesse to reasonable proportion, and hath made a large, playne, true and meere historie of this Realme, wherby men may be certified of truth, the Reader may haue delitefull & profitable knowlege: our Countrie men and the subjects, but specially the princes therof, delyuered from slaunderous reportes of foreyne writers: Kings maye learne to depende vpon God, and acknowlege his gouernaunce in their protection: the nobilitie may reade the true honor of their auncestours: The Ecclesiasticall state maye learne to abhorre trayterous practises and indgnities done against kings by the Popishe vsurping Clergie: high and lowe may shonne rebellions by their dreadfull effectes, and beware how they attempt against right, how vnhable soeuer the person be that beareth it: we all may be warned to thanke God for the most vertuous, wise and peaceable gouernement that we now enioye in comparison of terrible times heretofore: Eche man maye haue a glasse to see things past, whereby to iudge iustly of thinges present and wisely of things to come: To behcde the beautie of vertue and deformitie of vice: what sweetenesse remaynetl after well doing, what stinges of repentaunce euill doing leaueth: Men of elde honor, maye learne not to deface their forefathers prayse: The newer sort maye seke to bring light and dignitie to their houses: and finally all men in seing the course of Gods doings, may learne

to

to dread his iudgementes and loue his prouidence: may see how good doings be defended, euill doings and wrongs reuenged, bloud with bloud, violence with violence, iniuries with miseries, and so growe into an affection to geue to eche matter his right iudgement, to eche superiour his right duetie, to eche other that which iustice or charitie wylleth, and to all well doers, & among others to this setter forth of so many well doyngs, such thankfull acceptation as his whole life employed to common benefite hath deserued, Receaue it therfore good Reader so, as thy selfe maiest haue most benefite of it, and he may in his age thinke his youth well spent in doing good to London, Englande and Christianitie. And aboue all thinges forget not, to geue God thankes for the Queenes maiesties most gracious reigne, so farre in comparison exceeding the tymes that here thou readest of: And beseeche him long to preserue her, without or after whome there is great daunger and small hope: and specially et euery one endeuour for himselfe, not to moue God for our sinnes to cal her home from vs to him to hastily:

Sera at in cœlum redeat, diúq;
Læta vt intersit populo Britanno,
Neu sinat hostes equitare inultos,
Se duce, Christi.

THE FIRST AGE, AND FIRST PART OF THIS CHRONICLE

THE FIRST AGE.

IN The beginning God made Heauen and Earth: and Moses the deuine Prophet and Historiographer, (who was before the Incarnation of Iesu Christ. 1569. yeres) sheweth vs howe that GOD deuided hys woorke of Creation into. vj. dayes. Moses. Creation of ye world.

¶ The first day he made the Light, and deuided the same from the darcknesse, and the light he called Daye and the darcknesse Night. The. j. day.

¶ The seconde day he ordeyned the Firmament, to be betweene the Waters, the which deuided the waters from the waters, that is to saye, those that are aboue from them that are beneath. The. ij. day.

¶ The thirde daye he gathered all the waters together that couered the face of the Earth into one place, that the earth might be drie, and that it might bring foorth Herbes and Trees. The. iij. day.

¶ The fourth day he beutified the Firmament with lights, and ordeyned the Sonne to shine in the daye, and the Moone and Starres in the night. The. 4. day.

¶ The fift daye he Created the Fishes in the Water, and Fowles vpon the Earth. The. v. day.

¶ The sixt day he Created Beastes, euery one in his kinde: and the same day (as the holy Scriptures doe witnesse) when the Heauen, the Earth, and all the furnitures thereof, were created and made, God then of the slyme of the Earth made Man that most excellent Creature, vnto his awne likenesse, and similitude, and breathed into him the breath of lyfe. Thus was Heauen and Earth finished with all their Apparell in sixe dayes, and the seuenth day God rested from his labors and sanctified the same, and commaunded it to be kept as his holy Sabaoth. The vi. day. Creation of man. Genes. j. The vij. day.

¶ After that GOD had created Man (as afore saide) he then gaue vnto him such grace that without any instructions, but onely with the endowment of his originall righteousnesse, he was perfectly learned and seene in all the liberall Artes and Sciences. He was also endewed with the knowledge of all Herbes, Trees, Metalles, Stones, Birdes, Beastes, Fowles, Fishes, Wormes, and all other Creatures. Also God gaue vnto him power ouer all things that were vpon the Earth, and in the Sea, so that vnto all Beastes, Fishes, and Foules, he gaue a proper & conueniēt name according to their natures, euē in such sort as they are called at this day. Then was he brought by the Almightie Lorde into the pleasant place of Paradise replenishd wyth all delights and pleasures, the felicitie of which place *Saint Augustine* doth describe in this maner. 3962. S. Augustin.

Man lyued in Paradise as he would, so long as he willed that God commaunded, he lyued hauing the fruition of God, of whome came his goodnesse, he lyued wanting nothing. Hauing in his power withall, so to lyue continually. Meate was euer ready and at hand bicause he should not be hungry, and drinke for that he should not thrust: and the trée of lyfe, that age shoulde not consume and ende his lyfe. No corruption was their eyther in his body or came of his body, which was to the lothsommesse or annoyance of any of his senses. He feared

neither inward diseases nor outward violence. In his fleshe was most perfite health, and in euerie part of his soule no lesse tranquilitie and quietnesse. As in Paradise no griefe was felt through heat or colde, so likewise to the inhabitours thereof happened there nothing through vnlaufull desire, or feare, that might be to the impechment of his good and godly inclined will. In him was there no sorowfulnesse at all, nor yet any vaine mirth or gladnesse. True ioy was in him, continued by God, towards whome there issued a burning Charite out of a pure hart, a good conscience and an vnfayned faith. Betwéene the Man and the Woman, there was semblably a faithfull societie, procéeding of verteous and honest looue, and agréeable watching of minde and bodye: and finally a kéeping of Gods commaundements without griefe or grudging, to wéete, that of all the trées in Paradise he might laufully eate, so that he absteyned from the trée of the knowledge of good and euill. Hitherto *Saint Augustine.*

Creation of Womā.

¶ Then God perceyuing that as yet there was no creature made like vnto Man which might be an helper and companion vnto him, he forthwith cast Adam into a slumber, and tooke a rib out of his side, filling the place with flesh, whereof he made the Woman, and named her Heauah, or Eue (that is to say, lyue or be lyuing) and brought her vnto him, whome when Adam sawe, he sayde: This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh, she shall be called Woman, bicause she is taken out of the Man: wherefore Man shall forsake his father and mother and cleaue vnto his Wyfe, and they two shall be one flesh. And the Lord blessed and sayde vnto them. Increase and multiplie, and fill the earth and subdue it, and be ye Lorde ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of the aire, and of all the Beastes that moue on the earth.

The fall of Lucifer.

Gene. iij.

¶ But after that Man was placed in the highe felicitie as aforesayde, he forgetting God, through the craft and subtiltie of the Serpent (which a little before was driuen oute of Heauen) and by the prouocation of the Woman broke the commaundement, geuen to him by God, wherfore he with Eue his wyfe were driuen out of Paradise and made subiect to death, Sinne and all kindes of miserie: For the earth was restrayned, that it should no more bring foorth fruit of it selfe, but that by the sweate and painefull labors of theyr bodies, they should trauaile and leade their lyues. Then also came sicknesse vpon them,

Gene. iij.

and heate and colde began to assayle their tender bodyes. For after they began to sinne, God did open the power of Sathan, but yet against him of the seede of the Woman: he promised that Christ should come and destroy his power, and deliuer vs from his thraldome, death and sinne. This was the first promulgation of the Gospell, at which tyme began the kingdome of Christ and the Church. And so Adam and Eue tooke comfort of the promise that was made of Christes comming, and of these two persons the Church first began.

Adam and Eue, ye first of Christes Church.

¶ And when Adam was thus for his disobedience and transgression cast out of Paradise, he fell to labour and tilling of the ground, according as almightie God had sayd vnto him, and soone after he knew his wyfe Eue (and as Iames Philip of Bergamo sayth, in the suppliment of his Chronicles) he begat on her. xv. yeres after the creation of the Worlde two Children at one tyme, a Sonne and a Daughter, that is to say, Cain, and Calmana, and. xv. yeres next following which was the. xxx. yere of the creation of the worlde, he begat againe at one tyme a Sonne and a Daughter, that is to say, Abell, and Delbora.

Iames Phil.

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3959

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3929

¶ The aforesayde two brethren Cain, and Abell, were the first founders of two contrarie Cities, Babell, & Ierusalem, by the one is vnderstand Confusion, and by the other, the vision of peace. Their father taught them to feare God, and to worship him with sacrifices. Cain was of a naughtye and vnhappie disposition, geuen vnto al vice and mischiefe, and was the first that tilled the earth, he offered alwayes the worst and most vile things vnto GOD: But Abell the yonger Brother, was of contrarye conditions: he gaue himself to all vertue, and in all things that he went about, he thought God to be present, his occupation was the keping of Beastes, and he euer offred vnto God of the best things that he had. For in their Sacrifices his offering was euermore consumed with fire,

Babell, Ierusalem.

fire from Heauen, but his brother Cains remayned vntouched: wherefore Cain (perceyuing that his brothers doyng, was more acceptable before God than his) enuied him, and ought him most damnable hatred and malice, and in the ende most cruellye and shamefully murdered and slue him.

¶ But Adam heering of the death of his sonne Abell whom he loued most derely, mourned and lamented his death, and continued mourning for him by the space of one hundred yere. And as sayth Nicholas de Lira vpon the iiij. of Gene: Adam did with himselfe decree neuer more to haue knowne Eue his wyfe: But afterward by Gods speciall will and prouidence, he did knowe her, to the intent that of that lyne our Sauiour Christ should come, and not of the line of cursed Cain.

Adam mourned for the death of Abel an hundreth yere.

¶ And after that Adam had knowne his wyfe againe, he begat on her his third sonne named Seth, when he was. C.xxx. yeres of age, of whom came and discended Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Dauid, and consequentlye our Sauiour Iesu Christ. And Adam (as saith Iames Philip) had beside Cain, Abell, Seth, and theyr sisters, other. xxx. Children, and liued. ix.C.xxx. yere.

131
3832
Seth. *Gene.* iiij.

¶ Now after ỹ Cain had done this horrible murther aforesayd, he fled frō his father, and builded a Citie in the Orient, which was the first Citie in the world, and named it Enoch, after the name of his first begotten sonne, whom he begat of his sister Calmana, in the lande of Inde after he had taken her to wife, as it was laufull for him then to doo for the multiplication and encrease of the worlde, which Calmana was borne. xv. yeres after the creation of the worlde as Cain himselfe was. And as *Saint Augustine* in his booke of the Citie of God sayth, that as it was then laufull for the brother to take the sister to wyfe for the encrease of the worlde, so is it now most damnable to attempt or do the lyke, for that we are by the expresse worde of God prohibited and forbidden so to doo. This Cain was a great toyler and moyler in the earth, but very coueteous and full of malice withall, at the prosperitie of any other, which was the onely cause that he murdered and slue his awne onelye brother Abell as aforesaide: For the which fratricide or brother murthering, he was by the sentence of almighty God publyshed for a vagabond and a ronnagate, & so reputed and taken all the dayes of his lyfe, as afterward it shall more plainelye appeere in the discription, or rather in the Historie of Abell. Of the foresaide Enoch came afterward a great Nacion of people, but they were very wicked full of sinne, and aboue all other thinges they did exceede in the Sinne of the flesh, which was the greatest cause that his lyne did so wonderfullye encrease and multiplie. This Cain for that God had pronounced him to be accursed, and sayde that the Earth should not yeelde vnto him any fruite, as it is expressed in the. iiij. of Gene: for that cause he left off from the toyle and labor of the Earth, the which before he did exercise, and sought out by his wicked imagination the Mathematicall artes. And although he found in that trauaile great vexacion of mynd, and businesse, yet as the paine ceassed not, so did not his auaricious coueteous and greedye desire cease, by rapyne, spoyle, or by any other wicked meane to attaine to treasure and ryches, to the enryching of himselfe, without regarde or respect by what meane so euer he came by the same, not sparing neyther the robbery nor spoyle of his people, nor yet the robbery of his children, nor of his childers children, and all that came of them or any of them: Of the which mischiefes he was a most chiefe and principall doctor. Also he altered and chaunged the honest and simple doings that before tyme had bene vsed by honest and good men in their exchaunges and traffiques, and caused all things to be done by weyghts and measures, and brought in craft and corruption.

Enoch the first Citie in the Worlde. *S. Auguſt.*

Cain ye first Murtherer. *Gene.* iiij.

Gene. iiij.

Cain the inuenter of the Mathematicallartes

¶ The name of Cain by interpretation is as much to say as possession, and as Saint Augustine sayth in his. xv. Booke of the Citie of God in the. xvij. Chapter: Cain might well be called possession, for in a little tyme he and his posteritie possessed in a maner the whole Earth, but in the ende they were drouned and destroyed by Noes flood. *S. Augustin*

¶ Abell the sonne of Adam and brother to Cain borne with hys syster Delbora in the. xxx. yere of the age of his father Adam, that is to saye. xv. yere after Cain. This Abell

3929
30

in his tender age learned the feare of God and his iustice, in such sort that in all his doings and affaires, he imagined God to be present, and that he coulde doe nothing out of Gods sight and knowledge, and therefore he endeuored himselfe to all vertue and good liuyng, and did sacrifice vnto God of all the chiefest and best of his Cattell. And therefore almightie God had respect and regarde vnto him, and did multiplie and encrease his Cattell and goodes, which was the cause that his brother Cain enuied him. For the saide Cain, being a laborer & toyler of the earth, and yet notwithstanding insaciable, greedye, and couetous coulde not abide to see his brother so greatly to prosper and encrease, and therefore by the prouocation of the Deuill, rather desiring to be depriued of all consolation and comfort, then to lyue and remaine in the fellowship and companie of his owne naturall and onely brother Abell, on a tyme sayde thus vnto his sayde brother Abell, brother let vs go foorth into the Fieldes: To the which innocent Abell not thinking of any guile or deceit did consent. And when they were together alone, sodainely Cain ranne vpon him and slue him, the sayde Abell being then one hundred yeres of age, the which Abell is accounted the first Martir, and the first that possessed Paradise. *Cooper.*

Abell slain.

Abell the first martyr.

Gene. iiij. ¶ Afterward God called Cain and cursed him, saying: Cain, what hast thou done? The voyce of thy brothers blood is come vp from the earth before me, thou shalt be cursed vpon the earth that did open and receiue at thy hand the blood of thy brother Abell. And when thou shalt labour the earth it shall not yeelde to thee any fruit. Thou shalt be as a Vacabond and fugitiue vpon the earth all the dayes of thy lyfe. And God set a signe vpon Cain, that is to saye a most horrible trembling and quaking of all the members and partes of his bodye and (as sayeth Lira vpon the. iiij. of Genesis) God did print a signe or marke in his forehed or face, to ỹ intent he should be knowne vnto all nations, and that he should not be slaine by chaunce where so euer he should be found.

Cain accursed of God.

Lira.

130 / 3892 ¶ After the death of Abell and banishment of Cain, Adam when he was (as aforesayde) C. xxx. yeres of age begat Seth, and lyued after. viij.C. yeres: which Seth as aforesayde gaue himselfe to all vertue and to the feare of God. Of this Seth (as is aforesayde) the holy Fathers were begotten, whose posteritie continued, but the posteritie of Cain perished in the flood as shall appeere.

Iosephus. ¶ Iosephus writeth that Adam & Seth made two Columnes or Pillers, one of Brasse, the other of Stone, for they foreseeing that the worlde should perishe and be consumed, once by water, as it came to passe at the generall flood, and afterward by fyre, which tyme is yet to come, graued in the sayde Pillers such things as they vnderstood of the glorie of almightie God, to the intent that Gods most holy worde might be preserued from perishing, and that the same should remaine to their posteritie, that those ỹ followed might know what God had done in the former time. And he also writeth that Adam and Seth deuyded the yere into. xij. Monethes, and did first obserue and teache the course of the Celestial bodies, for that it was impossible that mans wyt could attaine to so high and difficile things, vnlesse God almightie had shewed and declared the knowledge thereof to Adam in his creation.

Adam and Seth deuided the yere into. xij. Monethes.

Abell signifieth Sorow or death. Seth signifieth Resurrection. ¶ By Abell which by interpretation is Sorow, or death, and by Seth, which by interpretation, is Resurrection, is signified the death and resurrection of Christ, as sayth *Saint Augustine in his.* xv. *Booke of the Citie of God. Chap.* xviii.

236 / 3227 ¶ Seth in the. C.v. yere of his Age begat Enos, and lyued after that viij.C. yeres. This Enos was one that altogither sought the glorie and will of God, not as many other good Fathers did, but as one that most speciallye and wholy dedicated himselfe to the aduancement of Gods highe honor and glorie, and lyued not after the worldly felicitie, but after the will of God, as S. Austine writeth of him in the booke last before alleaged.

327 / 3636 ¶ Enos the sonne of Seth in the. xcj. yere of his age begat Kenan, after whose birth he liued. vij.C.xv. yeres.

¶ Kenan

¶ Kenan the sonne of Enos in the. lxx, yeare of his age begat Malalehel, after whose birth he liued. viij.C.xl. yeres. This Kenan was the fourth in order of the fathers from Adam in the Genealogie of the righteous men, but begotten in the thirde generation. For in the first generation Seth was borne, in the seconde Enos, in the thirde Kenan, in the fourth Malalehel, in the fift Iared, in the sixt Enoch, in the seuenth Mathusalem, in the eyght Lamech, and in the Ninth was Noe borne, who was the tenth from Adam: For according to the mind of S. Augustine, the beginning of Adam was no generation, but a formation: Neuerthelesse, the plasmation or creation of Adam is reckoned among the generations, where he is accounted in the first, and Seth in the seconde, and so consequently, which maner is most vsed. 395 / 3564

¶ Malalehel the sonne of Kenan in the. lxv. yere of his age, begat Iareth or Iared & liued after. viij.C. yeres: But here (sayth Lanquet) that which Macrobius doth only attribute vnto the Egiptians (meaning the account of yeares) were better accounted by the Hebrues, among whom there was alwayes a certaine course of the yere which was obserued by ỹ circuite of the Sonne. The yere was then of xij. moneths as it is now. The moneth conteyned the same time that it doth now. The whole course of the Sonne & Moone was then, as it is now. The day xxiiij. houres, as it is now, whereby worthily are refused ỹ errors of them which holde that the yeres of that age were ten times shorter than they are now, the which opinions the holy scriptures condemne to be false. For the Scripture sayth that the floud began in the. vj.C. yere of the lyfe of Noe, in the. xvij. day of the seconde moneth, and ceassed the. xx. daye of the same moneth in the yeare following, in the which place the. xij. monethes is read, whereby it appereth that there was then no fewer monethes than is now. And as at this time, men liued much longer than we do now: so is it true that they had far greater bodyes & were of much more strength than we are now. S. Augustine writeth (as Lanquet sayth) that he himselfe sawe in Vtica (a citie in Africa) the iawe tooth of a man of such exceeding greatnesse that it might well haue made an hundreth of oure teeth, and there he alleageth the sentence of Plinie, who sayth, that the longer that time passeth, the lesser bodyes shall be engendred. And I the writer and collector of this whole Booke, and Hystorie, did see the tenth daye of March. 1564. the checke tooth of a man, and had the same in my hande, which was as greate as a Hennes egge, and the same did wey ten ounces of Troy weight. And the skull of the same man, as I am credibly informed, is extant and to be seene which will holde fiue pecks of wheate, and the shinne bone of the same man is also to be seene, which is reported to be six foote in length and of a marueylous greatnesse. 460 / 3499

The yeare, Moneth, and course of the Sonne and Moone, was at the beginning, as it is now.

Lanquet.

August.

A straunge Tooth.

¶ Iareth, or Iared, the sonne of Malalehel in the C.lxij. yere of his age begat Enoch, after the birth of whome he lyued. viij. C. yeares. And in thys time the children of Seth suffered much violence and wrong of the children of Cain. 622 / 3337

¶ Enoch the sonne of Iareth or Iared in the. lxv. yere of his age begat Mathusalah, and liued after. iij. C. yeres. This Mathusalah or Mathusalem, as the holy scripture sayth, was of longest lyfe, and being borne in the. viij generation from Adam did prefigurate the. viij. age of the world, which shall be the time of the Resurrection, which shall begin in the last day, and neuer after shall haue ende. 688 / 3275

¶ Mathusalem or Mathusalah in the. C.lxxxvij. yere of his lyfe begat Lamech, after whose birth he liued. vij.C.lxxxij. yeares, and dyed in the yeare of the floud. He was borne in the tyme when wickednesse and malice began to abound vpon the earth, not onely amongst the children of Cain, but also among those which were called the children of the Godly. This Lamech was not onely a iust man, but also a Prophet, for he was the father of Noe, and he prophesyed of him and sayde, he shall comfort vs from the workes and labours of our handes in the earth which the Lorde hath curssed. And Lamech when he had lyued. C.lxxxij. yeres he begat Noe. 874 / 3085

¶ Noe, when he was fiue. C. yeres of age, begat Sem, Cham, and Iaphet, and here I will returne a little to the line of Cain, and shewe what cursed ende he came vnto, as matter 1659 / 2404

A digressiō. matter by Gods sufferance, that with such measure as himselfe had measured to his only & owne naturall brother whom he had most cruelly murthered, so he likewise at the last was murthered himselfe, and that by one that proceeded out of his owne lyne.

IN The beginning of the worlde most people went naked, saūing that they were partly couered with the skinnes of some beast, & at that tyme they had no dwelling houses to defend them, neyther from the colde, nor yet from the heate, but after their owne phantasies they made with prety boughes and twigs of trees, such little pretye lodgings, as we call Cabons, or Boothes. And it so chaunced that Cain beyng verye olde and also werye, happened one day to lay him downe to rest in a bush that was enclosed with grene boughes as aforesaid. And Lamech one of the kindred of Cain in ỹ fift degree, who by reason of his great age had lost his sight, & yet at a time was disposed to go abroad to kill some wilde Beast, and taking his Bow and Arrowes, he tooke also with him a little boy to lead and direct him where he might haue a good shot. And when they drew somewhat neare vnto the Bush where Cain lay, the little boye espying the bush to wag, and seeing as it were a great thing in the midst thereof, he imagined that there lay some wilde beast, and the boy beyng afraid therof gaue knowledge vnto old father Lamech, that in a bush stāding right before him and not farre off, there lay a great and terrible beast. And Lamech vpon the report of the child stretched out his arme & drew a streight draught towarde the bush,

Cain slaine. where he slew his cosin Cain, that lay in the same after he had liued. vii. C. xxx. yeres, as sayth Philo. Of this ye maye reade more in Nicholas de Lira vpon the fourth Chap. of Genesis.

Ranulphus. ¶ This Lamech as sayth Raynulph Monke of Chester, was the. vij: in degree from Adam, and was of the lyne of Cain, and the most shrewe, for he was the first that brought in Bigamye and spousebreach against the lawe of God and nature, and against Gods owne doome.

¶ And this Lamech had a sonne called Iuball or Iabell, who was the first inuenter of

Portatiue tents. the Portatiue tents or lodgings, the which first was practised and vsed by the Sepeheards

Cattaile deuided one from another. and keepers of Cattell. And he also was the first that deuyded the Lambes from the Sheepe, and one kinde of Cattell from another.

Tuball. ¶ The same Lamech had also another sonne named Tuball, who was a great louer of

Musick. Musick, and was the first inuenter of proporcions and measures: but he was not the maker of the Instruments, for that was inuented long time after, in the time of Pithagoras. And this Tuball by the sounde of the Hammers that Tubalcaim his Brother being a Smith did

Gene. iiij. vse, did imagine the distinction of soundes. Genesis. iiij.

Tubalcaim. ¶ Tubalcaim the second sonne of Lamech was a warrelike Man, and begotten of his Wyfe Sela, this Man was a louer and inuenter of all those things that were meete or neces-

Forging of Iron. sarie for the warres: he founde oute the Arte of forging of Iron. He and his brother Tuball foreseing the two destructions of the worlde that were to come, the one by water and the other by fire did erect two great Columnes or roundc Pillers, the one of brent Brick to defend the fyre, and the other of Marble to defende the water: and therein did graue the Artes and Sciences that were by them inuented: This Tubalcaim was the last of the lyne of Cain.

Noemia. ¶ Noemia the daughter of Lamech and of Sela the Sister of Tubalcaim did first finde out the vse of Linnen and Wollen, & the Spinning, Carding and weauing of the same, and made it into cloth, both for lightnesse and warmenesse, where before they did weare beastes skinnes as is mencioned in *Cronica Cronicarum.*

BVT Now to returne again to the line of the iust, where before mencion is made that Iared begat Enoch & Enoch begat Mathusalem, the sayde Enoch about this time was by

Enoch taken vp into Heauen. God taken vp into heauen, which thing doth euidently set foorth vnto vs the immortalitie that remaineth after this lyfe, and that God wil saue those that are righteous and condemne them that are wicked.

¶ Also before is vttered that Mathusalem begat Lamech, not that same Lamech of whome

the storie last before is written, for he came of the lyne of Cain, but this Lamech whereof mencion is nowe made made cams of the lyne of Seth, and the same begat Noe as aforesayde.

NOE The sonne of Lamech which came of the lyne of the iust, when he was. v. C. yeres of age, begat Sem, Cham, and Iaphet, not all at one time, but he was so olde before he begat any of them. This Noe was a iust & righteous Man & one that loued and feared God. by the which he obteined the blessing & fauor of almightie God. And after the recitall of the birth of the sonnes of Noe, foorthwith the holy Scripture declareth the occasion of the Flood, bicause sayeth almightie God, the worlde began to waxe wicked. And amonge other the great vices of the Worlde, there is recyted the contempt of God, Adulterie, Volupteousnesse and pleasure of the body, for thus the text hath: *When that Men began to multiply vpon the earth and brought foorth Daughters, the Children of God, seing the Daughters of men to be faire, tooke them to their wyues.* 1559 2404 Sem, Ham, Iaphet. The causes of the flood.

¶ The holy Scripture calleth the children of God all those which discended from Seth, the thirde sonne of Adam. And those the children of men that discended from Cain the first sonne of Adam: For Adam commaunded that the children of Seth should in no wise coople with the children of Cain, which was obserued of a long time, vntill that the zeale and loue of vertue decayed. And God perceyuyng thereby that the wickednesse of man was great vpon the Earth, repented him that he had made man, not that there is any such passion in God, but that the Scripture so speaketh to vs after our familier and worldlye maner: and therefore he threatned a destruction to the worlde by a flood, and would therefore that Noe should declare this vnto the people. C.xx. yeres before it should come to passe. In the meane tyme God commaunded Noe that he should build an Arke, that should contein in length. CCC. Cubites Geometricall, euery Cubite conteyning as *S. Augustine* saith. vj. common Cubits, which is. ix. feete, and so it was in length, two thousand, seuen hundred feete. In breadth it was fiftie Cubites, which was foure hundred fiftie feete, and in deepenesse from the vpper decke to the bottome. xxx. Cubits, which was two hundred seuentie feete, and the roofe ouer it was one Cubite highe, which was. ix. feete. *Cooper.* This Arke was not by mannes power brought into the Sea, but by the course of the waters rysing vp, it was borne away: and rather by diuine prouidence, than by mans pollecye, it was gouerned from running to wreck. And Noe began to build this Arke in the. v. C. xxiij. yere of his age, and before the flood, as *Berosus* sayth, lxxvij. yeres. *Cooper.* *Berosus.*

¶ In the. vj. C. yere of the lyfe of Noe, and the second moneth, God saide vnto him ỳ after. vij. dayes this flood should come, in which space he brought into the Arke his stuffe, prouision and all other necessarye thinges for him, whereat euery man laughed, & toke him as one out of his wit. But finally, as it is written in the Gospell, they were eating and drinking, they maryed and were maried euen vnto the day that Noe entred into the Arke, and woulde not know it euen vntill the flood came and destroyed them all. For Noe shewed it vnto them, aswell in worde as in deede, and the building of the Arke was also a certaine declaration vnto them: But they were both without faith and the feare of God, for which cause they were worthely punished. Thus the time passing the seuenth day came, & that day Noe with his wife and his three sonnes and their wyues entred the Arke. And beholde, sodeinlye came together vnto him Beastes of all kindes, not brought thither by mā, but euen by the miracle of God: neyther did Noe take them, but suffered them as they came to enter into the Arke, neyther came there anye moe than of vncleane beastes two, a Male and a Female. Of cleane beastes seuen, foure Males, and three Females, of the which one Male was reserued for Sacrifice after the flood, the residue were kept for generation. A miracle most wonderfull.

¶ Thus they being entered, the Lord shut the doore of the Arke the. xvij. day of the second Moneth. And behold incontinent the springs of the Sea burst out, the windowes of Heauen were opened, the raine fell continuallye. xl. dayes and. xl. nights, and the waters swelled and rose aboue all Mountaines. xv. Cubits. All liuing creatures dyed, except 1656 2307

The flood of Noe terrible.

cept Fish and such as might endure in the bowels of the earth. The waters encreased. C. l. dayes, and on the. xvij. day of October the Arke staeke vppon the Mountaynes of Armeny. The last day of Ianuarie, Noe opened a window, and put foorth a Crowe, which was euer goyng and comming vntill such time as the waters were dryed vpon the earth, and then came no more againe. After. vij. dayes he put foorth a Doue, which for that she could finde no resting place, came againe at night. And after this he taried yet other. vij. dayes, and put foorth the Doue again, which at night returned vnto him and brought in her mouth a braunch of an Olive tree. And he taried yet other. vij. dayes and sent foorth the Doue againe, but then she returned no more. Howbeit, yet he would not issue out but remayned for the commaundement of the Lord, who commaunded him not to go foorth vntill the. xvij. day of the second Moneth, wherby it appereth that he remayned a iust yere and ten dayes in the Arke.

Berosus.

¶ Berosus the Chaldean wryteth of this flood in maner following. Before (sayth he) the famous flood of waters came, whereby the whole worlde perished, there preceded many yeres, which of our Chaldeans were faithfully obserued. They wryte that about Libanum was a great citie of Gyantes called Enoch, who were lordes of the worlde from the rising of the Sonne vnto the setting of the same (that is from the East vnto the West) and they trusting in their strength and hougenesse of their bodyes, with armour that they had inuented, oppressed all men. They deuised Tents, Musicall Instruments, and all delicacies: they fed of Mans flesh and accompanied comonly with their Mothers, Daughters, Sisters, Men & Beastes. There was no wickednesse which they omitted. Then many prophesied and preached that destruction should come, which they did write in stones, but they scorned all things. And there was one of these Gyants wiser than all the other in Siria, whose name was Noa: he with his three sonnes, Samo, Iapeto & Chem, and their wyues, Titea, Pandora, Noela, and Noegla, fearing this destruction, which he perceyued by the Starres, began to make a Ship in fashion of an Arke. lxxviij. yeres before the flood. And in the same yere that the Ship was finished, sodeynely the Occean swelled, and all the Seas, Floods & Springs roase aboue the Mounteines with continuall raine that fell from the Heauens, whereby all mankinde perished (except Noe with his Familye) who were saued in the Ship, which the waters bare vp to the tops of the Mountaine Cordiei, where in my tyme remayned part thereof, hetherto the wordes of Berosus.

Here endeth the first Age of the worlde, which is from Adam vnto the Flood of Noe, and is after the account of the Hebrewes. xvi.C.lvi. yeres, and after the. lxx. interpretors. MM.CC.xlij. yeres.

THE SECONDE AGE, AND SECONDE PART OF THIS CHRONICLE.

THE SECONDE AGE.

1658 / 309. WHEN NOE had continued a yere in the Arke and more, and the waters being asswaged, and the Earth dryed, God commaunded him to come foorth, vnto

whome incontinent he builded an Aultare, and offered of all cleane Beastes and Birdes, a delectable Sacrifice. Then God blessed him and sayde: Encrease and multiplie the Earth.

¶ And after God instituted as it were a newe worlde againe, and first he gave his worde, and promised that he would neuer more destroy the worlde with water, and for the confirmation thereof, he gaue the Rainebow for a sure token betwene him and man. For in that Bow is expressed both the colours of Water & Fyre, the one part being blew, and the other red, that it might be a witnesse of both the Iudgements, the one past and the other to come. Also then he graunted libertie to men to eate fleshe, which the holy Fathers before the flood neuer vsed. The Rainbowe

¶ Moreouer, God gaue a newe precept for externall thinges and commaunded more plainely, that whosoeuer did shed any mans blood his blood should be shed againe, of them to whom laufull authoritie for the iudgement thereof was giuen (meaning the Maiestrates and Rulers) for that Man is made to the Image and similitude of God. A new commaūdemēt.

¶ This Noe was faythfull vnto God, and another Father vnto mankinde. Hauing within the space of one hundreth yeres his issue wonderfullye encreased, being also throughly learned in the knowledge of deuine and humaine things, in the reuolution of tymes, in the Histories of the world passed: But most specially in Iustice & Religion, and he deuided the world into three parts, which he himselfe in the residue of his life trauelled and went through, leauing behind him in all places perpetuall monuments, both of his vertue and also of his Empire. He planted the first grape, and inuented the vse of Wyne, with the which he was made dronke, so that he lay dishonestly discouered: who being seene of Cham his sonne, the Father of Canaan, was of him Scorned, and he in derision brought his two brethren to behold that sight. But they moued with shamefastnesse and honestie, couered their Fathers mēbers and would not see them. The which when Noe perceyued, he blessed them, but Cham he would not Cursse, bicause God had blessed him, and therefore he curssed Chanaan his Nephew the sonne of Cham, who as some suppose did deryde and mocke his Grandfather. The worlde Deuided into. iij. partes by Noe. The plāting of the Grape first inuented by Noe.

¶ This Noe liued after the Flood CCC. L. yere, and for his sundrie benefites shewed vnto all Nations, they gaue unto him diuers names, among the which, these as the most famous are celebrated. Noe, Gyges, Fenix, Vranos, Coelus, Sol, Protheus, Ianus, Geminus, Innominus, Quirinus, Patulcius, Bacchus, Vortumnus, Chaos, Ileton, Seede of the World, and Father of all Gods and Princes. The Italians, after his deceasse, dedicated vnto him by the name of Vortumnus a Temple, and worshipped him with deuine honours and ceremonies.

And also his wife Vesta, for her great prudence and worthy deserts obteyned these names following. Earth, Opes, Aretia, Vesta, Cybiles, the great Mother of the Gods, who taught the Maydens to kepe the holy Fire, whereof arose the error and ceremonies of the Virgines Vastalles.

After the Vniuersall Flood, the World by the Children of Noe was shortly replenished with people: for God or Nature neuer yet fayled the necessity of things: Of them there were many mighty nations as hereafter followeth.

¶ Sem the first sonne of Noe Prince of Asia, called also of some Melchisedech, a iust and peaceable King, and priest of almightie God from whome Christ lineally discended, possessed all Asia, with his children. For of Elam came first the Persians: of Assur, the Assyrians: of Arphaxat, the Chaldeans: of Lud the Lidians: and of Aram the Sirians. Hetherto *Lanquet.* Asia. Melchisedech.

¶ Asia is the thirde part of the worlde, deuided from Europa by the Sea called Bosphorus Thracius, & the Great Ryuer of Tanais: and from Affrique, by the famous riuer Nilus, and is in quantitie supposed to be as great as Europa and Affrique. Asia minor is a part of the other Asia, which is nowe called Turkey, and conteyneth in it these Realmes, Pontus, Bithinia, Phrigia, Coria, Lycia, Lidia, and Licaonia. *Cooper.* *Cooper.*

Affrica. ¶ Cham the seconde sonne of Noe, Prince of Aphrick called also Inuus Incumbus, Syluanus, Pana, Saturne of Egypt, the rayser and spreder of the wickednesse punished with the Flood, inhabited the South part of the World with his children. Of Canaan came the Cananites: of Phuth the Libians: of Mesraim the Egyptians: of Chus the Ethiopians: and of Saba the Arabians.

Isidor. ¶ Affrique as sayth Isidore in the. xiiij. booke of his Ethimologies, and the fift Chapter, doth begin at Egipt, and so passeth Southward vnto the Mounteyne Atlas, and toward the North, the same is enclosed with the Sea Mediterraneum, and endeth in the Sea Gadique. Some also say that it is called Affrique, of Afer, the sonne of Abraham, begotten of Cettura his wyfe, which conquered that country, and named it Affrique according to his awne name. And it is the same country that we now call Barbary, wherein is the Citie of Carthage.

Europa. ¶ Iaphet the thirde sonne of Noe Prince of Europa, called also Iapetus Priscus, Diris, Maurus and Athlas, receyued of his father Noe for his portion all the countries of Europe, from the Gades, called at this time streits of Marock, vnto the great ryuer Tanais.

Isidore. ¶ Europe, as sayth Isidore in the xiiij. of his Ethimologies, and iiij. Chap. beginneth at the Riuer Tanais, and so lyeth Westwarde by the great Northren Sea, vnto the ende of Spaine. And the East part and South part of the same is ioyned vnto the great Occean Sea, and it endeth at the Isles called Gades, and it is the same part of the world wherein we doe now inhabite. But Cooper sayth that Europa is deuided from Asia, with the Great Seas Hellespontus, Propontis, Bosphorus, Thracius, and Pontus Euxinus, and hath the vttermost boundes in the Northest, the Riuer Tanais, and from Affrique it is deuided by the middle Sea.

Cooper.

¶ Of Iaphet came these Princes and Nations: Comerus Gallus who first reigned in Italy. Magog of whome came the Scithians, and of them the Turkes. Madaus of whome sprang the Medes. Of Ianan the Grecians, which were called Ianes. Of Tuball the Spanyards. Of Mosoch the Muscouites, and of Tyras the Thracians.

Brute. ¶ And of this Iaphet came also Brute who first inhabited this Realme, of him called Briteyn. For Iaphet begat Ianan, and Ianan begat Sethum and he begat Siprius of whome Cypres had his first name, and he begat Saturnus, and he begat Iupiter, and he begat Dardanus, and he begat Erichtonius, and he begat Tros, and he begat Assaratus, and he begat Capis, and he begat Anchises, and he begat Eneas, and he begat Askanius, and he begat Siluius, who was the father of Brute.

Berosus. ¶ I finde also alleged by Berosus that Noe had another Sonne borne after the flood,
Ionichus ye Son of Noe. who was named Ionithus, or Ionichus, which was a great Astronomer, and was the first that atteined to the whole scyence of Astronomie, and thereby did deuine and shew before what should after happen to the. iiij. principall Monarchies of the worlde. He was
Nemroth. also Scholemaister to Nemroth who began the building of the towre of Babilon, and at that tyme all the people of the world spake but one tongue.

1659. ¶ Sem the first Sonne of Noe, the which some doe affirme to be the great and highe
2304. Priest Melchesidech, was borne in the yere of the worlde as appereth in the mergent, when his Father was. D. yeres olde, and one hundreth yeres before the flood. He
Ierusalem. builded the First Citie after the flood, the which hee named Salem, and at this day it is called Ierusalem (as sayth Iames of Bergamo) and of him came. xxvij. generations, and also the Patriarches, and Prophets, and finally our Sauiour and Redemer Iesu Christ. And the saide Sem in the. C. yere of his lyfe begat Arphaxat, of whome came the Chaldeans.

1694. ¶ Arphaxat in the. xxxv. yere of his Age begat Sale, of whom came the Indians.

2269. ¶ Sale in the. xxx. yere of his lyfe begat Heber, and liued after that three hundreth
1724. three yeres. In the house of Heber continued the language, which at the first, and be-
2239. fore the building of the Tower of Babilon was called Hebrue.
Hebrue.

¶ Heber

¶ Heber in the. xxxiiij. yere of his lyfe begat Phalech, and Iectan, and lyued after that iiij. C. xxx. yeres. Phalech is interpreted diuision, bicause it chaunced him to be borne in the tyme of the confusion of the tongues. 1758. 2205.

¶ Phalech when he was. xxx. yeres of Age begat Rue, and lived after CC. ix. yeres. The first yere of the life of Rue was the first yere of the reigne of Nemroth in Babilon, where he reygned lvj. yeres. 1788. 2175.

NEMROTH The Sonne of Chus, was among all the other that issued out of Noe, the mightiest and most hardiest, and he was the first that tooke vpon him the Empire and governement ouer his Subiects, and his abyding was at Babilon, which Citie he builded. This Nemroth enterprised the building and erecting of an houge, great, and most highe Tower made of Bricke, which was commonly called the Tower of Babell or Babilon, and he purposed that this Tower should haue extended vnto heauen, to the entent that he would make an euerlasting memory of himselfe. But after that this Tower began to be of a great heigth, and was halfe finished, God almightie willing to abate and ouerthrow the great presumption and enterprise of Nemroth, confounded the speeches and languages of the workemen that wrought vpon the same Tower, so that no one of them vnderstood another. Here I leaue y' line of Sem and go a little foorth with y' line of Cham who begat Chus, and Chus begat Nemroth. &c 1757. 2206.

¶ But for that the foresaid Tower is by certaine writers noted to be marueylous great and houge, I thought it good to note and mencion somewhat thereof vnto you. This Tower & City of Babilon was compassed with foure walles square, euery wall beyng fiftie Cubites in bredth, and two hundreth Cubites in heigth. And the length of every of the square walles, was xvj. Myles (after xccompt of our Myles.) So that the compasse of the foure walles were. lxiiij. Myles. And in the same Citie were one hundreth Gates of Brasse, and the sayde Towre was builded. CC. lxxij. pace highe. But some wryte that the sayde Towre was three Myle highe, and other wryte that it was fyue Myle highe and. C. lxx. paces, and was in bredth foure Myle. And throughe the middest thereof ranne the famous Ryuer Euphrates, whose heade spring came out of Paradice, and that the same was buylded wyth Tyle, and Pitch instede of Morter. Randlph, Eliot, Cooper and other.

¶ Ninus the thirde King of Babilon, was the sonne of Belus, the sonne of Nemroth, that was first King of Babilon, and he reigned Lij. yeres, and maried Semyramis, which Semyramis, after the death of her husband Ninus reigned as Queene of Babilon. xlij. yeres, but not contented with the lymytes and circuite of that Realme, she made a conquest of the whole Countrie of Ethiope, and adioyned the same vnto her Realme of Babilon, and she attempted also merueylous fierce and cruell warre against the people of Inde and by force entered into that Countrye and conquered the same, in such sort, that after that conquest the Indians neuer had other Emperour, King, nor other Prince but her and Alexander the great. Ninus.

¶ Mesraim, otherwise called Osyris the seconde sonne of Cham, was the first King of Egypt. He is called Mesraim of Moses as apereth in the. x. of Gene. And Berosus in his booke of Antiquities calleth him Osiris. This Osiris (sayth Berosus) did find out in Affrique the vse of Wheate, and the maner of sowing, reping and dressing of the same. And afterward he came into Egypt where he inuented the Plough, and all that euer appertayned vnto husbandrie. And from thence he passed trauayling through the rude Countryes and people, who fed of Acornes and fruite, and had nothing else to feede vpon: Those also he taught his inuention. And by this meanes he became a souereigne Lorde and a great ruler through the vniuersall worlde, except vnto them which were vnder the Empire of the Babilonians. He also did first teach the Almaynes to sowe Corne, to set Trees, to plant Vines in places most commodious. And where there was no store nor plentie of wyne, there he taught them to make drinke of Barlye, Otes, and other Grayne, which drinke they called in theyr tongue, *Ceruoys*, somewhat applying to the name of his Sister, which 1794. 1965. Osiris. Wheate. Plough. Corne, Trées, Vines, Barly, Otes, Drinke.

was called Ceres. And furthermore at the request of the people of Italy he discomfited the Gyauntes called cruell tyrantes, for that they most tyrannously did reigne ouer that countrye. He kept him selfe out of the Realme of Tuscane, and reigned ouer the Italians by the space of xv. yeres, being resident the greatest part of that tyme in the Citie of Viterbe, which afterward was called Vetulonia. And from thence he passed by Sea into Grece, that is to say, vnto the Prouince of Peloponesse, which is nowe called the Moores lande, and there he reigned in the Citie of Argos by the space of. xxxv. yeres, as Eusebius writeth, and in the end returned againe vnto Egypt. And after all these thinges thus done and finished, the malice of his brother Typhon an Egyptian, being as great as the malice of Cain was to his brother Abell, conspired by treason to slaye him, which at length he brought to passe and cut him in. xxvj. peeces and deuided the same among the conspirators, which were in number. xxvj. After his death as *Boeas* in his second Booke of the Genealogie of Goddes, sayeth he was called Serapis.

Eusebius.

Boeas.

Serapis.

2232.

1731.

¶ Laabin or Libycus surnamed Hercules, commonly called the great Hercules of Libia, was the sonne of Osyris (as Berosus sayeth) who did accompany his father in all his great warres and trauailes. And afterward for the reuengement of his fathers death, he offered open warre to all the Gyants of the world. And first he went into the land of Phenice, the which he conquered, and after he went into Frigia where afterward Troye was built, and their he slue Typheus the Gyant of that Cuntrie, and gaue the lande to his awne sonne Athus, and with the same one faire Ladie called Omphale. In lyke maner he discomfited Milinus king of the Ile of Candy. And from thence he came vnto Affrique, which now is called Barbary, and there he destroyed Antheus the Gyant and named the Cuntrie after his awne name Libia, which before was called Phuthee of the name of Phuth the thirde sonne of Cham. And there he set vp a great and highe Colome or Piller in the memorie of his conquest. After he came into that parte of France that is called, Gaule Celtique, where he maried Galathe, the onely daughter of Iupiter Celte, the. ix. king of the Frenchmē. And in this pastime dyed Iupiter, by the death of whome, great Hercules reigned in France as the. x. king of that Realme with Galathe his Wyfe, where they builded a great Citie in the Cuntrie of Lauxois, the which he named Alexia, of the which *Iulius Cæsur* maketh often mention in his Commentaries. And then purposing to go into Italy, he chaunced to light vpon a great armie, and entered into the Countrie of Allobroges, which now is called Sauoy, and first he brake and tare in peeces the harde & stony rocks, and passed ouer the same rocks and Mountaines which we nowe call the Alpes, making away thorowe euen by force of people, for it was a marualous enterprise and a thing neuer lyke to be brought to passe, that in such a streight and so harde a rock and in so high and terrible a Mountaine withall, that there should be awaye made for an armie with their Cattell and Baggages to passe cleane ouer; and there he destroyed all the Theeus and Murderers that lay hidden in those Mountaines who did much hurte to such as were trauaylers by that Region. After he had passed the Mountaines he descended into Italy and there he made warre against the Titans, which were Gyants, who within. x. yeres following, after he had bidden them diuers battailes, he destroyed them and cleane droue them out of the Cuntrie. And the place where one of the battailes was foughten and they vanquished, is called at this daye, the Valley of ŷ Gyants nere to the Citie of Tuscanel in Tuscane. And after this the great Hercules King of France was quietly possessed of all Italy, in the which he reigned after peaceably the space of. xx. yeres as sayth *Berosus*. And afterwarde when he had crowned Tuscus one of his sonnes, king of Italy, then he went into Spaigne and there dyed. And after his death the Spaniards made for him a sumpteous and costly Sepulture in the place which yet they call Gades Hercules, where standeth the Pillers called Hercules Pillers. *Berosus* and *Bergamo*.

Troy.

Typheus.

Milinus.

Barbary.

Antheus.

Libia.

Fraunce.

Gaule Celtique.

Iulius Cæsar.

Sauoy.

Alpes.

The valley of Gyants.

¶ Tuscus the sonne of Hercules of Libia, was by him ordeyned king of Italy, he gaue the name of the Prouynce of Tuscane in the which he had remayned long, other

wise-

wise called Ethruria, and before that it was called Ianicula, of the name of the good father surnamed Ianus, and all they that haue rule and gouerment in Italy, they call Ianigenes, that is to saye, the children of Ianus. *Bergamo.*

¶ Altheus the sonne of Tuscus was after his father king of Italy. And in his time Atlas Italus king of Spaigne did leaue his Realme to Sicorus his sonne, and came into Sicile, where he reigned a certaine time, and after he ariued in Italy, and there planted and placed himself as in his awne Realme, and called all the Cuntrie by his awne name Italy. *Bergamo.* Italy.

1817.

1942.

RAGAV or Reu the sonne of Phaleeh in the. xxxij. yere of his age begat Seruch or Saruch, & lyued after. CC.vij. yeres. In this time there were. iiij. Realmes that tooke their first beginning, that is to saye, the Realme of the Scithes, wherein first reigned Tanaus, of the which the Riuer Tanais did first take his name. The second was the realme of the Amasones the which as *Iustine* writeth were warlike women descending from the Scithes. The. iij. is the Realme of Egypt. The. iiij. is the Realme of Boheme, the which was so called by a Prince named Bohemus, that was present at the building of the Tower of Babilon as sayth *Bergamo.* Here I leaue the lyne of Cham and returne againe to the lyne of Sem of the which our Sauiour Iesu Christ came. *Iustine.* Amasones. Egypt.

¶ And in this time Nobilitie was aduanced and tooke place, and that for dyuers and sundry causes. First for necessitie: that the generation of Man so greatly encreased, and men prone and readie to all mischiefe, it was of force that the wickednesse of the euill must be suppressed by the honestie and discretion of the good, and therefore they chose some certaine Man more sage, wise and prudent, than other to rule the Commonaltie, to aduance and procure vertue, to defend the innocents, and to punish the wicked. And hereof is he rightly called Noble, the which in vertues before other is notable. Whereof *S. Iherom* speaketh, I can see none other thing in Nobilitie (saith he) but that they are by a certaine necessitie compelled to be Noble, least they should degenerate from the Noblenesse of their parents. Nobilitie. *S. Iherom.*

¶ The second cause was the discord, variaunce and Brawles among the people for lacke of right iudgement: wherefore it was most necessarie, that by the auctoritie of the Nobilitie, they shoulde be compelled to concord and vnitie as by them vnto whose iudgement and auctoritie they must obey. 2

¶ The thirde cause proceeded of the valyaunt courage and manly prowes of certaine notable persons declared in resisting and encountring the enimies of their Cuntrie and repressing their inuasions. And such a one the people had in great reuerence and estimation and worshipped and honored him as one that had delyuered their Cuntrie from daungers, and by this meanes most chiefely did the Cuntrie yeelde and geue vnto suche worthy Men the name of Nobilitie, to them and their heyres for euer, and for this purpose were they chiefely aduaunced to the dignitie of Noble men. 3

¶ The fourth cause, came of abundance of ryches, that when penurie and scarcetie came, then the common people were relieued and succoured of the ryche, for the which reliefe and succour the poore men had the ryche in great reuerence and estimation, and accompted them euer after as their Masters and Lordes. 4

¶ Therefore all such as are discended of noble Parents and Auncestors, ought chiefely & before all others to call to often remembrance these foresayd causes of true Nobilitie, that thereby they maye be the more stirred to such souereigne vertues, for the which their worthy progenitors first became Noble, thinking themselues vnworthy the name, except they haue withall those endowments and qualities for the which the same name was first geuen vnto them.

¶ There were also certaine personages made Noble by Gods deuine prouidence (but not many of them) and some of them continued as Noble, as Dauid, and some were ouerthrowne in short time as Saul, Ieroboam, and many other.

¶ There are many also that haue made themselues Noble by violence and tiranny.

And

And here the olde and auncient writers of Histories doo note, that seldome or neuer among the Turkish and heathen people, there is anye rogte or perpetuall successe of Nobilitie, bicause they enter by pride, & continue by violence and tiranny. And euen many among the Christians haue for the verie same cause bene oppressed and confounded ac-
Eccle. 10. cording to the saiyng of Ecclesiasticus in the. x. Chapter. The high and mightie Princes for their pride and tiranny God hath ouerthrowne and cast downe, and hath aduaunced therevnto the lowly and meeke. And note also that no man can hate Nobilitie, for that euerie man desireth by nature to be accompted as Noble, euen as we desyre to be accompted verteous and religious. But yet manye verteous and holy men haue fled that vocation, for the great perill that is proper and annexed to the same, and this may at large and sufficiently appere in the Prophet Dauid, whome God himselfe did speciallye elect and choose. *Cronica Cronicarum.*

1850. ¶ Saruch the sonne of Ragau being. xxx. yeres of age begat Nachor and lyued after
2123. two hundred yeres.

1879. ¶ Nachor the sonne of Saruch when he was. xxix. yere olde begat Terah, or Thare,
2084. and lyued after. C.xix. yere.

1949. ¶ Thare or Terah the sonne of Nachor, when he was. lxx. yere olde he begat Abram,
2024. Nachor and Aram, and lyued. CC.v. yeres.

2019. ¶ Abram the sonne of Thare borne in Vr in the Countrie of Chaldee, and he depart-
1944. ed from thence, when he was. lxx. yeres of age.

Here endeth the second Age, which began at the Flood of Noe and ended at the birth of Abram, which continued. CCC. lxiij. yeres and x. dayes, but after the accompt of Septuaginta it is. ix. C.xlij. yeres.

THE THIRDE AGE, AND THIDE PART OF THIS CHRONICLE.

THE THIRDE AGE.

Abram. ABram was a Man more prudēt and expert in all thinges both diuine and humaine, then any other before him was. He was the first that durst mainteyne God to be the Creator of all thinges, against the opinion of all the Chaldeyes, for the which he was compelled to forsake his country of Chaldey. And soone after, he by the will and
Gene. xij. commaundement of almightie God, with Thare his father, and his wyfe Sara, and his Nephew Loth departed from the sayde coūtry of Chaldey, to go into Chanaan, that is to say, into the lande of Chananee, which afterwarde was called the land of Iury, or the land of promes, & he first arriued in ỹ land of Haran, which is in Mesopotania, there makyng some abode, where for some speciall causes he remayned vntill the death of Thare his father. And then God made his first promes vnto Abram saiyng. Get thee out of thy Countrye and from thy kyndred, and out of thy fathers house into a lande which I will shewe thee. And I will make of thee a mightie people, & I will blesse thee and make thy name great, that thou mayst be a blessing: And I will blesse them that blesse thee, and cursse them that cursse thee, and in thee shall be blessed all the generations of the Earth.

¶ And

¶ And Abram went as the Lord commaunded him: and Abram was. lxxv. yeres olde when he departed out of Haran to go vnto Cananee. And he tooke with him Sara his wyfe, and Loth his nephew, with all their goodes which they had gotten, and all the Soules that they had begotten in Haran, and they departed to go into the land of Canaan. And when Abram was arryued in the lande of Canaan, God spake vnto Abram and sayd, vnto thy lyne and seede I geue all this lande. And soone after Abram buylded an Altare vnto the Lord in the same place where the Lord appered vnto him, vpon the which he offered soudry Sacrifices vnto the Lorde. After this, there came a dearth in the lande, and Abram went downe into Egypt to soiorne there. And knowing that the Egyptians were lecherous people, & fearing also that Pharao King of Egypt would not let to kill him, to the entent he might freely haue the vse of his wyfe which was one of the fayrest women in the worlde, he streightlye charged and commaunded her, that she shoulde declare none other vnto the Egiptians (and stoutly to stande therein) but that she was the sister of Abram and not his wife.

¶ And when Pharao was aduertised of the great beuty of Sara, he caused her to be taken and sent home to his house, for the which God sent vnto him many plagues, which lighted both of him and all his householde. But after, when Pharao vnderstoode by his wyse men that the aforesayde plagues happened vnto him bicause of the rauishing & withholding of the wife of Abram: He foorthwith restored her vnto her husbande Abram, and did further commaunde that his seruauntes should safely conduct her, and all thinges that belonged vnto her, to the entent that nothing should be hurt or spoyled by the Egyptians. Reade. *Genesis.* xii.

¶ Abram and Loth after they had bene a little time in Egypt, they returned vnto Ca- *Gene. xiij.*
nanee. And in the meane tyme Loth and he so greatly encreased in cattaile, that it was impossible for the lande to mainteyne the goodes of them both in that place, and there happened much brawle and vnquietnesse betwene the Shepards, and heardes of Loth, and the heardes & Shepards of Abram, wherefore Abram spake vnto Loth and sayde. My Brother and my Friende, thou seest daylye what discordes and variaunces there happen betweene thy seruauntes and myne, for the keeping and feeding of our Cattaile, I pray thee hartely, because there shall aryse no malice nor displeasure betweene vs two, which I would not should come to passe, for we two are brethren, choose thee a place for thee and thine to go vnto, and if thou choose the ryght hand, I will go on the left. And if thou take the left, I will go on the right hand. Then Loth beholding the Countrey round aboute, and noting the goodly playnes & Medowes that led to the flood of Iordan, which was very pleasaunt for the comfort of his Cattaile, chose that part, and so leauing the East part or Country vnto Abram, departed toward Iordan into the place where afterwarde was Sodom and Gomorra consumed from Heauen with Fyre and Brymstone.

¶ And after the departure of Loth from Abram, the Lorde spake vnto Abram and sayde. Lift vp thine eyes and behold from the place where thou art Northward, Southward, Eastward, and Westwarde, for all the land which thou seest will I geue vnto thee and thy seede for euer. *Gene.* xiii.

¶ Then Abram seeing that he could haue no issue by Sara his wyfe, did by the coun- 2036
sayle of the sayde Sara take one of his Maydens or bondwomen named Agar, and knew 1927
her, and she conceyued with childe and brought foorth a sonne which was called Ismaell, and of him is come the Nation of the Saracens. Saracens.

¶ In this time God almightie instituted circumcision to be an euerlasting couenant Circumcision.
vnto the posteritie of Abram, and saide vnto him, Abram, thou shalt from hencefoorth no more be called Abram, but Abraham, for I haue made thee a father of many Abraham.
nations.

¶ And shortlye after there apered. iij. Aungelles vnto Abraham and hee washed there fete, and standing vnder a Tree he serued them at a Table. The Tree endured vntil the

the reigne of Constantius the yonger. *Lanquet.* This man taught the Egiptians Astronomie and Geometrie, he dyed before the incarnation of Christ. 1838. years. *Cooper.*

Sodom. &c. *Exechi. xvj.*

¶ In this time also God destroyed Sodome, Gomorra, Adama, and Semois: The cause of that destruction as Ezechiell the Prophet sayeth was, for their iniquitie, pride, superfluity of meate, abundance of ryches and ydlenesse, and they reached not foorth their handes vnto the poore, and did abhominations against nature. This place is now called *Mare mortuum*, the dead Sea, whose length and bredth containeth manye Miles. And at this day it is full of Pitche and boyleth continually out in Vapours, which is a wytnesse & testimony of the deuine indignation and wrath of almightie God vpon such wickednesse. At the time of this destruction God by his Angelles preserued Lot his Wyfe and two Daughters: But hauing a commaundement that none of them after they were come out of the Citie should looke back againe, it happened Loths Wyfe breaking the commaundement to looke back againe, and she was foorthwith turned into a Salt stone. Afterwards Loth by the incest of his Daughters begat Ammon and Moab the fathers of the Ammonites and Moabites. *Genesis.* xix.

Loth.

Saltstone.

Moabites.

Ammonites.

2050

1913

Gene. xxj.

¶ Isaac the sonne of Abraham by his Wife Sara, was in this time borne, a man beloued of God, of whose lignage Christ descended. He represented the figure of Christ, when God commaunded his father to offer him in Sacrifice, whereby was signified that Christ should be an oblation which should satisfie for sinne and death. When he therefore should haue bene sacrificed by his father, and was come both to the Aultar and to his death, he exhorted his father that with a good hart he should obey and fulfill the commaundement of God, saiyng. My father it were not iust, that any should be borne, if he would refuse the iudgements of God and his father, or would not shewe himselfe obedient vnto their willes. After, when he came to the age of. xl. yeres, he tooke Rebecca to Wyfe: who being a long time barrein, at the last by the fauour of God, she brought

2110

1855

foorth two children at one birth, the first Esau the Prince of the Idumeis: and Iacob although the yonger, yet by the will of God, both blessed of him, and also endued by his father with the right of the first borne, and afterwarde was the father of the. xii. Patriarches. Finally after many troubles and temptations, and being with age also made blinde, he gaue his blessing not to Esau, to whome he would, but to Iacob to whome he would not. And herein is to be noted the prouidence of almighty God, who before purposed, that it should so come to passe. And when Isaac had lyued. C. lxxx. yeres he dyed. *Lanquet.*

2212

1853

¶ Iacob the sonne of Isaac, surnamed Israell, that is the Prince of God, of whome the people of Israel had their beginning, in the. lxxj. yere of his lyfe, when he had gotten the blessing of his Father, he went into Mesopotamia to auoyde the displeasure of his Brother Esau, and there tooke a Wife: when he had serued with his Vncle Laban. vij. yeres for his Daughter Rachell: but he gaue him Lya his daughter in her place, because Lya was the elder, he alleged that it was not their custome to mary the yonger before the elder, and after. vij. dayes Laban gaue also vnto Iacob Rachell his Daughter to be his Wyfe, and for her he serued other. vij. yeres, and Lea gaue him Bilha hir Maide to wyfe, and Rachell gaue him Silpha hir Maide to Wyfe. And by Rachell he had Ioseph and Beniamin. By Lea he had Reuben, Symeon, Leui, Iuda, Isachar and Zabulon, and by Bilha he had Dan and Nephtaly, and by Silha, he had Gad and Assur. So that vpon the foresaide two Wyues and their two Handmaydens, he begat the. xij. holy Patriarches from whom descended the. xij. Tribes of the Iewes. And such as are desirous to read more of his lyfe, maye resort vnto the Booke of Genesis. Chapter. xxix. xxx. &c.

Rachell.

¶ This Iacob not long before his death, prophecied most plainely of Christ and of the vocation of the Gentiles, whose prophecie was this in effect as Vincencius Gallus writeth saiyng. Of the stock of my son Iuda shall come a Virgin of whome the Lambe

Vincentius Gallus.

immaculate shall be borne, which is the Lambe of God that by grace shall saue all men, whose kingdome shall be euerlasting and neuer corrupted. Therefore the great Lorde shall appere in earth as a man, and shall take vpon him a mortall body, and shall eate as a man: his Starre shall arise in heauen, and he shall shyne in the earth as the Sonne. The heauens shall open ouer him, and out of the Temple no little sanctification of glorie shall come vnto him. He shall poure out the spirite of grace vpō vs, and you shall be his children in the truth. He shall be from Leui a priest, and from Iuda a King, he shall be both God and Man, a Mediator betweene God and Man: and shall take awaye all darkenesse which is vnder the heauen: and there shall be peace thorow the vniuersall world. The voyce of the euill doers shall be against him, not knowing his resurrection: But the blood of his innocencie, ye shall receiue on your heads. And in his passion, the stones shall cleaue asunder, the Sonne shall be darkened, and all other things shall be troubled, the inuisible Spirites shall tremble, and Hell shall be spoyled: he shall open the gates of Paradise, and shall make the threatning sworde against Adam to stande, and shall geue vnto his Saints to eate the tree of life: Beliall shall be bounde by him. Then shall yee see Enoch, Noe, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, and mee your father, rysing in ioye from the right hande of God, and shall geue power to his children to ouercome pernicious Spirites: and as many on the earth as beleue on him shall also reioyce. Then shall all men arise againe, the Godly to glory and ioye: and the vngodly to shame and perpetuall damnation: & most specially he shall iudge Israell which would not beleue in him, hetherto *Vincentius Gallus.*

¶ In this tyme, Abraham that most holy Patriarche fynished his lyfe in this worlde, after whose death, there arose a great famine in the land of Canaan, for which cause Isaac went to soiourne with Abimelech King of Palestine. 2124 / 1839 Abraham dyed.

¶ Ioseph the sonne of Iacob, and Rachell, a man most chast and verteous, was in this time borne: he in his youth, by his excellent fauour, vertue, and wisdome, excelled all his bretheren and was of his father aboue all other beloued: for which cause, and for his dreames, he was of his brethren had in great dispite, and by them solde into Egypt, where after long imprysonment, in the. xxx. yere of his age, he expounded the dreames of Pharao, by whom he was made President of all Egypt, and was called among them the Sauiour of the world. For God would by this maruelous occasion he should come into Egypt, that his power might be there knowne, & that helpe might be ministered to Iacob and his family in the tyme of famine and dearth. This Ioseph taught the Egyptians both Religion and Ciuile pollecye, which is most woorthy to be obserued. And it is to be noted, that a man inspired with the holy Ghost (as Ioseph was) should institute so hard and so seuere a maner of administration of iustice among the Egyptians as he did, and yet draw together the whole Realme of Egypt (a Countrie beyng so large and wyde) and ioyne them together as it were the members of one body without murmure or grudge. And here we may learne that sometyme seueritie is to be vsed to keepe the people in obedience, and the same is herè approued of God, although gentle gouernement is to be commended. But to our purpose: After that Ioseph had gouerned the Realme of Egypt by the space of. lxxx. yeres he then deceased, being of the age of. C. x. yeres, whose Bones he gaue charge in his death bed that the Hebrues should cary with them into the land of promes at their departure out of Egypt. The residue of his noble historye ye may read at large in the booke of *Genesis*, in the. xxxvij. xxxviij. &c. 2290 / 1763

¶ Of this Ioseph, *Trogus Pompeius*, and also his abreuiator Iustine do write in this maner: Ioseph was the yongest among the brethren, whose excellent wit they fearing, solde him vnto straunge Marchauntes, by whome he was brought into Egypt. When Ioseph was in Egypt, and by diligent studie and in short tyme had learned the Magicall artes and scyences, he grewe in fauor with the king. For he was both expert in Prodi- *Trogus Pompeius.*

gies, and also first found out the right interpretation and expounding of dreames: yea there was nothing neither of Gods law nor mans, that seemed vnto him vnknowen. Insomuch that he foreseeyng the barennesse of the Fieldes to come, gathered in tyme corne to prouide for the dearth that followed. And so great was his wit and experience, that his aunsweres seemed not to come of man, but rather of God: But Iustine saith that Moses was the sonne of Ioseph, whose excellent fauor did much commend him. And the Egyptians when they were plagued wyth scabbes and filthinesse of body, were admonished that they should expell him with all the sicke people out of Egypt, least that Pestilence shoulde be more infectuous.

Iustine.

¶ After the death of Ioseph, the people of God merueilously encreased, and liued quietly vntill there was another king in Egypt, to whome Ioseph was not knowne: Then by reason of their great multitude and aboundance of goodes, they were of the Egyptians greatlye hated, and by them kept vnder in miserable seruitude and bondage, which they susteyned. C. xliiij. yeres, vntill that by the mightie power of God, they were delyuered from thence.

2355
1608

¶ Aaron the sonne of Amram, nephew to Leui and brother to Moses, was at this tyme borne. And incontinently after his birth, Amenophis then King of Egypt, who also was the. viij. Pharao, commaunded all the Hebrue children to be drowned: For Aaron was borne without any ieopardie, but so was not Moses.

Amram.

¶ Whiles that the Hebrues were thus entangled in miserie and thraldom, God in a vision in the night apered vnto Amram promising him a sonne to be borne, who should both deliuer his people from the Egiptians seruitude, and also ouerthrow them, plague them, spoile them and drowne them in the Sea, which vision followed to be true.

Moses born.

Therefore when Moses was borne, hys birth was kept secret (by the will of God) and iij. Monethes was he norished at home. But his father fearing the crueltie of the Egyptians, made a little vessell of Bulrushes, well pitched within wherein he put the childe, and set it in the Riuer, commending it to the tuition of almightie God, who before had promised him to be borne. Then almightie GOD shewing that not by mannes wisedome and pollicie, but by his awne diuine prouidence his determinate will and pleasure is brought to good effect, saued this little helplesse and innocent childe. For he caused Termuth the daughter of Pharao to walke to the Ryuer syde to sport her, where she sawe this little vessell swimming vpon the water. Incontinent she commaunded it to be brought vnto her, and opening it, founde therein a wonderfull fayre and goodly Babe, at the which she reioysed not a litle, and according to the chaunce shee named it Moses, which signifieth preserued from the water. After this, for the fauour and towardnesse of the childe, shee adopted him for her sonne, and caused him to be instructed in all the lernynges of Egypt. It chaunced on a time, that the King for his daughters sake tooke the childe in his armes, and set the crowne vpon his head: which Moses as it were childishly playyng, hurled it to the ground, and with his feete spurned at it. But the Priest the Soothsayer, beholding this, cryed out and sayde, that this was he, whome before he had prophecied should be borne which should destroy the Kingdome of Egypt, except he were by death preuented. But Termuth excused the childe, alleaging that his age had yet no discretion, and for proofe thereof, she caused burning coles to be put to his mouth, which the childe with his tongue licked, whereby hee euer after had impediment in his tongue: By this meanes their fury was for that tyme appeased.

Exodus. ij.

Ethiopiãs. Egiptians.

¶ In processe of time there arose cruell warres betwene the Ethiopians and the Egyptians: The Ethiopians destroyed Egypt, tooke their Tounes, wasted and ouerran their country euen vnto Memphis their principall Citie. On the other part, the Egyptians by this necessitie compelled, fled for counsaile to their Oracles and Diuinations: where they receyued aunswere that they must elect an Hebrue Captain of their armie, by whose helpe they should not onely expulse the Ethiopians from their borders, but also bring them

Memphis.

them vnder their subiection. Moses both for his wisdome and personage was chosen souereigne Capiteine of this Armie, and he so pollitiquely led his host, that vnwares he set vpon them, and at the first battaile he discomfited them and put them to flight, not withoute the slaughter of a great number of them. And when they in no place were able to resist him, they fled to their strong Citie Saba. In which, whilste they suffered the siege, & Moses often tymes pollitiquelye and valiauntly assauting them, he was of the Kinges Daughter of Ethiope vehemently loued, which being no lenger hable to sustaine the force of loue, by certeyne faythfull ministers required of Moses mariage: he vpon condition that the Citie might be rendred vnto him, agreed therevnto, so by her meanes was the Citie geuen vp and she maried vnto him according to his promise. By this occasion he subdued all Ethiope, returning to Egypt with great triumph and victory: which prosperitie to the Hebrues was hope of libertie, and to the Egyptians cause of great feare: wherefore they sought dayly occasion how to destroy him. The which thing Moses perceyuing, diligently imagined how to auoyde their deceytes, and therfore denied himselfe to be the sonne of the daughter of Pharao, chosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, then to enioy sinfull pleasure of the Worlde. Wherfore he slue an Egiptian that oppressed an Hebrue, and fled into Madian, not farre from the Mount of Synay, where he was receyued into the house of Iethro the priest of that Citie, who gaue to him in mariage his Daughter Sephora: There he continued xl. yeres and kept sheepe. Iosephus. *Iosephus.*

¶ After this when king Pharao without all measure vexed the children of Israell, God sent Moses to deliuer his people out of Egypt, who after dyuers miracles by him done in the sight of Pharao for confirmation of his authoritie, at the last obtained of Pharao to lead and carie away the children of Israell out of Egypt, and he led them towarde the land of promission: But Pharao chaunging his minde, pursued the Israelites with most eger cruelty, entending to haue vtterly destroyed them, for so much as they had at that time no place of refuge, nor succour. For on the one side they were enclosed with Hilles, and on the other side with the Sea, and he their most cruell enimie followed at their backs. But here God declared that when exstreme necessitie happeneth, and all mans helpe and strength fayleth, then is he readie and hereth the voyce of his people. For at the prayer of Moses and wayling of the Israelites, the water of the Sea contrarie to the naturall course thereof, went back, and by the space of certaine Myles gaue way to the people to passe without daunger: which thing when Pharao and his host assayed to follow and were in the deepest, the Sea keeping againe his former course, swallowed him vp with all his power. Wherin God shewed a notable spectacle or example vnto vs, that we may assure our selues that he will be reuenged of the stubborne, impious, and cruell Tirantes, which vexe and persecute hys people. *Iethro.* 2454 1509

Here endeth the thirde Age of the worlde, and is from Abraham to the departing of the children of Israell out of Egypt. CCCC.xxx. yeres.

THE FOURTH AGE, AND FOURTH PART OF THIS CHRONICLE.

THE FOURTH AGE.

Law. Commaundementes.

THe fiftie daye after that the Israelites were thus departed out of Egypt, and were come to the Mount of Sinai, the lawe of the Decaloge or. x. Commaundemēts was to them geuen by almighty God, with a great and terrible magnificence. At which tyme also God gaue to them a certaine politique gouernaunce, and a speciall kingdome, in which nothing wanted that appertayned to the true worshippyng of God, Priesthood and Ciuil iustice, to the intent that a certaine people should be notably knowne, among whome the worde of GOD remayned: and of whome Christ in tyme to come shoulde be borne: So that among this people alway remayned the Church, the Kingdome and the true worde of God, vntill after Christ had suffered. Whereby all men may know that the Church hath alway beene: and that God from the beginning of the worlde hath both reueled and preserued his worde among his people.

¶ In the. xxxj. yere of the Dukedome of Moses, Atho, Prince of Meonia gaue vnto Dardanus part of his lande, who incontinent left all his right in Italy, and went to his newe possession, where he builded a Citie, which after his awne name he called Dardania, that after was called Troye. Vnto this place Berosus continued his Historie and finished.

¶ Moses ouercame the Kinges of Amorrea, and the Moabites, and he deuided their lande and dyed in the Mount Nebo, beyng of age. C.xx. yeres, whose eyes were neuer dimme, nor his Teeth loose: He was buryed by Angelles, and his Sepulture was yet neuer knowen vnto Man. *Lanquet.*

2493 / 1470 ¶ After the death of Moses the Israelites had Princes and Gouernors, which were created, partly by the aucthori of wise men, partly set vp by the speciall calling of God, by which Princes, many notable and famous thinges were done. And so God declareth that he is present, and doth continually defende his people, although they may seeme for a tyme to be tossed in the waues of these worldly troubles and perilles. These Gouernors after the custome of the Hebrues were first named Iudges.

Iudges.

Exo. xij. ¶ The number of the children of Israell when they went out of Egypt, were (as it is written in the. xij. Chapter of the booke of Exodus) sixe hundreth thousand men on foote, beside women and children.

Iosua.

AFter Moses, Iosua was seconde Iudge or Duke of the Hebrues, and reigned. xxviij. yeres after the computacion of the Hebrues, he brought the Children of Israell into the lande of promission: and had a great battaile against the Amorites in Gibeon, where he commaunded the Sonne to stande, and it stoode still longer then before had beene accustomed by the space of one whole day, and he had a notable victorie, for God fought for him, and he slue in that day. xxxj. Kinges, and almost all their people, and he deuided the land of Chananee to the Tribes of Israell. This Iosua was a Man that feared God,

he

he was also right sage and wyse, mightie in armes, and in peace verye happye and fortunate, and finally endued with all vertues, who when he was. C.x. yeres of age ended his life.

¶ After the death of Iosua, the Seniors and Elders of the Children of Israell gouerned and ruled them. xvij. yeres. And Israell serued the Lorde all the dayes of Iosua, and long time after, and they knewe all the workes of the Lorde which he had done in Israell. 2521 / 1442

AFter Iosua, Othoniell iudged Israell, and gouerned them. xl. yeres. This Othoniell was of the Tribe of Beniamin, and he is surnamed Zenes. He delyuered the Children of Israell out of the handes of the king of Assiria. 2538 / 1425

AIoth the sonne of Gera, which was the sonne of Gemini, of the lyne of Beniamin, iudged Israell after Othoniell, he delyuered the Israelites from Eglon king of the Moabites, whom also he slue, and he iudged Israell lxxx. yeres as is written in the booke of Iudges, the. iij. Chapter. 2578 / 1385

SAngar the sonne of Anath iudged Israell next after Aioth, he slue. vi.C. Philistines with an Oxe goade, as they were entering into the land of Israel. And he died within the first yere that he ruled Israel, as saith Iosephus. 2658 / 1305

DEbora, or Delbora a prophetisse, a Woman of the lyne of Ephraim, was ordeyned Iudge ouer Israell. She deliuered the people of Israell out of the hande of Iabin Kyng of Chanaan, which had troubled Israell by the space of. xx. yeres: The aforesayde Delbora after she had ruled Israell. xl. yeres, dyed, as appereth in the booke of Iudges. 2659 / 1304 *Iudges. iiij*

GEdion, called also Ierobaal iudged Israell. xl. yeres. He deliuered them from the power of the Madianites, vnder whome they were. vij. yeres, and he slue Oreb, Zeb, and Zalmana, their Princes, with. C.xx. thousand of the Madianites and Arabies. And when he dyed he left. lxx. sonnes behinde him. 2699 / 1264

ABimelech the sonne of Gedeon iudged Israell tyrannously and occupied that rome three yeres, he slue his. lxix. brethren, the sonnes of Gedeon, and at the last was himselfe slaine miserably of a Woman, casting downe a piece of a Milstone on his head. 2739 / 1224 Gedeons sonne slaine.

THola the sonne of Phuah iudged Israell and ruled them quietlye. xxiij. yeres, and then dyed. 2742 / 1221

IAir ruled Israell. xxij. yeres. This man prospered greatly in all his attemptes, he had. xxx. sonnes, and they were Princes of. xxx. Cities, which were called the townes of Iair. 2765 / 1198

IEphte ruled the Israelites. vj. yeres, he delyuered them from the Philistines (whome for the sinne of Idolatrie) they serued. xviij. yeres. He by an vnaduised vowe sacrificed his awne Daughter. 2876 / 1177

AFter Iephte, Abessan ruled the Israelites. vij. yeres. He had. xxx. sonnes and. xxx. Daughters, the which he bestowed all in mariage in his lyfe tyme, and then deceassed. 2793 / 1170

AElon, or Ahialon, gouerned the Israelites. x. yeres. 2800 / 1163

ABdon or Labdon, gouerned Israell by the space of. viij. yeres, he had. xl. sonnes and. xxx. Nephewes begotten by his sonne, and afterward dyed. 2810 / 1153

SAmson the sonne of Manue, of the Tribe of Dan, ruled the Israelites. xx. yeres, and delyuered them from the subiection of the Philistines, vnto whome they payde tribute. xl. yeres. He was a man most strong, which with his hand strangled a Lyon, and with the Cheeke 2818 / 1145 Samsons strength.

Cheeke bone of an Asse slue a thousande Philistines, putting the residue to flight. Finally, by the fraude of Dalila an Harlot, he was deceyued and brought into the hands of his enimies, who blynded him, and afterwarde being brought foorth to play before the Princes of Palestine, he tooke in his armes the pillers of the house wherevpon the whole house stood, and so ouerthrewe the whole house, and slue in that place at the same present time, three thousande Philistines, and himselfe also was there slaine.

Dalila an Harlot.

2838
1125

HEli came of the lyne of Ithamar, which was the sonne of Aaron, and he was iudge ouer Israell: he was also the great and high Priest after the death of Ozi, which came of the lyne of Eleazer. And in the time of Heli the Arcke of the Lorde was taken by the Philistines, and that came to passe by the fault and foly of Heli, for that he kept not his two sonnes, Ophni and Phinees in due order and correction, but suffered them to runne in all ryot and wickednesse. For the which at the last he was plagued, for when he heard of the death of his two sonnes and how the Philistines had taken the Arcke, he fel backward out of his stoole and brake his neck, after that he had iudged Israell the space of. xl. yeres. j. Reg. iiij.

Heli brake his necke.

2878
1085

AFter the death of Heli, Samuell the sonne of Helcana and of Anne his Wyfe, the verie true prophet of our Lord God: iudged Israell. xl. yeres, who being but a Childe was offered by his father and mother vnto God in the Temple, where he vowed vnto God. And he was in so great fauor that almightie God declared vnto him that he would translate the office of Priesthood from the house of Heli, onely for the wickednesse of hys sonnes: and in his time the Arcke of God was restored againe by the Philistines. This Samuell by the commaundement of almightie God did annoint Saul the sonne of Cis the first king of Israell.

Samuell.

¶ Here beginneth the Kinges of Israell.

2889
1074

SAul the sonne of Cis being of the Tribe of Beniamin, was at the importunate sute, petition and request of the people, made and ordeined the first king vniuersall ouer all Israell. He was a mighty man and great and high of stature, and was so high that being among all the people, his shoulders were sene aboue any mans head. And as he was beutifull and comely in shape and proporcion of bodye, so was he also adorned and beutified with many singuler vertues, for he was prudent, sage and wise, and there was not found in all Israell one that did loue, feare, and obey God and his commaundements, more then he did. And for this cause God did chose him out before all the rest.

Saul ye first king of Israell.

¶ After that Samuell by the commaundement of almightie GOD had brought Oyle to annoynt the King, hee called together the people, and speciallye all the Trybes of Israell. To whome after he had declared vnto them the aucthoritie, right, power, prerogatiues, commaundementes, and executions that kynges shall dayly and from tyme to tyme haue ouer euery of them, as his Vassalles and subiectes, and also that their request to haue a King was against the will and minde of God, and many other persuasions he vsed to haue remoued them from that opinion, but they would not, but still cryed out they would haue a king. Then he caused lots to be cast out, to know who should be King, and the lot fell vpon the Tribe of Beniamin, and to conclude, in the ende it fell vpon Saule the sonne of Cis: by reason whereof he was immediately sought out, and annointed and confirmed King.

¶ Saule continued and perseuered in his former vertues the space of two yeres, as it may apeere in the. iij. Chapter of the first booke of Kynges: But afterward he despysed and brake the Commaundementes of almightie God, geuen vnto him by Samuell the Prophet. Wherefore it was declared vnto him that his reigne and continuance should not be-

1. Regum. 3.

be perpetual, but that it should be taken from his lyne and issue, and geuen vnto another. Finally, after many great iniuries, vexations, persecutions, and wronges by him done to Dauid, which had maryed his Daughter, he was ouerthrowne in a battaile agaynst the Philistines in the mountaynes of Gelboe, in the which his whole armie perished. Three of his sonnes, that is to say, Ionathas, Abinadab, and Mechisne, with manie other were also slaine and murthered. And because Saule would not dye by the handes of the Philistines, after he had reigned xx. yeres, he fell vpon his awne sworde and slue himselfe, as appereth in xxxj. Chapter of the first booke of Kinges. Saul, Murdred himself.

NOW that we are come vnto the tyme that this our natiue country now called England was as the cōmon opinion is first inhabited by Brute and called of his name Britaine. It were not amisse that we shewed how this land hath bene heretofore called, and by whom the same hath bene before time inhabited: But for ẏ herein the wryters of the Histories of this Realme do so greatly vary & are of sundry opinions, & also that almost no one of them all but speaketh doubtfully and diuersly therof. I thought it best to passe ouer the vaine & fonde story written by the wryter of the English Historie, who sayth, that this Realme was first named Albion of Albine, the Daughter of Dioclesian King of Syria who had xxxij. daughters and were maried vnto. xxxij. Kings, and in one night they did cut all their Husbandes throtes: And that then Dioclesian their father beyng wrath with them for those cruell murthers, did therefore cause them all to be put into a Ship, without any person with them and turned them to the aduenture of the Sea, and so by chaunce they arriued in this lande, and called the same Albion, of Albine the eldest Sister: And Albion. that afterward Deuilles did accompanie with them, and begat Gyauntes and Monsters of them, and so this land was first inhabited: which story as it is most fabulous and foolishe, so is it also false and slaunderous to shew that this noble Realme should haue so lewde a beginning. But sundrie other writers wryte otherwise: saiyng, that it was called Albion of the whyte Clifes that are seene vpon the East costes. But I will passe forwarde with the report of the Historians that haue written in this our latter tyme, which say that Brute discending of the auncient blood of the Troyans, and beyng the sonne of Syluius Posthumus king of Troy, did ariue in this Island in the yere of the World, two thousand eight hundred fiftie and fiue, and the. xj.C.viij. yeres before the comming of our Sauiour Iesu Christ, accompting the yeres after the accompt of the Hebrues contynued in the holy Scriptures, which accompt I obserue throughout this whole Story. But Polichronicon and Fabian say that Brute was the sonne of Siluius Aeneas, for they say Aeneas begat first vpon his wife Lauina, a sonne who was called Ascanius, & he had a sonne also by his first wife whom he named Siluius Aeneas, and this Siluius Aeneas was father to Brute: But other say otherwise, wherfore I refer it to the iudgement of the reader. But now returning to the story of Brute, this following, I find written in an olde Pamphlet which hath no name.

2855
1108
Policbron.
Fabian.

The first entrie into the Historie of the Kinges of Briteyn.

AFTER the Citie of Troy, by the false coniecture and treason of Aeneas, the Sonne of Anchises and other (vpon peace to be had with the Grekes for themselues, their friends, and parents, and vpon condicion also that their goodes might be reserued vnto them) was entered and destroyed: And the king thereof named noble Priamus taken and murdered Aeneas the sonne of Anchises. Priamus king of Troy Murdered.

Helenus king Priamus sonne and Cassandra his daughter.

murdered, and Polixena king Priamus Daughter taken and behedded vpon the Tombe of Achilles, and Helenus the sonne, and Cassandra, another daughter of king Priam taken and delyuered at large. And for that Aeneas at the time of the taking of the sayde Citie had hid and conueyed from the knowledge of the Grekes the sayde Polixena, and woulde not delyuer her but by compulsion: Agamennon, and the other Grekes commaunded Aeneas to take his goodes and friends and to depart out of that lande, and so was he banished.

Eneas banished by Agamennon

Ascanius sonne vnto Eneas.

¶ After that Aeneas with Ascanius his sonne had bene in Sicile and there buried his father Anchises: And after that Aeneas with Ascanius had beene three yeres in Affrique, where Aeneas was louingly receyued of Queene Dido: And after the same Aeneas had taken to Wyfe Lauiny, daughter of Latyn king of Italy: And after his death Ascanius his aforenamed sonne tooke vpon him as king of that region: And after that his sonne Siluius had taken to Wyfe the Neece of Queene Lauiny. and had gotten hir with childe, of whose delyuerance she deceassed, and the same childe was named Brute: And that the same Brute being of the age of. xv. yeres was chased in exile out of Italy, for that by misaduenture he had killed his father Siluius in shooting and chasing of a Dere. And therefore being exiled went into those partes of Greece where were of the progeny of the Troyans, to the number of. vij. thousand beside women & children kept in seruitude vnder king Pandrasus king of that region: with which king Pandrasus the sayde Brute for his prowesse and amiable personage fortuned at the length to be in great fauour: And after that at the prayers of the sayde Troyans the same Brute with the helpe of Assaracus, brother to king Pandrasus by the father side, in Concubinage by a Troyan woman had taken Pandrasus and put him in prison: (For whose delyuerance the same Pandrasus gaue vnto Brute in mariage Innogen his daughter with Ships, treasure, victuall, and other necessaries to seeke aduentures:) And after that Brute had made his sacrifices, prayers, and requestes to the Goddes Diana, and had receyued answere of the sayde Goddesse that he should go into France and there build two Cities, which he named Towers and Towrayn: And after that he had builded the sayde Cities in the remembrance of his Cossyn Turnys which was there kylled and buryed in a battell that he had with Goffare then king of Poytenynes: & after diuers victories had by the sayd Brute vpon the Poytenynes in the time that Hely was highe Priest of Israell, and in the yere from the creation of the worlde. MM.viii.C.lv. and before the birth of Christ. M.C.viii. hee arryued in this Realme then called *Albion* and landed in the west part of the same in a Hauen then called Totnesse, where then inhabited certaine Gyants, whome afterwards he valiauntly oppressed and destroyed, and after that possessed and enioyed all this Realme, and named it Briteyn after his awne name, and called also the inhabitaunts thereof Briteyns.

Lauiny daughter of Latyn King of Italy.

Brute first borne & then banished.

Pandrasus king of a parte of Greece.

Assaracus brother to King Pandrasus.

Innogen the daughter of Pandrasus maried vnto Brute.

Towers and Towrayn.

Goffare king of ye Poytenynes.

Hely high Priest of Israell.

Brute arriued in Albion.

Totnesse Hauen.

Briteyn.

Coryn cossin to Brute.

Cornewall.

¶ This Brute gaue to Coryn his Cosyn a parte of the sayde land, which he named after his name Cornewall, and the people thereof Cornyshmen, which Country and people are so named at this day.

Gwendolena daughter vnto Coryn, maryed to Locryne the eldest sonne of Brute.

Loegria.

Albanact.

Cambre.

Wales.

¶ This Coryn had no children but one daughter, named Gwendolena, which was maried to Locryne Brutes eldest sonne. For Brute begat on his Wyfe Innogen three sonnes, Locryne, Albanact and Camber, and gaue to Locryne his eldest sonne (as aforesayde) the land on this side Humber, which the same Locryne after his fathers death named Loegria. And to his second sonne Albanact he gaue that part of the Northside of Humber, which he named Albania, whereof a great part is nowe called Scotland. And to hys yonger sonne Camber, gaue he that parte of this land, which is beyonde the Ryuer of Seuerne, and he named the same after his awne name Cambria, which of the Welchmen is so called at this daye, but the Englishmen call it Wales.

¶ How be it Fabian, and the English Chronicle and others say that Brute with his company after his first landing in this Island at Totnesse as aforesayde, he searched and trauailed throughout all this land, and found the same to be maruellous ryche and plentifull of wood and pasture, and garnished with most goodly and pleasaunt ryuers and

stremes. And as he passed, he was encountred in sundry places with a great number of mightie and strong Gyants, which at that time did inhabite the same: Howbeit he alwayes ouerthrewe them and wan the victorie. But among all other, as sayeth the English Chronicle, there was one that was of passing strength named *Gogmagog*, the which he caused to wrestle with *Corineus* his kinsman beside Douer: in the which wrestling the Gyaunt brake a ryb in *Corineus* side, by reason whereof *Corineus* being put in a chafe, with great strength ouerthrew the Gyaunt, and cast him downe the rock or cliffe of Douer, whereof the place was named the fall of *Gogmagog*, but sithen that tyme the name is chaunged, and the place called the Fall of Douer, and so is it called at this day. For this deede and other, Brute gaue vnto his sayd Nephew Corineus or Coryne, the whole Countrie of Cornewall, as aforesayd. The English Chron. Gogmagog. The fall of Douer.

¶ Thus haue you heard the opinion of the writer of the English Chronicle, and of Polichronicon, Fabian, and others: But forasmuch as in these our dayes and time, a learned, wise, & famous Man whose name is Thomas Cooper now Vicechauncelor of he Vniuersitie of Oxford, hath with great industrie and trauaile searched the Originall tames, and the first inhabitation of this Realme, and hath also shewed many euident and neat reasons and argumentes for the proofe thereof, aswell to condempne the fond 'congrtures of such as slaunderously haue written of the same, as also to confirme a truth, and to declare that which is most lykely and probable: I thought it therefore very meete in this place to insert his saiyngs in his last Dictionary, which he nameth *Thesaurus linguæ Latinæ*, vpon these two Vocables, *Albion* & *ritannia*.

ALBION sayth he (the most auncient name of this Isle) conteyneth England and Scotland: of the beginning of which name, haue bene sundrie opinions, one late feygned by him, which first printed the English Chronicle, wherein is neyther similitude of truth, reason, nor honestie: I meane, the fable of the fiftie daughters of one Dioclesian king of Siria, where neuer any other story maketh mention of a King of Syria so named. Also that name is Greke, and no part of the language of Syria. Moreouer the comming of them in a Boate or Ship from Syria without any Mariners, through the Sea called Mediteraneum into the Occean: and so finally to finde this Isle, and to inhabite it, and haue generation by Deuilles, is both impossible, and much reproche vnto this noble Realme, to ascribe her first name and habitation to such inuenters. Albion.

¶ Another opinion is (which hath a more honest similitude) that it was named *Albion, ab Albis rupibus*, that is, of white rockes, because that vnto them that come by Sea from the East or South, the Bankes and Rockes of this Isle do apere white. Of this opinion haue I most meruaile, because it is written of great learned men. First *Albion* is no latin word, nor hath the analogie, that is to say, the proportion or similitude of latine, for who hath found this sillable, *on*, at the ende of a latin word. And if it should haue bene so called for the white colour of the Rockes, men would haue called it *Alba*, or *Albus*, or *Album*. In Italy were townes called *Alba*, and in Asia a Country called Albania, and neyther of them tooke their beginning of white Rockes or Walles, as ye may reade in bookes of Geography: nor the water of the Ryuer called *Albis*, seemeth any whyter than other water. But if where auncient remembrance of ŷ beginning of thinges lacketh, it may be lefull for men to vse their coniectures, than may mine be aswell accepted as Plinies (although he incomparably excelled me in wisedome and doctrine) specially if it may apere that my coniecture shall approch more nere to the similitude of truth: wherefore I will also set foorth mine opinion, onelye to the intent to exclude fables, lacking eyther honestie or else reasonable similitudes.

¶ When the Grekes began first to prosper, and their Cities became populous, and waxed puyssant, they which traueylled on the Seas, and also the Isles in the Seas called Hellespontus, Aegeum, and Creticum, after that they knew perfectly the course of saylyng, and had founden thereby profite, they by little and little attempted to search and finde out the commodities of outwarde Countries: and lyke as Spanyardes, and Portyn-

gales, and our Merchants of England haue of late done, they experienced to seke out countryes before vnknowen. And at last, passing the streytes of Marrocke, they entred into the great Occean Sea, where they found dyuerse & many Isles: among which they perceyuing this Isle to be not onely the greatest in circuit, but also most plenteous of euerie thing necessarie to man, the ayre most wholsome and temperate, the earth most apt to bring foorth all things that [illegible] and delicate. the Wooll mos[illegible] of Wood and Timber to b[illegible] Meeres of fresh water, & a[illegible] ed, there was great plenty [illegible] and reioysing at their good [illegible] in English signifieth happy [illegible] fertile, is called *Arabia fa*[illegible] hauing diuerse languages, [illegible]

Olbion. ter *O*, turned into *A*, & so [illegible] no maner of signification.

tyme the Northren men of [illegible] as a Bane, a Stane, a Bare [illegible] among the Grekes were lyke [illegible] that one vowell may be cha[illegible] mannes mouth soundeth ofte[illegible] tion of latine, should be vn[illegible] mention of a Gyaunt called [illegible] of Neptunus, who mought w[illegible] this Isle, then ỹ the other sur[illegible]

If any man can find matter [illegible] not be offended, but congrat[illegible] *Cooper* shewing howe this Rea[illegible] lyke trauayle he taketh in shew[illegible] therein wryteth as foloweth.

Britannia. ¶ Of the first naming of th[illegible] much as there remayneth no a[illegible] Britons bookes (such as were [illegible] selues vtterly to extinct the [illegible] Gothes dealt with the Romayn[illegible] Briteyn is remembred, with the [illegible] ters, that wrote speciallye of thi[illegible] Commentaries of *Iulius Cæsar* [illegible] wrote of Cosmographie, haue [illegible] rie of Gildas the Briton cannot [illegible] Realme, and therefore mought la[illegible] seemeth to haue seene nothing w[illegible] tooke the name *Britannia* of the [illegible] be true. For that Country was (t[illegible]

Britannia. *Armoricus tractus*, when this Is[illegible] (as *Solinus* writeth) seemed to be [illegible] lia was thought to be the vttermos[illegible] the places of this Isle were vnkn[illegible] yet they knewe no farther than [illegible] Britons affirme that it was left amo[illegible] the country was inhabited of them [illegible] well considered with the authoritie[illegible]

[illegible] maye susteyne: The flesh of Beefes and Mottons most sweete [illegible]t fine, not lacking any kinde of Metall, hauing abundaunce [illegible]ilde with, also great and fayre Ryuers, with great Lakes or [illegible]s well in them as in the Sea, wherewith the coütry is enuiron- [illegible]of fishes of diuers sorts most apt to be eaten: they wondering [illegible]and fortunate arriuall, named this Isle in Greke *Olbion*, which [illegible] & in latine *Fælix*. Like as a part of Arabia which is most [illegible]*lix*. But in processe of time by resort of sundrie people [illegible]o maruaile though one letter were chaunged, & the first let- [illegible]for *Olbion*, it was at the last called *Albion*, which worde hath [illegible]This chaunging of letters is not vnlikely since at this present [illegible]his Realme do vse *A* in wordes, where Southren men vse *O*, [illegible], a Bande: for a Bone, a Stone, a Bore, a Bonde. And [illegible] alteration of letters. And it may be the more easely borne, [illegible]unged in a word, & specially, *A* into *O*, which in some [illegible]n tymes lyke, then that a sillible impertinent to the propor- [illegible]aptly added to. Notwithstanding Pomponius Mela maketh [illegible]Albion, whom Hercules slue in Gallia, which was the sonne [illegible]ith more reason be demed the first geuer of this name vnto [illegible]nises should be likely.

[illegible]more certeyne concerning the beginning of this Isle, I will [illegible]ulate with him his good fortune and diligence. Hetherto [illegible]lme was first called *Olbion*, and after *Albion*. And the [illegible]ing of hys opinion why this Realme was called Briteyn, &

[illegible]is Isle (sayth he) is yet no certeine determination, foras- [illegible]ncient Historie, making thereof remembrance, the olde [illegible] beyng all destroyed by ỹ Saxons: who endeuored them- [illegible]onorable renoune with the name of Britons, lyke as the [illegible]es. Also the part of *Titus Liuius*, where the conquest of [illegible]stories of *Iulius Rusticus*, and dyuerse other noble wri- [illegible] Countrie, are vtterly perished. Such as remaine, as the [illegible] *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and they that [illegible]itted the originall beginning of the name. The Histo- [illegible]e found, who was after that the Saxons had inuaded the [illegible]cke such bookes as best should instruct him. As for Beda [illegible]ritten of that matter. For where he sayth that this Isle [illegible]inhabitantes of Briteyn in Fraunce, it is nothing like to [illegible]ot long before the tyme of Beda) named *Armorica*, & [illegible]le was called of most auncient wryters *Britannia*, and [illegible]an other worlde, forasmuch as the West part of Gal- [illegible]t part of this World. Also *Iulius Cæsar* writeth that [illegible]wne to Frenchmen sauing to a fewe Marchantes, and [illegible]he Sea coast towarde Fraunce. Moreouer the same [illegible]g them in remembraunce that the innermost partes of [illegible]which had their first beginning in the same Isle. This [illegible] of the wryter, both an excellent Prince, and also a great

great learned man, and was himselfe in this Isle, it is not to be doubted but that he most diligently searched for the true knowledge of the auncientie thereof. And if he mought haue founden that the inhabitants had come of the stock of *Aeneas*, of whose progeny he himselfe came, he would haue reioysed much for the prowesse and valiant courage which he commended in them. Moreouer, that the name came of Brutus (whome our wryters imagined to descend of Aeneas the Troyan) is no more lykely then that this Isle was called *Albion* of Dioclesians daughter, or of white rocks. All the olde Latyn Histories agree that the sonne of Siluius, the second in succession from Aeneas, and of them named the sonne of Ascanius, was Aeneas, called also Siluius, wherevnto also the Grekes do accorde, but they name Siluius to be brother to Ascanius, and borne after the death of Aeneas, and was therefore called Posthumus. But neyther the Romaynes, nor the Grekes doe write of any man called Brutus before Iulius Brutus which expelled Tarquinus out of Rome. Which name was also geuen to him (by the sonnes of Tarquyne) in derision bicause they tooke him to be foolish and dull wytted. Moreouer, there is so much diuersitie betwene Britannia and Brutus, that it seemeth against reason that the one shoulde proceede of the other. For if Brutus had bene the first geuer of the name to thys Isle, he woulde haue called it Brucia rather then Britannia, which hath no maner of proporcion nor Analogie with Brutus. But here (as I haue done before in the worde *Albion*) I will declare a reasonable cause of coniecture why this Isle was named Britannia. About. xxx. yeres hence it happened in Wilshire at Iuye Church about two Myles from Salisburie, as men digged to make a foundation, they found an holow stone couered with another stone, wherein they founde a Booke, hauing in it litle aboue. xx. leaues (as they sayde) of verye thick Velume, wherein was some thing written: But when it was shewed to Priestes and Chanons which were there, they coulde not reade it. Wherfore after they had tossed it from one to another (by the meanes whereof it was torne) they did neglect and cast it aside. Long after a peece thereof happened to come to my hands: which notwithstanding it was all to rent and defaced, I shewed to Mayster Rycharde Pace, then chiefe Secretarie to King Henry the. viij. whereof he exceedingly reioyced. But bicause it was partly rent, and partlye defaced and blurred with wet that had fallen out, he could not finde any one sentence perfite. Notwithstanding, after long beholding he shewed me, it seemed that the sayde booke conteyned some auncient Monuments of this Isle, and that he perceyued this worde *Pritannia* to be put for *Britannia:* but at that tyme he sayde no more vnto mee. Afterward I geuing much study and diligence to the reading of Histories, consydering whereof this wordo *Britannia* first came, finding that all the Isles in this part of the Occean, were called *Britannia,* after my first coniecture of *Albion,* remembring the sayde wryting, and by chaunce finding in *Suydas* that *Pritannia* in Greke, with a circumflexed aspiracion, doth signifie Metalles, also reuenues belonging to the common treasure, I than conceyued this opinion, that the Grekes florishing in wysedome, prowesse, and experience of sayling, as I sayd before in *Albion,* and finding the Isles of the great Occean full of ryche Metalles, as Tynne, Leade, Iron, Brasse, Copper, and in some places great store of Golde and Syluer, they called all those Isles by this generall name *Pritannia,* signifying the place, by that which came out of it, as one would saye he went to market when he went to Andwarpe or Barow, or to the fayre, when he goeth to Sturbridge, or to his reuenues, when he goeth to any place from whence his his reuenues do come. And yet because this Isle excelled all the other in any condition, it was of some priuately called *Olbion,* that is to say, more happier or richer. Thus farre D. Cooper. And thus haue you his opinion and iudgement concerning the first name and habitation of this Realme. And nowe I will returne to the Historie of *Brute* where I left. Pritannia.

¶ After that Brute had landed in this Isle as aforesayd, and that he had passed and searched throughout the land, & comming by the riuer of Tamis, for the great pleasure that he had in that Ryuer and pleasaunt Medowes adioynyng to the same, began there to Thamys.

buylde a Citie in the remembraunce of the Citie of Troy lately ouerthrowne & raced, & named it Troynouant, which is as much to say as newe Troy: which name endured vntill the commyng of Lud, who was king of Briteyn about a thousand and fortie yere after. And the sayd king Lud commaunded it to be called after his awne name Luddes Towne, which nowe by shortnesse of speche we call London, and the same was builded. iij.C.Lvj. yere before Rome was builded, in the time of Heli the high priest of Iewrie.

Troinouãt or London.

Rome.

¶ When Brute had thus builded his Citie, and saw that he was stablished in his Realme quietly: he then by the aduice of his Lordes, commaunded the sayd Isle and Countrie to be called as dyuerse Authors write, after his awne name Briteyn, and his people Britons, and so continued his reigne prosperously. In the which time he established many good lawes and ordinaunces, for the good gouernment of his people. But after this, as in this story shall apere, this Realme was conquered and brought in subiection to Straungers dyuerse and sundrie tymes, as first after Brute to the Romaynes, then to the Saxons which conquered this land, & called it *Anglia* (as saith *Polichronicon*) eyther of *Angli*, that is to say, people of Saxony, or of the name of a Queene of this lande that was called *Angela*. And some also thinke it was called *Anglia* of *Angulus*, which is in English a Corner, for that it is but a Corner in respect of the mayne and continent land of the whole worlde. Then was it in subiection to the Danes, and lastly to the Normanes.

Briteyn.

¶ Now, when Brute as is aforesayde, had set this Realme of Briteyn in order, he as the superior Lord deuided it into three partes, and gaue the same to his three sonnes, as aforesayd. And vnto Locryne his eldest sonne, he gaue this Isle of Briteyn, the which after was called middle England, wherein he had built his Citie called Troynouant, with all the Countries thereunto adioyning, both East, West, and South. And because this part shoulde sounde somewhat toward the name of Locryne, it was called Loegria, or Logiers: and therefore the Welchmen call it in their language vnto this day lloyger.

Loegria.

¶ To his second sonne Cambre, he gaue the Country of Wales, the which was first named after him Cambria. This in the East syde was sometyme departed from England by the Riuer of Seuerne, as before is sayde. But now the Riuer named Dee at Chester departeth Englande and Wales on the Northsyde: and in the South, the Ryuer that is called Wye, at the Castle of Stringlyng parteth the sayd Countryes.

Cambria now called Wales.

¶ To the thirde sonne Albanact he gaue the North part of this Isle of Briteyn, and called the same *Albion*, or more truely the sayd country tooke the name of the thirde sonne, and was called Albania. This Country was after named Scotlande, and so is it called to this day, and it is deuided as S. Bede sayth, from Loegria or Logires by two armes of the Sea, but they meete not. The East arme of these two beginneth about two myles from the Mynster of Eburcuring in the West syde of Penulton. The West arme of those twaine hath in the right syde (or sometyme had) a strong Citie named Acliud, which in the British tongue was named Clinstone, and standeth vpon the Ryuer named Clint, supposed of some to be that towne, which is called at this day Burgh on the Sandes, within. v. myle of Carlistle, where that famous Prince King Edward the first dyed, in his returne from Scotland. And of others it is iudged to be the Towne called Aldburgh in Yorkeshire set on the Ryuer of Owse, which ronneth from thence to Yorke, the space of. xij. myles or thereaboute.

Albion nowe called Scotland.

Acliud.

Burgh.

¶ Thus when Brute had deuided this Isle of Briteyn, as before is shewed in three partes, and geuen the same vnto hys three sonnes, and had holden the principalitie thereof noblie by the terme of. xxiiij. yeres, he dyed and was buryed in London then called Troynouant.

2879

2084 LOcrinus, or Locryne the first and eldest sonne of Brute, was made King of Briteyn, next after the death of his father, in the yere of the worlde. MM. viij. C. lxxix. In the tyme of the reigne of this Locryne, there was a certeyne Duke (who as the writer of the Britons story sayth, was named Humber) who warred sore vpon Albanactus his brother,

beyng the ruler of Albania, nowe called Scotland, and slue Albanact in plaine battaile. Howe be it, as some writers affirme, the sayde Duke was not at the tyme of his comming into Albania called Humber, but Hunys, or Hunnys, King of Hunes, or King of Scithya without any other addicion. Humber.

¶ This King as before is sayde, after he had thus subdued Albanactus, he helde the lande of Albania, vntill that Locrinus with his brother Cambre gathered a great power of men of Armes together, and went against him, and by strength of the Britons chased and subdued the sayd Hunes so sharply, that many of them with theyr King were drowned in a Riuer which departeth England and Scotland. And because vnto the wryter of the Story of Britons his name was declared to be Humber: therefore the sayde wryter sheweth that the Ryuer wherein the sayde Duke or Capitaine was drowned, tooke the first name of him, whiche name continueth yet to this day. *Gaufride.*

¶ Morcouer, after the death of Brute his father, Locryne Maryed with Gwendoloena Gwendol. the daughter of Coryn, Nephew vnto the aforesayde Brute. And it so came to passe that after the aforesayde victory had against the king of the Hunes, or of Scithya, as aforesayd, that Locryne fell in great phancy and loue with a faire Damosell named Estrild, who was also the daughter of the aforesayde Humber, as the sayde Aucthor wryteth, and Locryne kept her vnlawfully a certeyne tyme. Wherewith his wife Gwendoloena beyng sore discontent, excited her father and her friendes to make warre vpon the sayde Locryne her husbande, in the which warre Locryne was slaine, when he had reigned after the agreement of most wryters. xx. yeres, and was buried by his father in Troynouant leauing after him a yong sonne named Madan. *Fabian.*

¶ But because myne Aucthor whom I here follow dissenteth in manye things from Gaufride, writer of the British Hystorie, I haue thought good to recite also as briefely as *Gaufride.* I can, what the sayde Gaufride reporteth hereof, to the ende that the reader may vnderstande wherein they varie, and then vse his awne iudgement touching the truth of the matter: his wordes in effect are these. When the three brethren, Locrinus, Albanactus, and Camber, had of long time peaceably reigned euery one in his awne dominion, at the length a certaine king of the Hunes named Humber, arriued with an armie in Albania, and geuing battaile vnto Albanact slue him, and thereby compelled the inhabitours of that Countrie to flie vnto Locryne for ayde and succour, the which thing when Locryne vnderstoode, he ioyning vnto him his brother Camber, and they both assembled together a power of all the warrelike yong men of their Countries, and met and encountered with the sayde king of the Hunes, about the water now called Humber, and in fine discomfited his host and put him to flight, and then pursued him so egerly that he was compelled to take the sayd water, wherein he was drowned, and therefore was it after the name of the king there drowned called Humber. This done he deuided the spoyle of the field Humber. among his Souldiours, reseruing nothing to himselfe, but such treasure as he founde in the Ships, saue that he kept also for his awne store three goodly yong Damoselles of passing bewtie. Of the which three, the first of them named Eastrildis, was the daughter Eastrelde. of a certaine king of Almayn, whome with the other two, the sayde Humber had caried awaye with him from her father, after he had wasted and destroyed his lande. The which Eastrildis so farre excelled in bewtie, that none was then lightly found vnto her comparable, for her skin was so whyte that scarcely the fynest kinde of Iuorie that might be found, nor the Snowe lately fallen downe from the Element, or the Lyllyes did passe the same: for this cause Locryne being rauished with the sight of her, determined to marry her. The which when Corineus vnderstood, he was in a wonderfull chafe, be- Corineus. cause Locryne had promised him before to marry his daughter: he therefore taking his battaile Axe in his hande, went vnto the king and spake vnto him on this wise: Is this the rewarde that thou geuest me Sir King for so many woundes as I haue receyued in thy fathers seruice and quarell, all the time that he warred against straunge and vnknowne Nations, that thou I saye, forsaking my daughter intendest this to couple thy selfe

selfe in mariage with a damosell of a barbarous Nation? Be thou sure I will be aduenged vpon thee, so long as there remayneth any strength in this right hand of mine, which hath beene the death of so many Gyants in the Sea coastes of Tuscane. And when he had repeated these wordes twise or thrise together, he tooke vp his Axe as though he woulde haue striken the king, but both their friends perceyuing that, ranne betwene them, so that there was no harme done. And so Corineus being pacified, compelled the other to accomplish his promise. Thus therefore came it to passe that Locryne married Corineus daughter called Gwendoloena: Howbeit, the singuler great loue and affection that he bare vnto the saide Eastrilde could not yet out of his minde & be forgotten, wherfore he made a Caue vnder the ground in the Citie of Troynouant and enclosed her therein, committing her vnto the custody of his most neere and famylier friends: For standing in dread of Corineus he durst not vse her company openly, but as it is before sayde priuely and by stealth: in so much as he had the companie of her the space of. vij. yeres full, and none knewe it, but a fewe of his verie familyer and fayth-full friendes, for so often as he had accesse vnto her, he feyned that he would make a secret sacrifice to the Goddes of his countrie, and so he brought all men into a false beliefe causing them to thinke that it was so in deede as he sayd. But at the length it came so to passe that Estrild was great with childe and delyuered of a verie faire daughter, whom he named Habren. At the same season also Gwēdoloena was brought a bed of a man childe called Madan, which was committed to his Graundfather Corineus to be brought vp in those Artes that he was skilfull in. Afterwards, when in processe of time Corineus was dead, Locryne put away his wife Gwendolyn, and caused Estrild to be crowned Quene. The which thing Gwendolyn being maruellous wroth withall, went into Cornewall, and assembling together the power of the youth of the country, began to disquiet Locryne and to warre vpon him. At the length they ioyned battaile and met together nere a Ryuer called Stoore, where the sayde Locryne was slaine with an Arow. Then incontinent after his death, Gwendolyn folowing the raging passions of her father, tooke vpon her the gouernement of this realme, commaunding Estrild with her daughter Habren to be cast both hedlyng into the riuer Seuerne, called in English Seuerne. And further made a proclamation throughout all the whole realme of Briteyn, that the same water should be euermore called Habren, after ỹ Maydens name, for so euen at this day is Seuerne called in the Welsh tongue. And this did she as one desirous to make thereby the name of the yong Mayden immortall, because she was her Housbands daughter: The same Gwendolyn reigned. xv. yeres after the death of Locryne, who reigned. x. yeres. At the length when she saw her sonne Madan was of a good stature and hable to gouerne himselfe, she caused him to be crowned king, being contented her selfe to leade the residue of her lyfe in her awne country of Cornewall. Hetherto *Galfrid.*

Eastrilde.

Habren.

Estrilde crowned Quéene.

Store riuer, Locryne slayne.

Sabrina the Riuer of Seuerne.

Habren in Welsh, is Seuerne in English.

2891 / 1072

IN this time Dauid, of the Tribe of Beniamin being the sonne of Isai, or Iesse, was both the Kinge and Prophete of Almightie God after the death of Saul: for by the commaundement of almightie God he was annointed king of Israell by the prophet Samuell, whome Saule (after the spirite of God had forsaken him) partly for enuy that Dauid was so highly praysed of the Israelites, and partly fearing that he would defeate him of his kingdome, vexed with cōtinuall persecution: during which time, Dauid shewed many examples both of Godly pacience, & also of loyall obedience toward his Prince. Insomuch as when Saul (by the prouidence of God) fell in his hands: he onely cut a peece of the hemme of his garmēt, in token that if he had listed at that present, he might haue slaine him, & for ỹ dede, afterward he greatly repented that he had bene so bold, as to cut off a pece of the garment of Saul, his souereigne Lord & King: notwithstanding ỹ he was his most grieuous enimie, and euery houre sought his death. This noble king reigned ouer Israell. xl. yeres, that is to say, he reigned ouer Iuda. vij. yeres, & ouer all

Dauid annointed king of Israell.

all Israell. xxxiij. yere. He did that was right in the sight of God, and put his trust and confidence in the Lord God of Israell, so that before, nor after him, was not the lyke among the Kinges of Iuda: He cleaued to the Lorde, and went not from his steppes, he obserued the commaundementes that the Lorde had geuen to Moses: Wherefore God bare witnesse of him, that he was a man according to his awne heart and desire: and to him God renued his promises, of the health and saluation that was to be looked for in Christ our Sauiour: and for a more certeyntie thereof, Christ of the Prophetes is called the sonne of Dauid. And furthermore, Dauid himselfe by the inspiration of God in his Hymnes and Psalmes most manifestly prophecieth of the Conception, Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection, Ascention, & heauenly Kingdome of our Sauiour Christ. Wherefore among the Prophetes and other holy men, his writinges were had in great estimation, and of like auctoritie as were the writinges of Moses. This noble king expulsed out of Israell the Iebusites, and made Ierusalem his Citie: He vanquished the Philistines, and brought the Arke from the house of Aminadab to Ierusalem. *Lanquet.* 2. *Reg.* 2. *Lanquet.*

¶ But after all this, he forgat God and committed both murder, and adultery, but he most greuously repented the same, and called vpon GOD for mercy: but yet God did greuously ponish him, neuerthelesse at the last he did behold his repentance, and forgaue him, and restored him to the peaceable gouernement, not onely of all the Israelites, but also of all their borders, and made them all tributaries vnto Israell, and finally sent him a sonne by Bethsabe his Wife called Salomon, whom Dauid in the. xl. yere of his reigne assigned to take the charge and gouernaunce of the Kingdome of all Israell, and gaue vnto his sayde sonne Salomon a charge, that he shoulde buylde the Temple of God in Ierusalem, and gaue him also a plot and description howe he should builde the same, and then he dyed. But such as are desirous to reade more of the story, may resort vnto the Bible, and read the seconde booke of the Kinges. Salomon borne. 2. *Regum.*

GWendoloena, or Gwendolyne the wife of Locryne as before is expressed, which was the daughter of Corineus Duke of Cornewall, did after the death of her Husbande, because her sonne was to yong, take vpon her the gouernement of Briteyn, and was by the common assent of all the Britons, made Ruler thereof. And hauing full possession of the same, she well and discretely ruled it to the quiet and contentation of her subiectes, and so she continued vntill such tyme as Madian her sonne came vnto his lawfull age. At which tyme she gaue ouer the rule and dominion vnto him, after she had ruled this Islande, xv. yeres. 2899 — 1064 Gwēdoline gouerned Briteyn.

MAdan, or Madian, the sonne of Locryne and Gwendolyne, tooke on him the Gouernance of Briteyn at this tyme, who (as some write of him) vsed great tyranny ouer his Britons. Notwithstanding, all or the most part agree, that he ruled the same. xl. yeres. At the ende of which terme, he being at disport on hunting, was of wylde Beastes or Wolues slaine or deuoured, and as Raynulph of Chester sayth, he left after him two sonnes, the one called Mempricius, the other Manlius. 2914 — 1049

¶ About this tyme Salomon the sonne of Dauid by his wyfe Bethsabe, after the death of his father began to reigne as King ouer all Israell. And of him it is written in the. iij. Chapter and the. iij. booke of the Kinges, that he besought God to graunt him wisedome, which God gaue him in such aboundaunce, that he excelled all that euer were before him, namely, in wisedome, pollicie, and good gouernaunce. And in the. iiij. yere of his reigne and. iiij. Moneth called Zif, which some say is April, and some May, he began to buyld the Temple of God at Ierusalem, that is to say in the foure hundreth eightie yere after the Children of Israell departed out of Egypt. But in the ende, he forgat God and delighted in fleshly lustes and pleasures, he had seuen hundreth Wyues that were Queenes, and moreouer he had three hundreth Concubines that were straungers and Idolaters, and they turned his heart from God to Images and Idolatry, so that his heart 2931 — 1032 3. *Regum.* 6. The building of the Temple.

heart was not perfect with the lorde his God, as his fathers was. And because Salomon would not turne to the Lord his God, therefore God sayde vnto him, that he would rent his kingdome, but not in his tyme, but after his dayes. And Salomon reigned ouer Israell. xl. yere and then dyed, and was buryed with his father in the Citie of Dauid, and after his death Ieroboam the seruant of Salomon reigned ouer. x. Trybes of Israell, and Rehoboam the Sonne of Salomon reigned but ouer two Tribes.

Ieroboam.

Rehoboam.

Here endeth the fourth Age, which continued from the departure of the Children of Israell out of Egypt, vntill the building of the Temple which conteyned. CCCC. lxxx. yeres.

THE FIFT AGE, AND FIFT PART OF THIS CHRONICLE.

THE FIFT AGE.

2954
1009
Mempricius.

MEmpricius, or Mempris the eldest sonne of Madan, and his brother Manlius, after the death of their father, made great strife for the souereigne dominion of this Realme of Briteyn; But at the last Mempricius by treason, procured the death and destruction of his brother Manlius, and shortly after he tooke vpon him the sole gouernement of this Realme of Briteyn, who in the tyme of his reigne vsed such crueltye, and tyranny towardes his subiectes, that he endeuoured to make away almost al the nobles of his Countrie, and now thinking himselfe in rest, he waxed slouthfull and tooke pleasure in filthie and fleshly affections, and at length gaue himselfe wholy to Harlots and Concubines, and finally forsooke his lawfull wyfe, and exercysed the act of filthie Sodomy, and so brought himselfe into the hatred of God and all his people. And on a tyme goyng on huntyng, when he had lost his people, he was destroyed of Wolues, after he had reigned. xx. yeres, leauing after him a goodlye yongling begotten of his lawfull wyfe, named Ebranke.

Sodomy.

Mempricius slaine wyth wild Beasts.

2971
992

¶ In this tyme Roboham the sonne of Salomon, began to reigne onely ouer two Trybes of Israel, that is to say, the Tribe of Iuda, and Beniamin, and he was the first that reigned in Israell, the Tribes being deuided, as apereth in the. xj. Chapter of the third booke of the kings. And the cause why the other. x. Tribes of Israell did forsake to be vnder the gouernance of Roboham, was for that he refused and despised the counsayle of the sage, graue and auncient fathers which were counsaylers to his father, and gaue credite to the phancies and opinions of yong men, among whom he had bene brought vp wantonly: and in the ende none followed the house of Dauid but Iuda. For Beniamin was geuen vnto Nathan, the brother of Salomon, but neuerthelesse they faythfully ayded Iuda, as often as they needed: and he dyed when he had reigned. xvij. yeres.

Auncient fathers & graue counsellers are to be honoured.

2974
989
Ranulph. Gaufride. Geffrey of Monmouth.

EBrank the sonne of Mempricius, was made ruler ouer this land of Briteyn, in the yere of the world two. M. ix. C. lxxiiij. and had as testifieth Reynulph Monke of Chester, Gaufride and other writers. xx. Wyues, of the which he begat, xx. sonnes and. xxx. daughters, whose names are rehersed of *Geffrey of Monmouth*, wherof the fayrest was named Gwales, or after some Gualea. He sent these daughters to Siluius, which was the. xj. king

king of Italy, or the. vj. king of Latynes, to the ende to haue them maried to the blood of the Troyans.

¶ This Ebrank was also a man of a comely stature, & of a great strength, and by his power and might he enlarged his dominion: in so much, that he wanne and occupied a great parte of Germania, by the ayde and helpe of the Latynes, and returned thence with great praye and ryches. After which returne he builded the Citie of Caerbrank, now called Yorke, which should be as sayth the Aucthor of the booke named the flowers of stories, written in French in the. xxiij. yere of the reigne of the sayde Ebrank, which accompt to follow, it should seeme that London was builded before Yorke. C.xl. yeres, supposing the Citie of London to be builded in the second yere of the reigne of Brute. In his saide Citie of Ebrank, hee made a Temple to *Diana*, and ordeyned an Archflamyn to gouerne the same, according to the lawes of their Gods, or as we now call him an Archbyshop.

Yorke.

London builded before Yorke. C. xl. yeres.

Archflamyn or Archbyshop.

¶ Also he builded in Albania or Scotland, the Citie and Castle of Maydens, the which now is called Edenborough, in the time that Roboham the sonne of Salomon reigned king of Israell. After which buildings finished and done, he with a great armie sayled into that part of Gallia, which now is called France, and subdued the Frenchmen, and a great parte of Germany and returned with great triumph and ryches. And when he had guyded this land of Briteyn nobly by the space of. lx. yeres, as most writers agree, he died and was buried at Caerbrank, or Yorke, leauing after him for his heyre his eldest sonne (as Gaufride sayth) named Brute Greneshield.

Edeborow.

Gaufride.

¶ At this time Abia the sonne of Roboham, and the fourth king of the Iewes, was after his father king of Iuda, and reigned three yeres, he ouercame Hieroboam in battaile. He had. xiiij. Wyues, and of them he begat xxij. sonnes and. xvj. daughters.

2988. 915

¶ Asa the sonne of Abia was after the death of his father king of Iuda, he was iust and righteous in the keeping and obseruing of the commaundments of God, and in the ouerthrowing and destroiyng of the Aultares that were erected for to sacrifice vnto Idols, and after he dyed when he had reigned. xlj. yeres, as apereth in the. xv. Chapter of the. iij. booke of the kings.

2990 973

3. *Reg.* 15.

¶ And here I finde noted in Lanquet these wordes: about this time, according to the prophecie of Hely, halfe the yeres of the worlde were fulfilled, signifying that the worlde should continue but. vj. M. yeres.

3000 963

AT this time also Iosaphat the. vij. King of the Iewes reigned next after Asa his father, and he reigned. xxv. yeres in Ierusalem, and followed the good steps of his forefathers: wherefore God blessed him with great aboundance and ryches. He ordeyned Iudges in euerie Citie of Iuda, and commaunded the Leuits to reade the lawe of God vnto the people, that they might thereby learne to feare God.

3031 932

BRute Greneshield the sonne of Ebrank was made gouernor ouer this land of Briteyn, and reigned. xij. yeres, and is buried in Caerbranke, or Yorke, leauing after him a sonne named Leyll, as sayth Fabian, Lanquet, and Bergamo. But Rastall and Caxton saye that he reigned. xxx. yere.

3034 929

LEyll, the sonne of Brute Greneshield, after the death of his father, tooke vpon him the kingdome of Briteyn, and ruled. xxv. yeres. This was a iust man and a louer of peace, and in his time he builded a Citie or Towne, which after his awne name, he named Caerleyll, now Carlile, in the which he builded a Temple, and therein placed a Flamyn, and after dyed and was buried in his aforesayde Towne. This Leyll left after him a sonne named Lud, or as some call him, Lud Hurdibras.

3046 917

Carlile.

AChab King of Iuda, a wicked King, reigned twoo yeres, hee ouercame Benadab King of Siria, and slue of the Sirians a hundred thousande.

3048 915

After him Iehoram the sonne of Iosaphat the. viij. King of Iuda reigned in Ierusalem: he walked in the wicked wayes of the kinges of Israell, as did the house of Achab, for

3050 913

the daughter of Achab was his Wyfe, and he did that which displeased the Lord, and slue all his brethren: Neuerthelesse, God would not destroy Iuda, bicause of his promise made vnto Dauid, who promised that he would geue him a light in his children alwaye. And in his tyme Edom fell from vnder the hand of Iuda and made them a king of their awne. And Iehoram reigned. xiij. yeres, and then dyed, and was buried in the Citie of Dauid. 4. *Reg.* 8. 9.

Ochozias. Affter Iehoram, Ochozias, or Ozias his sonne was the. ix. king of Iuda, he was but. xxij. yere olde when he began to reigne, and he reigned but onely one yere. And in the ende, for yeelding to Idolatrie, hee was slaine by the people of Iehu king of Israell, the same murder being done at his commaundement.

3061 / 902 AThalia the mother of Ochozias to be reuenged of the death of her sonne, slue all the blood royall, sauing one litle childe called Iehoas, which was the sonne of the sayd Ochozias, which was kept and hidden from her, by Iehosaba the daughter of King Iehoram which was his Aunt. And he was with her hidden in the house of the Lorde. vj. yere: And Athalia did reigne ouer the lande all that tyme: But in the ende she was most cruelly slaine, and yong Iehoas restored to the Kingdome of Iuda.

3067 / 896 IEhoas, or Ioas the. xj. King of Iuda, and the first of the house of Nathan, reigned. xl. yeres. In the. vij. yere of his age, he was proclamed and annoynted king, and Athalia his Grandmother was slaine as abouesayd. And as long as he folowed the good admonitions of Ioiada the high priest, he prospered: But afterward, falling into Idolatrie and other wickednesse, he slue Zacharias the Prophet betwene the Temple and the aultare, for which deede God punished him by the Syrians, and after he was slaine in his bed by hys awne seruauntes.

Zacharias slaine.

3071 / 892 LVd Hurdibras, or Rathudibras, or as some wryte Rudibras, sonne of Leyll, began to reigne in Briteyn: And after he was stablished in his Kingdone, he appeased the great variance and discordes that sprang in his fathers tyme, and that beyng done, he then builded the towne of Caerkyn, which now is called Cantorbury: He builded also the Towne of Caerguen, now called Wynton or Wynchester: And another towne called Mount Paladoure, now called Septon or Shaftesbury. In the time of the buylding of which towne of Septon, as affirmeth Gaufride, an Egle there spake certeyn wordes, the which he sayth he will not wryte nor declare for any certentye. And when he had ruled this land nobly by the space of. xxx. yeres, he dyed, and left behind him a sonne named Baldud or Bladud. But in very deede the sayde Gaufride was here deceyued, taking *Aquila* for the name of a birde called an Egle, which was the proper name of a man, that liued in the dayes of the aforenamed Lud Hurdibras, who by reason of the great knowledge and skill that hee had in the Iudicialles of Astronomye, coulde tell before of thinges to come, and therfore was in those dayes taken for a great Prophet, insomuche that when the same King was determined to builde Septon, or Shaftesbury, and had already layed the foundation of the walles, he desyred the sayd *Aquila*, the *Horoscope* of the beginning of the said woorke first considered, to shew his opinion touching the continuaunce and fortune of the same Towne: And therfore it is that many report how an Egle should then speake. This *Aquila* is of writers called *Aquila Septonius*, that is to say, *Aquila* of Shaftisbury. And of his diuinatiõs and prophecies, there is further mention made in the. ix. booke and last Chapter of the sayd Gaufride.

Cãtorbury.
Winchest.
Shaftesbu.
In euery of these three Townes, he buylded also a temple, and therin placed a Flamyn, which is a Bishop.

Gaufride.

3100 / 863 BLadud, or Baldud, the sonne of Lud Hurdibras, after the death of his father reigned ouer Briteyn. This man as sayth Gaufride, Polichronicon, and others, was very well sene in the Mathematicalles and in Negromancie, and by that Art he made the hoate Bathes in the Towne of Caerbadon, now called Bathe, the which Towne or Citie he also builded.

Bale. ¶ Ihon Bale in his booke of the famous writers of Briteyn, writeth of him in this wise:

Bladud

Bladud, surnamed the Magician the. x. king of the Britones, was sent in his youth to the famous citie of Athens in Greece, there to be instructed in Philosophie and the liberall Sciences. And when he had there studied a certaine time, hearing of the death of Lud Hurdibras his father, he returned home againe, bringing thence with him foure expert Masters in many Sciences, not thinking it meete that his Country shoulde lack any lenger such singuler ornaments of learning as they were. These Philosophers as wryteth Marlin, placed he at Staunforde in a verie pleasaunt soyle, and made schooles for them, to the intent they should there reade the lyberall scyences, where they had many tymes a great audience. He was a man very cunning and skilfull aswell in prophane sciences of the Gentiles, as in all wisdome and knowledge that the Grecians excelled in: But especially studious and singulerly well seene was he in the Mathematicall artes and sciences, for the which cause, one of the Sibelles that liued in his tyme, hearing of the wonderfull fame that went of his name and doctrine, wrote and dedicated vnto him a booke of Prophecies, and foretellings of thinges to come. Some affirme that the same Bladud builded the Citie of Bathe, and therein made by a wonderfull arte certeyne hote Bathes, for the vse and commoditie of the people, which do remaine yet to this day, committing the conseruation thereof vnto the Goddesse Minerua, in whose honour he caused a Temple there to be erected, to the entent that beyng prescrued by so mightie a Goddesse should neuer faile, but continue for euer. They wryte also how that he read and taught Necromancie throughout all his Realme. But these things are verily as I suppose feined matters. Hetherto *Bale*. And it foloweth after in the same Aucthour: And when he had at the length prepared himselfe by Artmagique and Sorcery such winges as Dedalus made himself, he attempted to flye in the ayre in the presence of the people, in which attempt he fell downe hedlong vpon the Aultare of Apollo, and so bruised his body with the fall that he dyed thereof, when he had reigned. xxj. yeres, and was buried at Troynouant. Ihon Harding in the first booke, and. xxv. Chapter of his storye, sheweth that the schole or vniuersitie of Stamford aforesayd was forbidden by Austen the Monke, like as other Vniuersities of this Realme were, vnder this pretence, that they mainteyned the Arrian and Pelagian heresies, the which his prohibicion was the cause of the decay of the same Vniuersities and therefore long after his tyme, there was no common professing of learning, but in great Monasteryes or Abbeyes. But William of Malmesburye sayth, that the hoate Bathes were made by the procurement of Iulius Cesar Emperour, hee dyed and was buryed at Troynouant, when hee had ruled Briteyn by the space of. xx. yeres, leauing after him a sonne named Leyr.

Marlyn. *Stamford.* *Ihon Hard.* *Austen the Monke*

AMasia the sonne of Ioas was after his father King of Iuda, and reigned in the tyme that Ioas the sonne of Ioacham was King of Israell. In the beginning he gouerned very well, but yet he did not ouerthrow the hill Aultars where they sacrificed to their Idols, and therefore when he had reigned. xxix. yeres, he was of his awne people slaine.

3121 / 852

Amasia slaine.

LEyr the sonne of Bladud, or Baldud, after the death of his father, was made ruler ouer the Britons. This Leyr was of noble condicions, and guyded his land and subiectes in great wealth and quietnesse, he made the Towne of Caerleir now called Leycester. And albeit that this man reigned long ouer Briteyn, yet is there no notable thing worthie of memorye written of him, except as Gaufride sayth, that he had by his wife three daughters and no sonne, and the daughters were named Gonorilla, Ragan, and Cordeilla, the which he loued much. but most specially hee loued the yongest, Cordeilla by name.

3119 / 844

Leycester.

¶ When this Leyr, or Leyth, after some writers, was fallen into competent age, being desirous to know the minde of his three daughters, he first demaunded of Gonorilla the eldest how well she loued him: the which calling her Goddes to record, sayde, she loued him more than her owne soule. With this answere, the father being well contented, demaunded of Ragan the second daughter, how well she loued him? To whome she answered, and affirming with great othes, sayde, that she coulde not with her tongue ex-

Leyr. *Gonorilla.* *Ragan.*

presse the great loue she bare to him: and added further, that she loued him aboue all creatures. After these pleasaunt aunsweres had of those two daughters, he called before him Cordeilla the yongest: who vnderstanding the dissimulation of her two sisters and entending to proue her father, sayde: Most reuerende father, where my two sisters haue dissimuled with thee, and vttered their pleasaunt wordes fruitlesse, I knowing the great loue and fatherly zeale, that thou euer hast borne toward me (for the which I may not speake vnto thee otherwise then my conscience leadeth me) therefore I saye to thee father, I haue euer loued thee as my father, and shall continually while I liue, loue thee as my naturall father. And if thou wilt be further inquisitiue of the loue that I beare thee: As thy ryches and substaunce is, so much art thou woorth, and so much and no more doe I loue thee.

¶ The father with this aunswere being discontent, maried his two elder daughters, the one vnto the Duke of Cornewale, and the other vnto the Duke of Albania, or Scotlande, and deuided with them two in mariage his lande of Briteyn after his death, and the one halfe in hande during his naturall life. And for his thirde daughter Cordeilla he reserued nothing.

Aganippus or Aganip Kinge of Fraunce.

¶ It so fortuned after, that Aganippus, which the English Chronicle nameth Aganip king of France, heard of the bewtie and womanhood of Cordeilla, he sent vnto her father and asked her in mariage. To whome it was aunswered, that the king would gladlie geue vnto him his daughter, but for Dowar, hee would not depart with, for he had promised all vnto his other two daughters.

¶ Aganippus, by his Messengers beyng thus enformed, remembring the vertues of the aforenamed Cordeilla, did without promise of Dowar, take the sayde Cordeilla to his wyfe.

¶ But here is to be noted, that where this Aganippus or Aganip is called in diuers Chronicles the king of Fraunce, it can not agree with other histories, nor with the Chronicles of Fraūce. For it is testified by Reynulph of Chester, and by Peter Pictauiens, by Robert Gagwyne, by Bishop Anthony, and many other Chronicles that long after this tyme there was no king of France, neyther was it long after called France: But at this day the inhabitaunts thereof were called Galli, and afterwards were tributaries to Rome without hauing any king, till the time of Valentinianus Emperour of Rome, as hereafter in this worke shall be plainely shewed.

Galli.

¶ The story of the Britons sayeth, that in the time that Leyr reigned in Briteyn, the land of Fraunce was vnder. xij. kings, of the which, Aganippus should be one, the which saiyng, is full vnlike to be true, and the same maye be proued many wayes, but I passe ouer, for that it is not my purpose to vse any speciall discourse of the kings of Fraunce.

Couetousnes the roote of all euill.

¶ Then it followeth in the History, when Leyr was fallen into age, the aforesayd two Dukes, thinking long before the Lordship of Briteyn fell into their handes, arose against their father (as Gauffride sayth) and spoyled him of the gouernance therof vpon certaine condicions to be continued for terme of lyfe, the which in processe of tyme were minished, as well by Maglanus as by Henninus housbands of the aforenamed Gonorild and Ragan: But that most displeased Leyr, was the vnkindnesse of his two daughters considering their wordes to him before spoken and sworne, and now found and proued them all contrary.

Gauffride.

Maglanus. Henninus.

Leyr fleeth out of his land.

¶ For the which he being by necessitie constrayned, fled his land, and sayled into Gallia for to be comforted of his yongest daughter Cordeilla. Whereof she hauing knowledge, of naturall kindnesse comforted him: And after shewing all the matter to her Husband, by his agreement, receyued him and his to her Lordes Court, where he was cherished after her best maner.

¶ Long it were to shew vnto you the circumstance of the vtterance of the vnkindnesse of his two daughters, and of the wordes of comfort geuen to him by Aganippus and Cordeilla, or of the counsayle or purueyance made by the sayde Aganippus and his Lordes, for the restoring againe of Leyr to his dominion: But finally, he was by the helpe of the sayde Aganippus restored again to the gouernement of the Realme of Briteyn, and possessed and

Aganippus.

ruled

ruled the same as Gouernor therof, by the space of three yeres after. In which season dyed Aganippus. And when this Leyr had ruled this land by the terme of. xl. yeres, as diuerse do affirme, he died and was buryed at his awne towne Caerleyr or Leycestre, leauing after him to inherite the lande, his daughter Cordeilla. Leycestre.

AT this tyme Ozias or Azarias, the sonne of Amasias, reigned king after his father ouer Iuda, and he reigned. Lij. yeres, and towarde the ende of his reigne he began to waxe prowde and would haue vsurped the Priestes office, wherfore he was striken with a leprosie, and dyed. 2. *Parali.* 11. 3149 / 814 Ozias plagued with leprosie.

COrdeilla, the yongest daughter of Leyr, was by the assent of the Britons made Queene of Briteyn, and she guyded the land full wisely by the terme and space of. v. whole yeres. The which tyme expired, her two Nephewes Morgan and Cunedagius sonnes of her two sisters, came vpon her land, and made therein great waste and destruction, and at the last tooke and cast her into a strong Prison, where she beyng in dispaire of the recouery of her estate (as sayth Gaufride) slue her selfe. 3158 / 805 Cordeilla slaine in prison.

CUnedagius, and Morganus, Nephewes as aforesaide of Cordeilla, deuided this land of Briteyn betwene them: That is to say, the Countrye ouer and beyond Humber towarde Catnessy, fell to Morgan, and the other part of ỹ land toward the West (as sayth Gaufride) fel to Cunedagius. 3163 / 800

¶ After two yeres ended, some Pykethankes and Flaterers came vnto Morgan and sayde, that to him it was great reproche and dishonor (considering that he was come of Gonorilla the elder sister, and of Maglanus her Husband: And Cunedagius was descended of Ragan the yonger sister, and Hennius her Husband) that he had not the rule of all the land, to which lewde persons Morgan geuing credence, was enflamed with pryde and couetousnesse, and anone by theyr counsayle, assembled a great host, and made warre vpon his Cosyn, brenning and destroiyng his land without mercy. Whereof Cunedag being ware, in all haste gathered his people: And after a certeyne message sent by him for reconciliation, seeyng that there was no peace to bee made, but the same must be determined by dynt of sworde, and the iudgement of battayle, he met with his Cosyn in plaine fielde: where the Goddes were to him so fauourable, that he slue many of the people of his sayde Cosyn, and at the length compelled him to flee. After which victory thus had, he pursued Morgan from Country to Country, vntill he came within the Prouince or Country of Wales, in the which the sayd Morgan gaue vnto the sayd Cunedag another Battayle; But for that he was farre the weaker, he was there ouerthrowen, and slaine in the fielde. Which field or Country where the said Morgan fought, and was slaine, is to this day called *Glamargan*, which is as much to say, as Morgans land. And thus was Morgan slaine, when he had reigned with his Nephew two yeres. Parasites & flatterers. Pride & couetousnes. Morgan slaine. Glamargã fielde.

IOatham the sonne of Ozias, or Azarias was after his father king of Iuda, and when he began to reigne, he was. xxv. yere olde, and reigned. vj. yere. He was a good Man, and one that feared God, and obeyed his commaundementes, but he did not breake downe the hill aultares, that were set vp to sacrifice vnto Idoles. 3176 / 787

RIuallus or Riuallo the sonne of Cunedagius, was after his father ruler ouer Briteyn, and he ruled with great sobernesse and kept the lande in great wealth and prosperitie: Albeit that of him is left no speciall memory of anye notable act done in his tyme, except that (as Gaufride sayth) it rained blood in his tyme by the space of three dayes continually within the land of Briteyn. After the which raine ensued a great and exceeding number and multitude of Flies, the which were so noysome and contagious that they slue many people. And after (as sayth an olde Aucthor) ensued great sickenesse and mortalitie, to the great desolation of this land. 3197 / 766 Blood rayned by the space of three dayes. Flies slue many people.

¶ Then it foloweth in the history: that when this Riuallus had reigned after most

wryters xlvj. yeres, he dyed and was buried at Yorke, leauing after him a sonne, named Gurgustius. And in this time the Citie of Rome was greatly enlarged and encreased by Romulus, or after the minde of Fabian and others first builded.

Romulus greatly encreased Rome.

3192. 771. AChas the sonne of Ionathan was after his father king of Iuda, he was. xx. yere olde when he beganne to reigne, and he reigned. xxv. yeres in Ierusalem, he folowed the wicked wayes of the kings of Israell.

3208. 755. EZechias the sonne of Achas was after the death of his father king of Iuda, and reigned. xxxix. yeres in Ierusalem, he loued, feared, and serued the Lorde, and was a Prince, iust, verteous, and religious, he was diligent in the obseruing and keeping of the commaundements of almightie God, and there was not found in any of the kings that reigned before him nor after him, lyke vnto him in bountie and vertue: He brake the Brasen Serpent and restored againe the true honouring of God.

Brasen Serpent.

3237 726 MAnasses the sonne of Ezechias was after his father king of Iuda, and he reigned. lv. yeres in Ierusalem, he was a very euill Man, and wrought much wickednesse in Iuda, he set vp Idols and worshipped them, he defiled the Temple, and sacrificed his children vnto the Goddes, he filled Ierusalem with the blood of Innocents, he despised the admonitions of the Prophets, and put to death the most holye Prophet Esaias, cutting him in the middle with a Sawe: wherefore God being displeased, reysed vp the king of Babilon, who with a mightie power inuaded Iurye, tooke the king by a trayne, and brought him captiue to Babilon. Then in his captiuitie he acknowledged God, and confessed his sinnes, and tooke great repentance, through which, finding grace with God, he was restored againe to his kingdome, where he abholished all Idolatry, and restored the true honoring of God and commaunded that it shoulde be iustlye obserued, and so passed all the rest of his lyfe in the feare of God. He also repayred the walles of the holy Citie of Ierusalem, and ordeyned Garrisons in all his Cities. *Lanquet.*

Esay the Prophet put to death.

Manasses repented.

3242 721 GUrgustus the sonne of the aforenamed Riuallus was made Ruler of Briteyn after the death of his father. And this man in the Englishe Chronicle is named Gorbodyan the sonne of Reignold, of whom there is small mencion made eyther of his reigne, or of any notable dedes done in his tyme, except that the aforesayde Aucthor doth witnesse, that he reigned. xxxviij. yeres: leauing after him none heyre of his body begotten, and lastly dyed and was buried by his father at the Citie of Caerbrank, otherwise called Yorke.

Gurgustus or Gorbodyan.

Yorke.

3279 684 SIsillus or after some wryters, Siluius the brother of Gurgustus (as sayth the English Chronicle) was made ruler ouer Briteyn, and reigned as sayth Lanquet. xlix. yeres, and was buried at Caerbadon or Bathe, and left after him none heyre of his body.

Bathe.

3292 671 AMon or Ammon the sonne of Manasses was king of Iuda, and reigned two yeres, and his owne seruauntes conspired against him and slue him in his awne house.

3295 668 Iosias the sonne of Amon, was after his father king of Iuda, and he reigned in Ierusalem. xxxi. yeres, he was a goodman and feared God, and obeyed his commaundements, and walked in the good wayes of king Dauid, without declyning eyther to the lefte hande or to the right. He purged his lande from all Idols, Images, and Woodes, and burned the bones of the Priestes of Baall, and clensed all wickednesse out of the Cities of Manasse, Ephraim, Simeon, and euen vnto Nepthalim: he repayred the Temple, that the holy thinges might be couered. The Booke of the lawe of Moses which had bene lost of a long tyme, was found againe by his meanes, which he caused to be read vnto the people. Finally, vpon to much presumption, he made warre vpon the King of Egypt, where he was wounded and dyed therof. 4. *Reg.* 23.

The Bible restored to the people by king Iosias.

3326 637 IOachas the second sonne of Iosias, was after his father King of Iuda, and reigned onely three Monethes, and was taken and brought captiue into Egypt, in whose place his brother Ioachim was made King, and reigned. xj. yeres, an insolent and naughtie Prince, who not regarding the prophecies of Ieremie, burnt the bookes thereof, and was at the last slaine, and left vnburied as a Beast.

IAgo or Lago, the Cosyn of Gorgustius (as sayeth Gaufrid) as next heyre was made gouernour of Briteyn. Of this man also the writers make small mencion, eyther for the quietnesse of the time, or else for the rudenesse of his deedes, he reigned. xxv. yeres and dyed without issue and was buried at Yorke. 3327 636

IOachim called also Iechonias reigned ouer Iuda three Monthes, and. x. dayes, he yeelded himselfe wyllingly vnto Nabuchodonosor, by the counsayle of Ieremie: who sent him to Babilon, with all the Noble men and ornaments and Iewels: among whome also was the Prophet Ezechiell. 3337 626 Ezechiel taken captiue.

IN his stede Nabuchodonoser caused Mathanias the fourth sonne of Iosias to take vpon him the rule of Iuda, and made him sweare by the name of the Lorde that he should faythfully serue the Chaldeys, in token whereof he named him Zedechias, he was the. xxiij. and last king of the Iewes, and reigned. xj. yeres. This Zedechias brake his amitie with the king of Babilon, and entered into league with the Egyptians. For which cause Nabuchodonoser returned and besieged Ierusalem by the space of one yere. vj. Monethes, and. v. dayes. After which siege, the holy Citie with the most sacred Temple, miserably with pestilence, famine, sworde and fyre, was destroyed. The king himselfe with all his Nobilitie taken, his children slaine before his face, his eyes pulled out and sente into captiuitie to Babilon. ij. Para. xxxvj. Chapt. 3347 616 Mathanias the last king of the Iewes. Ierusalem & the Temple vtterly destroyed.

¶ Thus was the whole Nation of the Iewes without respect eyther of Age or kinde, eyther slaine or brought into Babilons bondage for their obstinacie against God and his Prophets, and for the sinne and transgression of their Kings, Priestes, and all the people, the yere after the vniuersall Flood. M.vj.C.lxxxx. after the arriuall of Brute. CCCC.Lxxxxij. after the beginning of the kingdom of the Iewes. CCCC.lviij. after the building of the temple. CCCC.xiiij. and after the building of Rome. C.xxxvij. The destruction of the Iewes.

Here endeth the fift Age of the worlde, and is from the building of the Temple, vnto the captiuitie of Babilon, which the Hebrues accompt. CCCC.xix. yeres.

THE SIXT AGE, AND SIXT PART OF THIS CHRONICLE.

THE SIXT AGE.

KInimacus the sonne of Sisillus, as some wryters haue, but more truely as sayth the olde Chronicle, the brother of Lago, was made ruler of Briteyn, as his brother before him was, and passed his tyme without any notable actes or deedes, so that of him there is no more memorye than is of his brother. For the most of them that write the feates and deedes of the Britons, make but a short rehersall of these fiue kings, that is to say, from Riuallo to Gorbodug, saiyng that after Riuallo succeded Gorgustus, after him Lago, 3352 611

Lago, & after Lago, Kinimacus, and after Kinimacus suceeded Gorbodug. Of these fiue kinges is made little other mention. Then it followeth in the olde Chronicle, that when Kinimacus had reigned. Liiij. yeres, he died, and was buryed at Yorke: leauing after him a sonne named Gorbodug.

3360
603
Daniel the Prophet.

¶ In this tyme was that most noble Prophet Daniell, and he florished in Babilon. And in his youth by his wisedome, he deliuered Susanna from death, & he expounded the dreames of Nabuchodonosor: And finally, he was cast into a denne among hungry Lions, where by the power of God he was preserued from harme. Afterwarde he prophecied both of the comming of Christ, and also of the Empires of Babilon, Media, Persia, Grecia, and the Romaynes.

3383
580
England inhabited before Scotlād as the Scottish Cronicle doth accompt 528. yere.

¶ The Scots as their Chronicles shew, did at this time first inhabit Scotland, where they liued long tyme vnder sundry Capitaines, as they call them, vntill the tyme of Fergus, sonne of Ferquard, King of Irelande, who ayded the Scottes against the Pichtes, and was the first king of Scottes, as they say.

3404
559
Troineuāt.

GOrbodug succeeded his father Kinimacus, in this Realme of Briteyn, and by most wryters he reigned. lxiij. yeres, and then dyed, and was buryed at London, which then was called Troinouant, and left behind him two sonnes, named Ferrex, and Porrex, but some call them Ferreus, and Porreus.

3418
545
Ierusalem & the Temple againe repayred.

IN this time Barachias, called also Zorobabell, Nephew to Ioachim, and Iesus the High Priest, with. xlv. thousand, three hundreth, three score and ten Iewes, were deliuered free from Babilon by Cyrus, and returned into their awne land: where they repayred againe their Citie, and cast the foundation of their Temple, renued their lawes and Sacrifices, albeit they were sometyme let by their borderers. 1. *Esd.* 4. & vi. And in the yere of the worlde 3446. the Temple was cleane finished, and with great ioy dedicated againe vnto the Lorde, wherin they offered their Sacrifices, and celebrated their Phase, or feast of Passouer, in geuing of thankes to God which had turned the heart of Darius vnto theim.

3467
496
Ferrex slaine.
A cruell and vnnaturall murder.

FErrex and Porrex his brother, Sonnes of Gorbodug reigned ouer this Realme of Briteyn, and continued in amitie a certain time. After which time expired, as sayth Reynulph and Gaufride, Porrex being couetous of Lordship gathered his people togethe vnknowne to his brother Ferrex, entending to destroy him. Whereof he being warned for lack of space to assemble his people for sauegarde of his lyfe, fled sodainely into Gallia or France, and prayed ayde of a Duke of Gallia named by *Gaufrid*, Gunhardus or Swardus, the which Duke ayded him, and sent him againe into *Briteyn* with his host of Gallis. After whose landing, his brother Porrex with his Britons met him, and gaue to him Battaile, in the which battaile Ferrex was slaine, with the more parte of his people. But here some Aucthours write that Porrex was slaine and Ferrex suruyued. But whether of them both was lyuing, him did the mother of the same two brethren named, Widen, setting a parte all motherly pittie, with the helpe of her women, most cruelly murdered, in the night season in his sleepe, and cut him in pieces. And thus ended the aforesayde two brethren, after they had reigned in Briteyn in warre and peace. v. yeres. And here endeth the lyne or ofspring of Brute, after the opinion of most writers, for as Gaufrid sayth, after the death of these two brethren, great discorde arose among the Britons, the which continued long among them, by meane whereof the people were sore vexed and noyed vnder. v. Kings, whose names I finde in an olde Pedegre to be *Rudaucus* that was king of Wales, *Clotemis* King of Cornewall, *Pinnor* king of Loegria, *Staterius* king of Scotlande, *Yeuan* king of Northumberlande. And as sayth *Guydo de Columna* the Britons abhorred the lynage of Gorbodug, for so much as first the one slue the other, and chiefely for the vnnatural disposition of the mother, that so cruelly slue her awne child. The English Chronicle sayth, that after the death of the two forenamed brethren, no rightfull inheritor was left on lyue, wherefore the people were brought into great discorde, insomuch

somuch that the lande was deuided into foure partes. So that in Albania was one ruler, in Loegria another, in Cambria the third, and in Cornewall the fourth. But of these foure Rulers, the English Chronicle alloweth Cloton Duke of Cornewall, for most right- Cloto Duke of Cornewall.
ful heyre.

¶ Reynulph of Chester sayth, that after the death of the sayde brethren, great discorde was in this lande vnder the gouernement of. v. kinges, but he neyther reherseth their names nor the times of their reignes, sauing that he sayth that the discorde continued vnto the cõming of Mulmucius Dunwallo. So that here appereth no time certaine, howe long this discorde and variance among the Britons continued, but who so lust to looke in Fabian, in a draught by him drawne, in the beginning of his Chronicle, shall there finde that it continued nere to the terme of. Lj. yeres.

ABout this time Esdras, by the lycence of Artaxerses came from Babilon to Ierusalem with. xvij. C. lxxv. Iewes, to repaire the lawe and Citie of God, and to teache the people: For he gathered and brought in order the bookes of the holy Scripture, before scattered and destroyed, and inuented the same Hebrew Charettes which are vsed at this day. 3503 460

ANd here also I finde noted by Lanquet, that at this time began the computation of the. lxx. weekes of Daniell, euery weeke conteyning. vij. yere, which finisheth at the death of Tiberius, after whome Gaius caused his Image to be set in the Temple, vnder the name of great Iupiter. 3520 453 *Daniel. 9.*

MUlmucius or Moluntius Dunwallo, the sonne of Cloten, vanquished the other Dukes or rulers, and reigned himselfe ouer Briteyn. This man ruled Nobly and builded a house in the Citie of Troynouaunt now called London, which house as some suppose is now called Blackwell Hall. Also he made many good lawes, the which long after were called Mulmucius lawes. These lawes Gildas translated with great diligence out of the Britishe speche into Latyn. And long time after, Aluredus or Alured king of England turned the same out of Latyn into English, or the Saxen tongue. He also gaue priuilege to Temples, to Ploughes and Cities, and to the wayes leading to the same. Whereby as Raynulph sayth, all such malefactours as fled vnto them for succour and regarde of themselues, might not be empeched nor molested any maner of wayes of their enimies, so that had a man done neuer so much harme (as Caxton reporteth in his story) if he might once come into the Temple, it was not lawfull for any to misintreate him, and lykewise he shoulde bee suffered therein to go safe and in peace, and afterward go into what Country he would without any harme. And if any man fortuned to set any violent hand vpon him, he then should leese his lyfe. And as some Aucthours affirme, he began the foure highe wayes of Briteyn, the which was finished and priuileged also by Belinus his sonne, as after shall be declared. The olde Chronicle testifieth that this Mulmucius, whom he nameth Molle and Caxton Douebant made the two townes of Malmesbury and Vyes. And many other wryters, affirme that after he had stablished himselfe in this land, and set his Britons in good order, he by the aduise of his Lordes ordeyned him a Crowne or Diademe of Golde, and caused him selfe to be crowned with great solempnitie after the vsaunce of the Pagan law. And for this cause, after the opinion of some writers, he was called the first king of Briteyn. And all the other before rehersed were called Rulers, Dukes, or Gouernors. Of the same Mulmucius it is further written by Ihon Bale Doctour and others, that he was a great fauourer and supporter of all learned men, and that by him was restored to the auncient trade and maner, the science of Chiualrie, wonderfully decayed before his tyme, and in maner cleane extinguished. 3522 441 Blackwell Hall. *Reynulph.* *Caxton.* The foure high wayes. Mulmucius the first king of Briteyn that ware a Crowne of Golde. *Iben Bale.*

¶ Finally, when he had guided the lande well and nobly the space of. xl. yeres, he dyed,

dyed, and was buried in Troynouaunt, now called London, leauing after him two sonnes, the one named Belinus, the other Brennus.

3562
401

BElinus and Brennus the two sonnes of Mulmucius, began to reigne ioyntly as kinges of Briteyn: and Belyn held Loegria or Logiers, which is that part that we now call England, Wales, and Cornewall. And Brennus had all the land beyond Humber, with the which partition eche of them held himselfe well contented, and so was the Realme of Briteyn peaceably gouerned betwixt them, the space of. v. yeres, as Polichronica sayth, and in this meane tyme Brennus builded the Citie of Bristow. After which terme, the sayde Brennus entending to haue more lande or all, arose against his brother Belyne, and made vpon him sharpe and mortall warre. In the which warre Brennus was ouerset and compelled to flie the lande, and to sayle to Armorica, nowe named little Briteyn, but as Reynulph and Gaufride sayth, he went into Norway, and there maried the daughter of Elfunge or Elfyng which then was Duke of Norway. When this was shewed vnto Belyn, he considering the sodaine departing of his brother: did in all the hast first seaze Albania, and al the other land that belonged to Brenne into his awne hand, and fortefied the Cities therof and other strong places, with his awne Garisons and Souldiours. Whereof when Brenne was aduertised, he in all possible hast assembled a great armie of people of the Norwayes, and tooke his shipping to sayle into Briteyn. And as he was keeping his course vpon the sea, he was encountred with Guilthdacus king of Denmarke the which had lyen in awayte for him, for loue of a Damsell that he had maried which before tyme was promised vnto the saide Guilthdacus by the saide Elfunge her father. When these two Nauies were met, strong shot and fight was vpon both parties: But finally the Danes ouercame the Norwayes, and tooke the ship by strength wherein the yong Damsell was, who was quickly brought vnto the Ship of Guilthdake. And so in fine Brenne with a fewe of his Shippes left, was faine to prouide for his awne safetie by flight.

Brennus.

Belyn.

Guilthdacus king of Denmarke.

Guilthdake.

¶ When Guylthdake had thus obteyned the victory, he entending to haue sayled toward Denmarke, the tempestes were so great, and wind so contrary, that he was enforced to land in Northumberland, where at that tyme was Belyn making of preparation of defence against his brothers comming. But when word was brought vnto Belyn, of the landing of the king of Denmarke with a smal company he reioyced at it, and counmaunded him with his Shippes and company to be put in sure holde and keeping.

Guilthdake king of Denmarke taken.

¶ It was not long after, but Brenne had newly rygged and victualled his Shippes, hearing of the arriuall of Guilthdacus in Northumberland with his wyfe, sent woordes of manace vnto his brother Belyne, willing him to send vnto him his wyfe, wrongfully rauished and deteyned by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, and also to restore him to his Patrimony, or else he would shortly inuade his lande, the same for to waste, and as his enemy to destroye. The which request was of Belyne plainly and shortly denied. Wherof when Brenne had knowledge, he shortly after landed in a part of Albania, & made towarde his brother, and his brother towardes him: so that their hostes met nere vnto a Wood, named the Calatere, where betwene them was a mortall and terrible battayle, insomuch, that muche people were slaine vpon both parties: But in the ende the Britons wan the fielde, and chased the Norwayes vnto their Shippes. And as Gaufride sayth, the fight was so cruell & sharpe, that there were of both sydes slaine, to the number of. xl. M. men.

Brennus sedeth defiance to his brother Belyne.

A cruell battaile betwene two brethren.

¶ After this discomfiture, Brenne was constreyned to flie, and with a very fewe in number, recouered the land of Gallia.

¶ Belinus hauing obteyned this great victory ouer his enemies, after thankes and oblations made vnto his Goddes, after the maner of the Pagan lawe: he then assembled his Lordes at Yorke, and there tooke their aduice what he should do with the king of Denmarke. In the which counsayle it was concluded, that the aforesayde Guilthdacus should holde

holde and do homage to the king of Briteyn for the land of Denmarke, and yerely pay vnto him a thousand pound for a tribute: which beyng done with suretie and hostages, the sayd Guilthdacus with his woman, was set at libertie, and returned into his awne Country. Guilthdake king of Denmark became tributary to England.

¶ Now when Belyne had by this victorie possessed the quiet state of this Realme, he confirmed the lawes made before by his father, and did ordeine that iustice was ministred throughout the lande. And where the foure wayes begon by his father were not perfighted and ended: He therfore called workmen and set them to paue the same with stone, that they might the better bee knowen to all trauaylers. The foure high wayes of England, paued by Belyne.

¶ The first of these foure wayes was named *Fosse*, the which stretcheth out of the South, into the North, & began at that tyme at Totnesse in Cornewall, and passed forth by Deuonshire, Somersetshire, and so foorth by Tutbury vpon Cotteswolde besyde Couentry vnto Leycester, and from thence by wylde playnes toward Newarke, and endeth at the Citie of Lincolne. Fosse.

¶ The seconde way was named *Watling streete*, the which stretcheth ouertwhart the waies of Fosse, out of the Southeast, into the Northeast. This began at Douer, and passeth by the middle of Kent ouer Thamis beside London, by west of Westminster, and so foorth by S. Albones, in the West syde of Dunstable, of Stratford, of Towcester, & of Wedon: by South Killingbourn, by Atherstone, and then passeth besides Bewdley ouer Seuerne vnto Gilbertes hill, that now is called the Wrekyn, and so foorth vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales vnto a place called Cardican at the Irish Sea. Watling streete.

¶ The thirde way was named *Erming streete* the which stretcheth out of the West, Northwest, vnto the East Southeast, & beginneth at S. Dauids in west Wales, and so stretcheth foorth vnto Southampton. Erming streete.

¶ The fourth and last way is called *Kykenyldes streete*, the which stretcheth foorth by Worceter, by Wycombe, by Birmyngham, by Lichfielde, by Darby, by Chesterfielde, by Yorke, and so foorth vnto Tynmouth, the which were sufficiently made. And he graunted and confirmed vnto them, all such priuileges as before were granted by Dunwallo his father. The which priuileges with other lawes by him made, such as are desirous to knowe, let them reade the translation of Gildas, made of Mulmucius lawes, out of Britishe speech vnto latine, and there he shall see the whole. Kykenyldes streete.

¶ While Belyne was thus occupied, his brother Brenne beyng as aforesayd in a prouince of Gallia, taking his expulsion very grieuously, and beyng without comfort to attayne to his former dignitie, at the last resorted (being accompanied onely with xij. persons) vnto the Duke or ruler of that Prouynce or Country.

¶ For ye shall vnderstande, that in those dayes (as sayeth *Eutropius* and other wryters) the Gallis occupied diuers Countries. And therefore *Titus Liuius* wrote the histories of the Romaynes, made distinction of the Gallis, and nameth them that Brenne lead when he besieged Rome, and afterwards the Capitoll *Senones Galli*, of whome the Citie of Sene in Tuscayne tooke name, because (as testifieth the Author of *Chronica Chronicarum*, and other) it was first builded of the aforesayd Galles in the time of Brenne being there Duke and leader before the comming of Christ. CCC. lxxx. yeres. And for this cause the Senenses are of the aforesayde wryters reckened also among the Galles. Fraunce at ye first was deuided into sundry countries.

¶ Now when Brenne was commen to the Duke, whome Gaufride calleth *Signinus* Duke of Alebrog, the which is to be vnderstande the Duke of Armorica, now called little Briteyn, as Reynulph doth plainely declare, and that he had opened vnto him all his griefe and trouble: the sayde Duke receyued him into his Courte with all curtesie and gentlenesse. And for that he was a personable & of gentle nature furnished with all that belonged to a Gentleman, he within a short time after was had in great estimatiō before any other that apperteined to his Court. By reason wherof at the last he fell in loue with his daughter, and in the ende maried her vpon condicion that if he dyed without issue Male, that he then should be ruler of that Countrie, and if it happened him Amorica called little Briteyn.

to haue an heyre Male, that then yet notwithstanding, to ayde and helpe him to recouer his land lost.

¶ The which condicions well and surely vpon the Dukes partie, by the assent of the Nobles of his land were assured. And the sayde Duke within lesse then one yere following dyed. After whose death, when by a conuenient tyme, it was knowne that the Duchesse his wife was not with childe, all the Lordes of the land did their homage to Brenne. To the which Lordes, the more to winne their loue, he departed much of his treasure, and shortly after with their assent gathered a great armie, and so in all haste sayled into Briteyn to make new warre vpon his brother Belyne, and after a little tyme landed there. Of whose landing when Belyne was informed, he in all haste gathered his Britons together in great number & made towarde Brennus, as to his mortall enimie. But the mother of the two brethren, named Conwenna, or after the English booke Conwey, considering the mortall hatred betwene her two children, of a motherly pitie went betwene her two sonnes, and vsed her selfe so wisely and discretely, that at length she agreed them. After which agreement, both the brethren with their Lordes and friendes sped them vnto Troynouaunt, or London, and there after many things done and ordered for the weale of the lande, they agreed to leade both their hostes into Gallia for to subdue to them the sayde Countrie. And in as goodly haste as they might prepare for the iourney, they tooke shipping and so sayledinto a part of Gallia, brenning and wasting the Countrie without all pittie. And as sayth Gaufrid, they in short time subdued a great parte of Gallia, Italy, and Germany.

'The true office of a naturall mother.

Belyne and Brenne were great conquerours.

¶ Here Gaufrid doth vary from Eutropius, Titus Liuius, and other the writers of the Romaine Histories, for where Gaufrid sayeth that at suche time as Belyn and Brenne made warre in Italy, Gabius and Porsena were the Consules of Rome, that saiyng differeth farre from other. For as they affirme, at the time when Brenne besieged Rome, *Claudius Æmilius*, and *Lucius Lucretius* were Consules, & *Furius Camillus* was at that time Dictator of Rome, and none lyke vnto the other were Consules many yeres before nor after.

¶ But truth it is, that the sayde two brethren did many great actes in the aforenamed Countries, but not all agreeable with the saiyng of Gaufrid. For where he referreth all those deedes to both brethren, the aforenamed *Titus Liuius* speaketh but of Brenne, as hereafter shall appere. Now when Belyn had remained a certeyne of time with his brother Brenne in those partes, by agreement of them both, Belyn returned into Briteyn, & Brenne remayned behinde.

¶ When Belyn was returned into Briteyn, he repayred certaine olde Cities and builded vpon the Riuer of Vske a Citie, and called it Caeruske nere vnto the Riuer of Seuerne. This Citie was after named the Citie of *Legions* because the *Legions* of the Romaines were lodged in the same Citie, and now it is called Caerleon, which in the time of king Arthur was an Vniuersitie and had in it two hundred Philosophers, as Gaufride wryteth, which being well learned in Astronomie and other Sciences, diligently obserued the courses of the starres, and by true and infallible reasons, shewed before what straunge and wonderfull things should that time happen vnto king Arthur.

¶ Also he builded in Troynouant an Hauen, with a gate ouer the same, in the Pynacle or top whereof was a Vessel of brasse, in the which was inclosed the Ashes of his brent body, when he was dead. This gate was long after called Belyns or Belynus gate, and at this day it is called Belynsgate.

Belingesgat.

¶ While Belinus was thus occupied in Briteyn, his brother Brenne desirous to winne fame and honour, builded in Italy and in certeyn partes of Gallia certeyn Cities and Townes as foloweth.

Pauy.	Brixia.	Milleyn.
Bergomum.	Verona.	Tridentum.
Seua.	Vincencia.	Cremona.
Comum.		

¶ The

¶ The which Cities and Townes were builded of the Galles, or at the least were new repayred in the time that Brenne was their Duke and leader, although some writers suppose that *Comum*, and *Cremona* were builded after Brenne was dead. Reynulph sayth, *Reynulph.* that the Senons, which he meaneth by the Galles dwelling about the Citie of *Sena*, by the leading of Brennus ouercame the Romaines. xj. Myles from Rome, at the Riuer *Albia*, and chaced them to Rome and tooke the Citie, and after layed siege to the Capitoll. And in a night while the warders of the Capitoll slept, the Frenchmen or Galles by a way vnder the earth came into the Capitoll and were lykely to haue wonne it. But a noble Romaine named *Mallius* or *Manlius Torquatus*, awoke by the crying and noyse of a Gander or Ganders. The which Manlius resisted the Galles, for which the Romaines long time after held a feast of Ganders the first day of Iune: Howbeit, afterward, it was called Iunos Feast, because they thought that Iuno the Goddesse had by her influence geuen that grace vnto the Ganders, that they should by their noyse awake the Romaines. But yet the Galles or Frenchmen, helde the Romaines so shorte, that they were compelled to giue vnto Brenne their Duke a thousande pound weight of Golde, as sayeth *Titus Liuius*, and he sayeth further that the Galles slue of the Senators of Rome a great many in number, whome they supposed to haue bene Goddes, because of the riche apparell that they sate in. But shortly after this, the aforenamed *Furius Camillus*, which was called againe from the Citie of Ardea, where he was outlawed before, and by the Commonalty of Rome in this distresse made againe *Dictator*, pursued Brenne and his people, and gaue to them battaile, and slue of them a great number, and wanne from them all the Golde and Iewels that before time the Galles had wonne of the Romaines. The which deede was done. CCC. lxiiij. yere before the comming of Christ.

The noyse of a Gander awoke Manlius and saued the Capitoll. Ganders feast.

A great gift not long enioyed.

Furius Camillus a Dictator of Rome, wan againe from Brenne, all that euer Rome had lost.

¶ Now when Brenne was this discomfited of the Romaines, he turned his people toward the Macedones or Grekes, and deuided them into two hostes, whereof he reteyned the one with him, and the other he sent into a Countrie called then Gallacia, and after Gallogrecia, and lastly Galates. Then Brenne ouercame the Macedones, with their Duke Siteme, and after spoyled their Goddes and their Temples, and sayde in myrth, riche Goddes must geue to men some of their riches. Also he spoyled the Temple of the God Appollo Delphicus, standing in the hill of Mount Pernasus. Wherefore as sayth Poliarpus, the people of that Countrie prayed to God for helpe, and sodainely the earth began to quake, and a great parte of the hill fell vpon the host of the Galles and slue them. And after that, there fell Hailestones of such greatnesse, that it slue another part of the host, and Duke Brennus was sore wounded, whereby he fell in such dispaire, that he slue himselfe with his awne sworde.

Brenne discomfited.

Gallacia. Gallogrecia. Galates.

Brenne ouercame the Macedons.

A straunge thing.

Brenne killed himselfe.

Now for as much as I haue here shewed you the ende of Brennus, I will now returne to Belinus his brother, who as before is declared, busyed himselfe in the guyding and ordering of his Realme and people of Briteyn, and in executing many notable deedes, like as he constituted and ordeyned three Archflamyns, whose Seas, were at London, Yorke, and Caerleon. And as Master Layland sayth, he buylded the Tower of London, and did many other notable things in his dayes, the which for length I ouerpasse: and finally he dyed and after the Pagan maner, was with great pompe burned and buried at Troynouant in London, when he had reigned with his brother and alone, after some writers. xxvj. yeres, leauing after him a sonne named Gurguinthus, or Gurguint Brabtruc, or after some wryters Gurguint Barbarouge, which is to meane Gurguint with the red beard.

Belyne dead.

GVrguintus the sonne of Belyne, a Prince of great wisdome and sobernesse and when time came succeded his father, & reigned king of Briteyn. xix. yeres, who following his fathers steppes, loued both peace and iustice. This king forasmuch as the tribute that was graunted to his father by the king of Denmarke, was now denyed to bee payed, assembled a great army, and prepared a great Nauy, and sayled into Denmark, and there wasted.

3588

375

wasted & spoyled the Country with sword and fyre, in such wise, that at length the king of Denmarke, with the assent of his Barounge, graunted to pay and continue
Danes-tribute. the aforesayde Tribute of a thousande pound yerely. Howbeit Gaufrid wryteth, that he slue the sayde King in battaile. After which victory thus had of the Danes, he with great triumph returned into Briteyn. And in keeping of his course, he encountered with a nauie of. xxx. sayle besyde the Isles of Orcades full of Men and Women, of which flote, the chiefe Capiteyn was called as most writers affirme, Bartholomew, ỹ which when he was brought vnto the kinges presence, shewed that he with his people were put or exiled out of Spaine, and were named Balenses, and had sayled long time vpon the Sea, to the ende to finde some Prince that would geue to them a dwelling place, and they to become his Subiectes, and to holde their lande of him, beseching the king to haue compassion vpon them, and to graunt to them some place to inhabite in, that they should no lenger dwell in their Shippes, considering their victuall was spent by reason of their long lyng vpon the Sea. After which request thus made by their Capitaine, the king with the aduice of his Barons, graunted to them a voyd and waste Countrie, which was and is the farthest Isle of al the Isles toward ỹ west, the which, Isle
Spaniardes lycenced to inhabite Ireland. as saith the English Chronicle, was then named Irelande, after the name of their Capiteyn called as he wryteth Irlamall. But who so will know the first cause of the naming of this Isle Ireland, let him reade the. xxxij. and. xxxiij. of the first booke of *Polichronica*, and there he shall finde the more certeinty of the naming thereof, with many other thinges touching the sayd Isle.

¶ Then it foloweth in the story, after Gurguintus was returned into his land of Briteyn, he established and ordeyned to be kept the lawes made by his forefathers, and exercised
Iustice. iustice to his Subiectes, and gouerned his lande well and nobly by the space of. xix. yeres, and then dyed, and was buryed at Caerleon, or after some wryters at Troynouaunt, leauing after him a sonne named Guyntelinus or after some, Guintellius.

3607 GVintelinus, or Guintellius the sonne of Gurguintus, was made king of Briteyn, and
336 he guyded this lande with great meekenesse and sobernesse. He had also a noble Wife called Marcia, who was learned in many sciences, and among other noble deedes by her done, she set foorth vnto the Britons a wholesome and notable law, which long time
Martians lawes. after was called Marcians lawe. This lawe, for that it was good and necessary, Aluredus which long after was king of England, trãslated out of British into the Saxons speech, and then was it called euer after in the Saxons tongue, Marthelag, that is to say, the lawe of Marcia. To this Wooman for her wisedome, was committed all the gouernance of the land, and (as Gaufride sayth) shee reigned as Queene of Briteyn a certeyn tyme after her Husband was deade. But the yeres of her reigne are accompted with the yeres of her Husband, or with the yeres of her Sonne Sisillus, so that the tyme of her reigne is not certeyne.

¶ In this time the said Guintelyn builded the towne of Warwike, which was about the tyme of the birth of great Alexander. But after that the Saxons destroyed it. But it was reedefyed agayne by king Guyderius.

¶ Now when Guinthelinus had reigned well and worthely the space of xxvj. yeres, he dyed, and was buried at Troynouaunt, or London, leauing after him a sonne named Sisillus, or Cecilius.

3640 CEcilius, or Sisillus, the sonne of Guinthelyn, reigned king ouer Briteyn, but
330 there is no notable thing written of him, but that (as the Scottes write) in the first yere
Pichtes. of his reigne, a people of Almaine called Pichtes, aryued here in Briteyn, and possessed those partes which we now call the Marches of both the Realmes of England and Scotland, and when he had reigned. vij. yeres he dyed, and left after him a sonne named Kimarus.

KImarus

KImarus, ỹ sonne of Cecilius, reigned king of Briteyn, but of him there is nothing written, but that he was a wilde and wanton Prince, geuen to all pleasure and pastime, & reigned but thre yeres, beyng slain of his aduersaries as he was a hunting, and left after him a sonne named Elanius. 3640 323

ELanius the sonne of Kymarus, reigned king after his father, but some Authours wryte that Elanius was brother to Kymarus, and some wryte that Kymarus and Elanius was but one person, howbeit: it is most lyke they were two persons, now to be short, he reigned, but two yeres, but other wryte (whom I credite) as *Lanquet*, that he reigned. ix. yeres, and then dyed.

MOrindus the bastard sonne of Elanius (as sayeth Gaufride) was made king of Briteyn. This man was gotten vpon the Concubine of Elanius, named Tanguestela, and was a man of worthy fame in deedes of Chiualrye, but he was so ouercome with wrath and cruelnesse, that commonly he was the death of any that angred him. Besides this, he was comely of personage, and liberall in rewardes, and was also of a merueilous strength, insomuch, as he had not his lyke of any man that was within the Realme, beyng of Noble birth. 3632 311 Morindus a cruell man.

¶ In his time there came a Prince into this realme out of a Country called Mauritania, the which Prince with his cruell and fierce people wasted the land of Briteyn with sworde and fire, without all pitie and mercy. Whereof when Morindus was certified, he in all haste gathered his people, and met with him in the field, and bad him battaile, and fought in such wise, that at the last he chased the Prince to the Sea againe, and tooke many of his Souldiers Prisoners, whome to be reuenged of the tyrannie vsed by the sayde Prince, he caused to be put to death in diuerse cruell maners, as by hangyng, heading, fleayng, brenning, and other cruell executions done in his sight. Cruell executions.

¶ Finally (as sayth *Guido de columna*) and other, this Morindus on a time walking, or riding along by the Sea coast, espied a wonderful strange Monster, the which of his knighthood and courage he thought to slaye. And with a manly force assayled the Monster, fighting with it a certeyne space: But in conclusion he was deuoured and swalowed of the sayde Monster, after he had reigned. viij. yeres, leauing behinde him. v. sonnes, Gorbomannus, Archigallo, Elidurus, Vigenius, and Peredurus. *Guido de Columna.* Morindus was slaine & deuoured of a Monster in the Sea.

ABout this time the Scottes beginne their Chronicles at Fergus or Fergucius the sonne of Ferquard king of Ireland: who (as they write) came with a great power out of Ireland to their ayde in the tyme of dissension, betwene them and the Pichtes, where by wisedome and prowesse he so handled the matter that he agreed those people, and obteyned such fauour, that they elected him to be their king, and he reigned among them. xxv. yeres, and finally in passing the seas betwene Ireland & Scotland, he was drowned. 3652 311 Fergus king of Scottes drowned.

¶ But these histories of the Scottes, as they set them foorth are full of lyes, and agree with none other Historiens, for they saye that Fergus slue Coill king of Briteyn, when there was then no such of that name, nor many yeres after, as it maye hereafter appere. But I will take the yeres of the reignes of their kings as they write them, which were from this time vnto the comming of Cesar. CC. lx. yeres, for the which cause I haue here for the better agreement of the Historie and computation of the yeres, begonne to write of them.

Gorbomannus the first sonne of Morindus was made king of Briteyn, he was a iust and a righteous man both to his Goddes and to his people, that is to saye he yeelded and gaue to eyther part that was theirs, he gaue to his Goddes due reuerence and sacrifice, and ministred to his people iustice and equitie. And he renewed and repayred all the olde Temples through his Realme, and builded some new, and as the English Chronicle sayth, he builded the Towne of Cambridge and Grantham. And in the time of his reigne the land was much more welthier than it was in the dayes of his predecessors. But finally to the great 3660 303 Cambridge builded, 300. yeres before Christ.

Gorbomannus dea t.

great sorow of all his people, he was taken with a grieuous sicknesse, and thereof dyed without issue of his body, when he had reigned after most writers. xj. yeres.

3671
292

ARchigallo or Artogallo, the second sonne of Morindus, and brother vnto Gorbomannus reigned king of Briteyn. This man folowed nothing the steppes of his brother, but gaue himselfe to all quareling and strife, and imagined causes against his nobles, to pull from them their goodes and dignities, and in their places to set vp vnnoble, and men of vde birth and maner. And so from the riche, by synister meanes he plucked their riches and goodes: by which inordinate meanes, he enriched himselfe and impouerished his subiectes. For which condicions his Lordes and subiectes murmured against him, and at the last by one assent tooke him and depriued him of all honor and kingly dignitie when he had reigned. v. yeres. And they aduaunced into the kingdome his brother Elidurus.

Archigallo deposed.

3676
287

ELidurus the third sonne of Morindus and brother to Archigallo, was by the assent of the Britons made king. This man became so mylde and gentle to the Britons, that they gaue to him a surname, and called him Elidure the meeke. And among other deedes of meekenesse, this that foloweth is not the least to be noted. It happened him on a day to be on hunting in a Wood nere vnto Yorke called Calater, and there he founde hys elder brother Archigallo late king, wandering in the thickest of the Wood, whom louingly & charitably he in secret maner conueyed home to his mansiõ house, into the Citie then named Aldud or Acliut. And (as Gaufride sayth) to the intent to bring his brother to his former dignitie, as after followeth: For when Elidurus returned home, he feyned him selfe sicke, and in all the haste sent his messengers about his realme to gather an assembly of the Barons of his land together. And when the day of assembly was come, and his Lordes according to his commaundement were present, he called them one by one, as they were of honour into his priuie Chamber, and there by his wyse and discrete wordes he gat graunt of his sayde Lords to ayde and strength him to bring his brother Archigallo to his former dignity and Regality. After which graunt by the Lordes made, he assembled a counsayle at Yorke, and there so persuaded the commons that they were content to receiue Archigallo againe to be their king. And then Elidurus when he had reigned. v. yeres, resigned to his brother the Crowne, and all his kingly honor and dignitie.

Gaufrid.

Elidurus a worthy and gẽtle Prince.

Ptholomeus Philadelphus.

And about this time Ptholomeus Philadelphus, king of Egypt reigned in Alexandria. This prince aboue al other was geuen vnto study & learning. He made a Librarij in Alexandria, which he furnished with innumerable sortes of bookes of all Sciences. Among which as chiefe was the volume of Moses law. And the king heering that the deuine lawe was in Ierusalem, he being verie desirous to haue it translated, first discharged out of bondage all the Iewes that were in his subiection, who were in number aboue one hundreth thousand persons. And then he sent *Demetrius* and *Aristeus* to Eleazar the high Priest of the Iewes with great giftes to the Temple of God, desiring that the law might be sent vnto him, with learned men to translate it into Greke. And forthwith Eleazar sent. lxxij. interpretors, who commonly are called *Septuaginta interpretes*. These the king honorably receyued, & sent them to Demetrius Clerk of his Librarij in Alexandrie, who prouided a place for them, where they assembled daylie to translate the holye Scripture, and in. lxxij. dayes, they finished it. *Lanquet.*

Demetrius Aristeus.

The. lxxij. Interpreters.

¶ But the Aucthor of *Chronica Chronicarum* sayth, that when the. lxxij. were come to the king, he caused euerie of them seuerally to be enclosed in seuerall places alone, and euerie of them by him selfe did seuerally translate the lawe, which in. lxxij. dayes they finished, and the sayde Aucthor allegeth for him Saint Augustine, that when the translations were conferred together, they differed not, neither varied in worde nor sentence, the which translation was by the Iewes offered vnto the king, and the king calling vnto the interpreters, did first geue them thanks, and after lycenced them to depart to their Countrie, and gaue vnto euery of them in reward three sutes of Apparell, and two Talents of Golde, and

and one Cup of one Talent of Golde, and sufficient furniture for all their iourney and expences.

3678
288

ANd in this tyme also Ferithias, brother to Fergus, was chosen King of Scottes during the nonage of his brothers children, who by Ferlegus his Nephew, for the desire to reigne, was slaine, when he had reigned. xv. yeres, and Ferlegus for that act fled Scotland.

Archigallo king of Briteyn amended his life.

WHen Archigallo was againe restored to his kingdome as aforesayde, he remembred well the euill life that before tyme he had led, and the punishment that he had suffred for the same, wherfore in the esehewing of like daunger, he chaunged all his olde condicions and became a good and a righteous man, ministring to the people equitie and iustice, and bare himselfe so nobly and honorably towardes his Lordes and the rulers vnder him, that he was beloued and drad of all his subiectes, and so continued during the terme of his naturall lyfe, and finally he dyed, when he had reigned now lastly. x. yeres, and was buried at Yorke.

3691
274

ELidurus before named, was now againe by one assent of the Britons made king: But his [illegible] younger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus hauing indignation at him, for that he [illegible] his vertue and good gouernance so well fauoured and beloued of the Britons, con- against him of malice, and gathering an armie of Souldiours, gaue him battayle: and [illegible]e fielde tooke him, and then sent him to the Tower of Troynouant, which now is led the Tower of London, and there kept him as prisoner, when he had reigned now [illegible]y two yeres.

Elidurus a vertcous Prince, committed to the tower of London.

3693
270

[illegible]enius and Peredurus the yongest sonnes of Morindus and brethren of Elidurus before- [illegible]eigned ioyntly as Kings of Briteyn. These brethren parted the land betwene them: [illegible]t all the lande from the water of Humber westwarde fell to Vigenius: and the other [illegible]f the land with Albania or Scotland also, fell vnto Peredurus. But as sayeth Guydo, [illegible]s was not king, but alonely Peredurus, who as he sayeth, kept his brother Elidu- [illegible]rison, by his awne assent, because Elidurus was not wylling to be king, as the [illegible]uydo sayth. Peredurus was cruell and tyrannous to the Briteyns, and slue and [illegible] *the Lordes in most cruell maner, so that in the ende he became so odious vnto* [illegible]*e they rebelled against him and slue him.* But Gaufride sayth, and it appereth [illegible], *that Vigenius dyed when he had reigned.* vij. yeres: After whose death Peredu- [illegible]*l all the land into his awne rule, and ruled it with great sobernesse, in such wise* [illegible]*xcelled all his other brethren, so that Elidurus was cleane forgotten of the Britons:* [illegible]*last Peridurus was visited with sicknesse, and thereof dyed, when he had reigned* [illegible]rother and alone. ix. yeres, leauing behinde him no childe.

Briteyn parted betwene two brethren.

Peredurus slaine.

3693
270

M[illegible]yrus yongest sonne of Fergus, after the death of his Vncle, was king of Scottes, [illegible]nd in his time he deuised many supersticious Ceremonies to be vsed in his Pagan law, and [illegible]hen he had reigned. xxix. yeres, he dyed.

3702
261

ELidurus before named, as sone as Peredurus was dead, forasmuch as he was next heyre [illegible] the Crowne, was taken out of Prison and made the thirde tyme king of Briteyn: who as [illegible]ore tyme he had vsed himselfe, so he continued still in ministring to all persons, right, and [illegible]tice, all the dayes of his lyfe. And lastly, beyng of a good age, he dyed when he had [illegible]w reigned. iiij. yeres, leauing after him a sonne named Gorbonianus or Gorbomannus, [illegible]d the sayd Elidurus was buried at Carlisle.

3705
258

GOrbomannus, or Gorbonianus the sonne of Elidure, was king of Briteyn, after whome [illegible]cceded Morgan, and after Morgan Emerianus, brother to the sayd Morgan, the which [illegible]merianus was depriued for his cruelnesse.

PEridure being king gouerned the land well and worthely, and reigned. iiij. yeres, and is buried at Pekering.

VIGEM when he had reigned. iiij. yere, dyed.

Mercifull. REgin put away all maner of cruelnesse, and was gracious, and full of pity among the people and reigned two yeres.

Mercifull. MOrgan was a cruell king, and reigned. ix. yeres, but Lanquet sayth, he was a mercifull king and reigned. xiiij. yeres.

Cruell. EMerianus, or Ennian, brother to Morgan, reigned as a Tyraunt ouer Briteyn, for the space of. vij. yeres, and then he was deposed.

Mercifull. IDwall, beyng king of Briteyn was a good Man, and commendable in all his actes, he reigned. xx. yere.

Mercifull. RIMO A vertuous man, and he reigned. xx. yere.

Mercifull. GEroncyus sonne of Elidure was king and liued verteously, and had two sonnes, Cathell, and Coyll, and reigned. xx. yeres.

CATELLVS or Cathell, the sonne of Geroncius reigned. x. yeres.

COILL was brother to Cathell, and reigned. xx. yere.

PORREX the sonne of Coill reigned in Briteyn. v. yeres.

A dronkard. CHerimus, or Cheryn was a great Dronkarde, and he had three sonnes, Fulg Eldadus, and Androgius, and he reigned but one yere.

FVLGEN sonne to Chirimus, reigned two yeres.

A Monster. ELdadus sonne to Cherin, reigned one yere. And in this time, as sayth Lanqu was a Childe borne in Rome with foure feete, foure handes, foure eyes, as many ea hauing both natures.

ANDROGIVS reigned after Eldadus king of Briteyn one yere.

Lecherous. VRian the sonne of Androgius, succeded his father in the Realme of Bri reigned. iij. yeres, and was a lecherous man, and gaue himselfe wholy to the fi of the flesh.

ELiud Cosin to Vrian, was made king by election of the people, and reigne

ELEDANCVS was sonne to Vrian, who liued delicately & reigned but on

CLOTHEVS was king, and reigned two yere.

GVRGVNCIVS reigned. viij. yeres.

MORIAN was a Man of great beutie, he reigned two yeres.

BLEDVD, or Bladunus, reigned after Morian two yere.

CAPENVS, sonne to Morian, reigned three yeres.

OVINVS ruled Briteyn two yeres.

SILIVS, reigned in Briteyn two yere.

Musicke. BLedgabredus succeded in the gouernement of this realme, and he was the most excellent man in musick that was in those daies, & he reigned. xx. yere.

ARCHIMALVS

ARCHIMALVS was king after his brother Bledgabred, & he reigned. ij. yere.

ELDOLVS reigned king of Briteyn. iiij. yere.

RODIAN reigned king of Briteyn two yere.

REDARGIVS reigned king of Briteyn three yere.

SAMVLIVS reigned king of Briteyn two yeres, & was a very good Man.

PENISELLVS reigned king of Briteyn two yeres.

PYrrus reigned king of Briteyn two yeres, and the heare of his heade was as bright as the shining Golde.

CAPORVS the sonne of Pyrre reigned two yeres.

DIuellus reigned ouer Briteyne. iiij. yeres, he was a verye wyse and verteous Prince.

HEly the sonne of Diuellus reigned ouer Briteyn, not full one yere, and he had three sonnes, Lud, Cassibelan, and Stennius, or rather Nennius, they were wise men, and vaaunt in warres. And of this man the Isle of Elye tooke (as some writers affirme) the irst name: notwithstanding, Laylande supposeth it to be so called, of Eelys, which are here ingendred in great store, and therefore calleth it in latine *Insula Anguillaria.* Hely.

LVd the eldest sonne of Hely, was after his father King of Briteyn. This Man was horable in all his deedes, and he builded new temples and repayred the olde. He also rayred olde Cities and townes, and specially the Citie of Troynouant, where he caused any buildings to be made, and also made about the sayde Citie a strong wall. And in he west part of the sayde wall, he erected and made a strong and fayre Gate, and commaunded the same to be called by his awne name Luddes gate, which at this day is called Ludgate. And for that he loued this City, he vsed much and often to lye therin, by reason wherof it was called Caerlud, or Luds towne, & after by corruption of spech, it was after called, & is so named at this day London. Ludgate.

¶ Bale wryteth how there fell great dissension betwene Lud and his brother Nennius foresayd, about the chaunging of the name of Troynouaunt into Luddes towne, or ondon, because it might be the occasion that the memorie of Troy and the worthie eedes there done, should thereby be buried in obliuion, and be forgotten.

¶ This Lud also (as sayth Gaufrid) was strong and mightie in armes in subduing his nimies. He was also bounteous and liberall and kept a great houshold, by meane wherof he obteyned the great loue and fauour of all the Britons. And when he had reigned in onour. xj. yeres, he dyed, and was buried in his gate called Ludgate, and left after im two sonnes, as *Guydo* sayth, the one named Androgeus, and the other Temancius, or cnancius. Lud buried in Ludgate.

CAssibelan or as some wryte Cossiuelan, after the death of his brother Lud, was made ing of Briteyn, for so much as the two sonnes before named, were to yong and infficient to take in hande so great a charge. But as sayth the Flowre of Histories, this assibelan was not made king of Briteyn, but rather ruler or protector of the lande, for e time of the nonage of the aforesayde brethren: albeit Gaufrid sayth, that after Cassielan was set in auctoritie, he became so noble and liberall that his name sprang farre, d by his exercise of iustice, the Britons ought to him more fauour then to eyther of his phewes: Howbeit, he cherished them and brought them vp according to their birth. when they came vnto yeres of discretion, he gaue to Androgeus, the Citie of Lond, with the Dukedome or Ereldome of Kent, and to Temancius the Dukedome of Cornewall. 3905 58 Flowres of Historiss.

Iulius Cæsar.

¶ In this tyme *Caius Iulius Cæsar*, who most commonly is called *Iulius Cæsar*, being sent by the Senate of Rome, as felow and Consull with *Lucius Bubulus* into the countrie of Gallia, for to subdue the Galles to the Empire of Rome. The which *Iulius* being vpon the Sea side, as sayth Gaufrid, after he had ouercome the sayde Galles, and beholding the white Clifes or Rockes of Briteyn: enquired of the Countrie, and what people dwelled therein. And when he was sufficiently informed of all the commodities thereof, he had great will to bring the sayde Countrie vnder the obeysance of the Romaynes, as other Countreyes for the most parte then were. But as *Bergamo* writeth, the time that *Iulius* made warre vpon the Galles, he knew that they receyued great ayde out of Briteyn, and therfore was he the willinger to conquer it, because they should not be any more ayded by the Britons. And so hauing diligently enquired of the state thereof, he wrote to Cassibelan, willing him as he tendered his awne safetie and the quietnesse of his realme and people, that he would become tributarie vnto the Empire of Rome, like as many other Nations were.

¶ But Cassibelan hauing great indignation to become subiect, wrote vnto him sharpe and short aunsweres, shewing that he and euerie noble man was bounde specially to keepe his Countrie and people from seruitude and bondage, the which to obserue he would doe his vttermost endeuour: with the which answere *Iulius Cæsar* being nothing contented, in all haste made readie his Nauie and people, and sayled towarde Briteyn. And when the Romaines were come nere the land of Briteyn, and should haue landed, the Britons pight sharpe stakes and long vpon the bancks, which caused them to winne the lande with great daunger. And not long after their landing, Cassibelan with a strong hoste of Britons encountered the Romaines, geuing to them a fierce battaile, in so much that they were faine to flie to their Ships for suretie, and after with sodaine tempest his Nauie being almost destroyed, he returned againe into France there to Winter. Not withstanding (as Gaufrid and other sayth) after he had renewed his armie, and also rygged and encreased his Nauie, he came againe the second time: But as before time, so he was now againe by the Manhood of the king and of his Britons manfully and knightly withstanded and chased away, and compelled to flee with great dishonour. In the which battaile, the valiaunt courage of the hardy and noble knight Nennius brother vnto king Cassibelan is worthy of perpetuall memorie, who manfully fighting for the defence of his Countrie and the libertie thereof, besides other noble deedes of armes then by him atchieued, ranne vnto *Cæsar* and plucked his sworde out of his hande, and therewith slue *Labienus* Tribune or chiefe Captaine of the Romaine Nobilitie: And receyuing againe as Gaufride wryteth his deathes wound by the same *Cæsar*, dyed thereof verie shortly after, and was buried at the Northgate of Troynouaunt, and the sayde sworde put in the Coffyn with him by his commaundement.

Iulius Cæsar and his Romaines had the repulse.

Iulius Cæsar had a second repulse.

Gaufrid.

Iho Lydgate.

¶ Iho Lydgate in his booke named the Serpent of Diuision wryteth that *Iulius Cæsar* buylded in this land diuers Castelles and Cities for a perpetuall memorie of his name, that is to say, a Castell not farre from Douer, the Castelles of Cauntorburie and Rochester and the auncientst parte of the Tower of London. The Castell and Towne of Cesar Bury, which now is called Sarisburie or Salsburie: he also edefied Cesars Chester or Chichester and the Castell of Excester.

¶ For which victorie thus twise obteyned, Cassibelan entending to geue thanks vnto his Goddes, and to rewarde his Knights, in goodly haste caused an assembly to be made of all his Lordes and Knightes at the Citie of Caerlud, or London, where after due obseruances done to their Goddes, after the vse of their Pagan lawes, a great and solempne feast was holden by the king to all that would come with most liberalitie and plenty of all that was necessarie to such a feast. And the more to encrease the kings honor, and the comforte and delectation of his Lordes and other being there present, there was many maner kinde of games and pastimes, that at those dayes were exercised and vsed. During the tyme of which feast, two noble and yonge Knights among other hapned to assay eyther

A Feast made for victorie.

Games.

othe

other in wrastling, wherof the one was Nephew to king Cassibelan named Hirelda, & that other was named Euelinus, who was allyed vnto Androgeus, Erle or Duke of London. By meane of this wrestling, deuision, or vnfitting words fell betwene them, and after wordes ensued strokes, by meane whereof partes were taken on eyther side, which ranne together in great yre and malice, so that on eyther parte, many and diuers were hurt and wounded. Among whome Hirelda Nephew to the king was slaine, which caused great disturbance in the Court among the Lordes.

Wrestling. Hirelda. Euelinus.

Hirelda slaine.

¶ Now when that knowledge of the death of Hirelda was brought vnto the King: he was therewith greatly moued, and entending due iustice to be had and ministred by the aduise of his Barons caused the aforenamed Cosyn of Androgeus, who was named Euelinus to be sommoned for to appere before him and his Counsayle, and there to acquite him of such crime as to him should be layed, for the death of Hirelda before slaine. But Euelinus by the counsayle of Androgeus his Cosyn, withstoode that commaundement, and shortly after, the sayd Androgeus and Euelyne departed the Court, without taking leaue of the king.

Euelinus sommoned to appere for the death of Hirelda.

¶ The king disdeyning this demeanour of Androgeus, after diuers monicions to him giuen, gathered his Knightes together and made warre vpon Androgeus. Wherfore, after many wayes and meanes sought, at the last he sawe that he was not of power to withstande the kinges great indignation, sent his Letters vnto *Cæius Iulius Cæsar*, then being in the Countrie of Gallia, shewing him the circumstance of the matter, and excusing himselfe of all gilt, prayed him in most humble wise, that he would shortly returne with his armie into Briteyn, and he with his whole power should be readie to ayde and helpe him against the Britons.

Androgeus sent Letters to Caius Iulius Cesar to prouoke him to warre against Cassibelan king of the Britons.

¶ Of this message *Iulius* was verie glad, and in all haste made toward Briteyn with a great power. To whome the winde was so fauourable, that in shorte time after this message, he drewe nere the lande: But (as Gaufrid sayth) before he would land, to auoyde all treason that might be wrought by Androgeus and the Britons against him, he receyued from him in Hostage his sonne named Scena, with. xxx. other of the most Noble of his Lordship, and that done he landed with the helpe of Androgeus. Wherof when Cassibelan had warning, he forthwith made towarde the Romaines, and in a Valey nere vnto Dorobernia, now named Cauntorbury, there he founde the hoste of the sayde *Iulius* lodged, and with him Androgeus with all his power. After which knowledge had, they fiercely with their habiliments of warre vexed and grieued eche other, till at length both hostes met hande to hande, and fought cruelly, in such wise, that many fell to the ground and were slaine on both parties. But when the Britons (as sayth Gaufrid) had long foughten and knightly defended the Romaines: Androgeus Erle of Kent, came with his people in a wing vpon them, and so sharply assayled them, that they were constreyned to forsake the fielde, and place, that they before had kept: The which flight so discomfited the other, that finally all fled and gaue place to the Romaines, who pursued and slue them without all mercie. So that Cassibelan with his Britons that were left, were faine to get them to a place of suretie, where to rest and encampe themselues that they might newly prouide to withstand their enimies.

Iulius Cesar suspected Androgeus.

A battell beside Cantorbury.

Gaufride.

Iulius Cesars victory.

¶ But to conclude, all wryters agree, that *Iulius* helde the king so short, that for an vnitie and concorde, hee was faine after manye losses to geue pledges and to become tributarie to the Romaines, and to paye yerely as Gaufride sayth, in the name of a tribute, three thousande pounde in Golde. Now when *Cæsar* had accomplished his will and pleasure, in all thing that to him was thought necessary: He with Androgeus departed the Ile with a great number of Hostages and Prisoners, and so sped him towarde Rome, where soone after he was againe by the will of the most of the Senatours made Emperour. But finally, beyng Emperour, he was at the last slaine in the Senate house, by the Senatours with Bodkins, as *Rastell* sayeth. And this tribute was thus graunted, when Cassibelan had reigned as king of Briteyn full. viii. yeres and more. And by the agreement of

Iulius Cesar made this Realme tributarie to Rome, in the 50. yere before the comming of christ.

most

most wryters xlviij. yeres before the incarnation of Iesu Christ, or as some write fifty.
Lanquet. And as Lanquet sayeth, this conquest of Briteyn made by the Romaines, was MM.CC.lv. yeres after the vniuersall flood: and M.lvij. after the arriuall of Brute: and. vij. C. ij. after the building of Rome, in the second yere of the. C. lxxxij. Olimpiade, and the. M. C. xvj. yere before the conquest of Englande made by Wylliam Duke of Normandy, and M. vj. C. xvj. yeres, before this present yere of our Lorde. M. D. lxvj.

¶ Now after this conquest, Cassibelan reigned as Tributary. ix. yeres, an as sayeth *Lanquet*, he reigned in all, before the Tribute and after the Tribute. xix. yeres, but other write. xvj. yeres, and some other as Caxton, xvij. yeres, and then dyed, and is buried at Yorke.

3909 / 54 EDeir, after the death of Ewyn, tooke vpon him the gouernance of Scotland, and ruled it. xxxviij. yeres. In the time of his reigne, as appereth before, Briteyn was subdued to the Romaines, and Scotland also troubled with sundry sedicions.

3921 / 42 THeomancius, or rather Tenantius, the sonne of Lud, and Nephew to Cassibelan succeded in the realme of Briteyn. This Man in the Englishe Chronicle is not named King, but his brother Androgeus. But Gaufrid sayth, that for as much as Androgeus feared the hatred of the Britaynes, for his treason wrought against the king and the lande he therefore coueted to abide with *Iulius Cæsar* at Rome, rather then to be king ouer such as he thought would neuer loue, nor fauour him.

A trayterous person is fearefull.

¶ The foresayd Tenancius was a noble Warryer, and ruled this land of Briteyn with great diligence and iustice, and defended it well and knightly against all Alyens and straungers, and paide his tribute to the Romaines, which Cassibelan had graunted, and lastly dyed when he had reigned. xxiij. yeres, and was buried at London.

3944 / 19 CImbelinus or Kymbelinus, the sonne of Tenancius, as sayeth Guydo, succeded next after him, who was brought vp at Rome among the Romaynes, and there made Knight, and was of the Emperour *Augustus Cæsar* so fauoured and beloued, that he was at libertie, whether he would pay the tribute or not. Of him is little written, sauing that all wryters agree, that in the time of his reigne, our Sauioure Christ Iesus was incarnate of the blessed Virgin Marie. And when this Cimbalyn had reigned. xxxv. yeres ouer the Britons, he dyed and was buried in London, leauing after him two sonnes, named Guiderius and Aruiragus.

¶ I haue before as is aboue saide declared that our Sauiour Christ was borne in the Kings tyme, which was in the. xix. yere of his reigne, and that was in the yere of the worlde after the accompt of the Bible and of the Hebrues, which accompt I folow MMM. ix. C. lxiij.

3946 / 17 EWyn, the third sonne of Edeir succeded hys Father in the Realme of Scotland and reigned. vij. yeres. A Prince geuen all to vice and lechery, for being not content, as they write with an hundred Concubynes, with whome he might fulfill his lust, he made law, that it should be lawfull for his Subiects to haue as many wyues as they were able to keepe, and that the wyues of his Commons should be common to the Nobles: and that the Lord should haue the Maydenhead of all Virgins dwelling in his Lordship: the which lawe continued vntill the tyme of Malcolme Cammorre, & from thence vnto the tyme, they pay to the Lord of the soyle a redemption of their Maydenhead. And when he had thus continued. vij. yeres, in exercising of his tirannie and filthy lust, he fell in the hatred of his Lordes, and was by them deposed and slaine in prison.

3953 / 10 MEtellane, Nephew to Edeir, was chosen king of Scottes, a verteous, and quiet Prince, who peaceably reigned. xxxix. yere.

¶ And here I thinke meete to note to the reader, that the order that I haue kept in this my story hetherto, hath bene chiefly to expresse and set forth vnto you the pedigree and discent from Adam to Christ, in the line of the righteous, wherein is to be lear-

that all those that heard the voyce of the Lord, and obserued his lawes, prospered and were blessed of the Lord, and brought to high honour and aduauncement: And such againe as hearkened not to the worde of the Lord, were deliuered as prayes and spoyles to their enemies. And although sometyme, I haue vpon sundrie occasions made some notes of the lyne of cursed Cain and others, yet I haue chiefly obserued the lyne of the iust, out of the which almightie GOD promised there shoulde issue of the Seede of the Woman, one that should breake the Serpentes head, which Seede was ment by our Sauiour Iesu Christ, who in this tyme was borne of the Virgin Mary. And here I will as it were drawe forwarde the lyne where I left before, at the kinges of Iuda, (in the tyme that they were made captiue to Babilon, which kinges discended out of the loynes of Dauid) and will now for the perfighting of my purpose recite the ende thereof. The last king of Iuda that I haue spoken of before, was Sedechias the sonne of Iosias, who was captiue in Babilon, from whom issued Ioachim, and successiuely, Iechonias, Salathiell, Zorobabell, Abiud, Eliachim, Azor, Sadoch, Achim, Eliud, Eleazar, Iacob, and Ioseph, who maryed Mary the Virgine, of whom was borne our Sauiour Iesu Christ.

He that heareth the word of God, and doth it, shalbe happy in his deede.

The ende of the lyne and issue of Iuda was Christ.

¶ And the Virgin Mary discended also out of the Loynes of Dauid, as first Nathan, the second sonne of Dauid, begat Mathata, and he begat Menna, from whome successiuely came Melcha, Heliachim, Iona, Ioseph, Iuda, Symeon, Leui, Mathat, Ioram, Eliezer, Iesu, Her, Helmadam, Cosan, Abdi, Melchi, Neri, Salathiell, Zorobabel, Refa, Iohanna, Iuda, Ioseph, Semei, Mathathias, Ioseph, Iamna, Melchi, Leui, Mathat, Ioakim, and Marie the Virgine, who was borne. xv. yeres before Christ, and maried vnto Ioseph. *Flores historiarum. Polichronicon,* and sondrie others.

And here for order and keping of a iust accompt, endeth the sixt Age of the worlde, or sixt part of my booke, and this sixt Age was from the Captiuitie of Babilon, vnto the Birth of our most blessed Redemer and Sauiour Iesu Christ, to whom be all honor, prayse, and glory, for euer and euer. Which age continued. 627. yeres.

¶ And here also I thought it conuenient to make a recitall of the Ages of the Worlde.

The first Age is from Adam to the Flood of Noe.	1656. yeres.
The second, from Noe to the birth of Abraham.	363. yeres. and. x. dayes.
The third, frō Abrahā to the departing of the Childrē of Israel out of Egypt.	430. yeres.
The fourth, from their departure, to the building of the Temple.	480. yeres.
The fift, from the building of the Temple, to the Captiuitie.	419. yeres.
The sixt, from the Captiuitie, to the birth of Christ.	627. yeres.

And thus it may apere, that the number of yeres from the Creation of the Worlde, to the birth of Christ, were. 3963. yeres.

¶ And for the better satisfaction of those that knowe not the true summarie or accompt of the aforesayd Ages, I will shew by a perticuler accompt gathered out of the Scriptures, how the true knowledge of euery Age is collected, which may appere hereafter ensloweth.

The first Age conteyneth. M. vj. C. lvj. yeres and is proued thus.

THE FIRST AGE.

Adam being. C. xxx. yeres olde, begat Seth. Seth beyng. C. v. yeres, begat Enos.

Enos

Enos beyng. xc. yeres, begat Caynan. Caynan beyng, lxx. yeres, begat Malalehell. Malalehell beyng. lxvi. yeres, begat Iared. Iared at the age of. C.lx. yeres begat Enoch. Enoch being. lxv. yeres begat Mathusalah. Mathusalah at the age of. C.lxxxvii. yeres, begat Lamech. Lamech beyng. C.lxxxii. yeres, begat Noe. Noe at the beginning of the Flood, was vi.C yeres olde, as appereth in the fift of *Genesis*. So that the whole summe of yeres of this first Age, were as is aforesayde. M. vi. C. lvi. yeres.

The seconde Age conteyneth. iij. C.lxiij. yeres, and. x. dayes, and is Proued thus.

THE SECOND AGE.

THE Flood continued a yere and x. dayes. Sem (which was Noyes sonne) begat Arphaxat two yeres after the Flood. Arphaxat beyng. xxxv. yeres olde, begat Salah. Salah being. xxx. yeres old, begat Heber. Heber at his age of. xxxiiii. begat Phalech. Phalech beyng. xxx. yeres, begat Regu. Regu beyng. xxxii. yeres, begat Saruch. Saruch at. xxx. yeres begat Nahor. Nahor beyng at the age of xxix. yeres, begat Tharc. Tharc beyng. lxx. yeres, begat Abraham, and Abraham departed from Chaldee, when he was lxx. yeres olde. So that the whole summe of yeres of this second age, as is aforesayde is CCC. lxiij. yeres, and. x. dayes.

The third Age conteyneth. iiij. C.xxx. yeres, and is collected in this maner.

THE THIRDE AGE.

ABraham was in Charan. v. yeres, and departed in the. lxxv. yere of his age. And he begat Isaac, when he was an hundreth yere olde, and in the. xxv. yere of his departing. Isaac begat Iacob when he was. xl. yere olde. Iacob went into Egypt with all his family when he was. C.xxx. yere olde. And Israell remayned in Egipt CC.x. yeres, at which tyme Moses departed with the Children of Israell out of Egypt. So that the whole somme of yeres of this third Age is as aforesayd. iiij. C.xxx. yeres.

The fourth Age conteyneth. iiij. C.lxxx. yeres, and is gathered in this maner.

THE FOURTH AGE.

MOses remayned in the Desart or Wildernesse. xl. yeres. Iosue, and Othoniel reigned. xl. yeres. Aioth. lxx. yeres. Delbora. xl. yeres. Gedeon. xl. yeres. Abimelech iii. yeres. Thela. xxiii. yeres. Iair xxii. yeres. Then were they without a Capitaine xv yere vnto the cōming of Iephthe. Iephthe. vi. yeres. Abissam. vii. yeres. Elom x. yeres. Abaton. viii. yeres. Sampson. xx. yeres. Hely high priest. xl. yeres. Samuell, and Saul xl. yeres. Dauid. xl. yeres. Salomon in the. iiii. yere of his reigne, began the building of the Temple. So that the whole somme of yeres of this fourth Age as aforesayd, iiij. C.lxxx. yeres.

The fift Age conteyneth. iiij. C.ix. yeres, and. vj. Monethes, and is collected in this

THE FIFT AGE.

SAlomon reigned after he began the building of the Temple, xxxvi. yeres. Roboam xvii. yeres. Abia. iii. yeres. Asa. xli. yeres. Iosaphat. xxv. yeres. Ioram. viii.

Ochosias one yere. Athalia the Quéene. vii. yeres. Ioas. xl. yeres. Amasias. xxix. yere. Ozias. lii. yeres. Ioathan. vi. yeres. Acas. xvi. yeres. Ezechias. xxix. yeres. Manasses lv. yeres. Amon. ii. yeres. Iosias. xxxi. yeres. Ioachas, iii. Monethes. Eliachim. xi. yeres. Ioachim. iii. monethes: And then began the Captiuitie of Babilon, and not after the. xi. yere of Zedechiah (when both the Temple and the Citie were destroyed and burned) as some suppose. So that the whole somme of yeres of this fift age, are as aforesayd, iii.C.ix. yeres, and. vi. monethes.

The sixt age is from the captiuitie of Babilon, vnto the comming of Christ, and conteyneth sixe C.xxv. yeres. and is proued thus.

THE SIXT AGE.

THe captiuitie continued. lxx. yeres. The children of Israell were deliuered and restored to their fréedome in the first yere of Kinge Cyrus. The Temple was begonne to be reedified in the. xj. yere of the sayde Cyrus, and finished in the vj. yere of the reigne of Darius. After that Darius had reigned. xx. yeres, Nehemias was restored to libertie, and went to builde the Citie, which was finished in the. xxxij. yere of the sayde Darius. Also it is mencioned in the. ix. of Daniell that Ierusalem should be builded vp againe, Daniell. ix. and from the tyme of that building vnto the comming of Christ, should be. lxvii. wéekes, and euerie wéeke is by that text reckoned for. vii. yeres. So lxvii. wéekes amount to CCCC.lxxxiii. yeres. For from the. xxxii. yere of Darius vnto the xlii. yere of Augustus, in the which yere our Sauiour Christ was borne, are iust and complet so many yeres. Whervpon we reckon that from Adam vnto Christ are 3953. yeres, vi. Months and x. dayes. And from the Birth of Christ, vnto this present time is 1567 yeres. And the whole somme and number of yeres from the beginning of the worlde vnto this present yere are 5530. yere, vi. Monthes and. x. dayes,

And here is to be noted that the Ages of the worlde are not called Ages in respect of the number of yeres that they conteyned (as some doe imagine that euery age conteyned certaine thousands of yeres) but for certaine great and maruellous things that happened were done in the beginning of euery of them.

1 In the beginning of the first Age, God made Heauen and Earth and all the Creatures that are therein, and also made Man vnto his awne Image and similitude.

2 In the beginning of the second, God sent the vniuersall Flood, and drowned all the creatures in the worlde, eyght persons onely except.

In the beginning of the thirde, God made his couenaunt with Abraham in Circumcision.

In the beginning of the fourth, God brought the children of Israell out of Egypt, through the red Sea, and deliuered his holy law vnto Moses out of the Mount Sinai.

In the beginning of the fift, was the Temple of Ierusalem builded.

In the beginning of the sixt. The Temple was destroyed, and all the Iewes brought captiue into Babilon.

In the beginning of the. vii. our Sauiour Iesu Christ was borne of a Virgin, and toke vpon him our nature, who suffered moste cruell death and passion for the sinnes of the whole worlde.

Thus haue I set foorth vnto you the Ages of the world, and why they are so called, also the true computation of them as is expressed in the holy Scripture, which computation I obserue throughout this my Chronicle, because the same agréeing with the scriptures must of force be most true.

When *Cæsar Augustus*, or otherwise called *Octauian* the Emperour had stablished most sure peace throughout the world, our Redéemer and Sauiour Iesu Christ, very God and man, and the onely pacifier of Gods wrath, and the true peace maker was borne i the. xl. yere of the reigne of *Augustus*, after the vniuersall Flood 2305 yeres, and fro the birth of Abraham 2012 yeres. And after the departure of Israell out of Egypt 150 yeres. And from the arriuall of Brute in Englande 1107. yeres. After the building the Temple of Salomon 1029. yeres. From the building of Rome 752. yeres. After th captiuitie of Babilon 614. yeres, and in the last yere of the 194. Olimpiade. And her is to be noted that the first yere of our Lord hath but vii. daies after some computatio for he was borne the. xxv. day of December, and the first day of Ianuary folowing be gan the second yere. *Lanquet.*

And nowe foloweth the seuenth Age of the Worlde, and the seuenth part of thi booke, which Age beginneth at the birth of Christ, and shall continue to the ende of the Worlde.

THE SEUENTH AGE, AND SEUENTH PART OF THIS CHRONICLE.

THE SEUENTH AGE.

IEsus of Nazareth King of Iewes and onely head of the Christians, with the Fath and the holye Ghost, one Eternall God, and almightie Lorde of all things, begott by his Father God in euerlastingnesse, and in the fulnesse of time, taking flesh of t pure Virgin Marie, by the worke of the holy Ghost, and being verie God and man, a cording to the holy Oracles of the Prophets, to redeeme with his most precious blo the streyed Sheepe, and loste grote, was borne in Bethlem a City of Iuda: where inco tinent by the glorification of the Angels, the agnition of the Shepeherds, the venera of the wise men, the prophecy of holy Simeon, and the admiration of the Doctours was had in honour. And then from the. xii. yere of his lyfe, in age, wisedome and fa both with God and man he encreased: He was in the. xv. yere of the reigne of Ti baptised in Iordane by Iohn Baptist, to the example of his, & so executed all th subduing his fleshe with fasting, the Deuill with prayer, and the world with hum At which time the weekes of Danyell being fulfilled, he taught euery where most stantly, euen to the Crosse, partly with his mightie worde, and partly with his effec workes, the kingdome of God, that is, the true knowledge of God the Father an exceeding charitie towardes mankinde, with the sure confidence in him, the son God: declaring also the way of helth, and the mutuall loue, with the rewardes faithfull and punishments of the vnfaithfull. Then for the confirmation of his do and faith, euen with a little beck he commaunded calmenesse to the Elements, h all diseases, life vnto the dead, obedience vnto the quick, detection vnto thought licion vnto sinnes, and flight vnto the Deuill. For all this, after all the passions

onely excepted) whereby he witnessed
able documents and beneficiall deedes
nde people the Iewes, by which he de-
written in the Prophets: he was by the
das Iscarioth betrayng him) taken, ac-
thornes, crucified betwene theeues, and
f the earth, and darknesse of the Sonne,
lell, and the thirde day folowing, lyke a
againe, from which tyme being. xl. dayes
is lyfe, with glorious triumph he ascended
came. Where being the onely Mediator,
right hand of God his father, shall in the
g and the dead, rendring to euerie man ac-
leyntie of lyfe, but to the vnfaithfull euer-
ted, with the whole worlde purged and pa-
erie almightie Emperour of the Worlde, as
, and for euer shall reigne, to whom euerie
creatures shall bowe, and euerie tongue shall
e glory of God the father. *Lanquet.*

nd of this worke, the numbers that are aboue
Christ, and the numbers vnder the lyne, are
king.

e began his reigne ouer the Britons: This man
ed much in his awne strength, and for that he
d tribute with wrong. he therefore of a Knightly
ereof: wherefore *Claudius* the fift Emperour of
armie of Romaines (as sayth *Polichronica*) and
ut great fight, and therof came a Prouerbe among
re neyther strong in battaile, nor faythfull in peace.
Isles of the Orchades, which stand beyond Scotland
returned againe to Rome, in the sixt Moneth that he

f the Romaines, there was a Capitaine
chaunged his Shilde and Ar
meane being not suspe
here king Guide
misch

45

1 Aruiragus.

ARuiragus the yongest sonne of Ky
was ordeyned king of Britons in the
and knightly behaue himselfe against th
nere vnto a Hauen or Port of the Sea.
meale into the same sea. And for this
Hamons Hauen, which at this day is calle
Pamphlet, which beareth no name, I find
and in the reigne of *Vortiger*, there was
Southhātō. three townes, one in the South, and name
Northhātō. another North fro thence, which he named
Woluerhamton. North from thence, which he named (bicau
uer Hams towne.

¶ Then sayth Reynulph, that Claudius a
gus to his grace, and brought his base daug
ryed her vnto Aruiragus. And because he
solempne, he therefore called the Towne of
and after Glouernia, of a base sonne (as so
Glorus, begotten and borne in the same Citi
Glocestre. or Southwales, and at this day it is called Gl
Hector Boetius. Scottish Chronicle sayth, that Aruiragus bef
from his former wife, named Voada, sister v
that he had to be alyed vnto the Romaines.

¶ Then it foloweth, after the solemnitie of
finished, Claudius sent certeyne Legions of his
trie, and returned himselfe to Rome.

¶ It was not long after the departing of Claud
Reall e, and with great diligence repayred Cities
with the strength of the Romaines, and as it is of
Douer Castle. Douer, and finally intreated his subiects with suc
loued and drad him more then any of his progenitor
made him very welthy, and thereof ensued pryde, so
vnder the rule or guyding of the Romaynes, wherefor
before graunted to Rome, wherof, when knowledge c
hast a Duke was sent from Rome called Vespa
ldiours to subdue Aruiragus.
Vespasianus was landed in
he subdued Aruiragus
tribute.
e wr

mediation and meanes of the Queene Genissa. Thus it apereth that the tribute was ayed againe by her intreatie, and not by any violent constreynt or coaction.

¶ After Vespasian had thus recouered the tribute, he then also made subiect to the mpire an Isle liyng in the Sea, which we nowe call the Isle of Wight, and after return- to Rome.

¶ When Aruiragus was thus the second tyme subdued, and brought vnder the yoke of e Romaines, he became more mylde towardes them, so that during his lyfe, from thence- orth, he payde the tribute with lesse grudge, and kept himselfe in their fauours, in such se that he was of them very wel beloued. And lastly he dyed, when he had reigned. x. yeres, and was buryed at Glocester, leauing after him a sonne named Marius.

After the decease of Caratake king of Scottes his yonger brother Corbreid obteyned e crowne, and reigned. xviii. yeres. He was fierce and of a valiaunt courage, and yng confederate with the Pictes, made often times warre against the Britons. 52 Corbreid king of Scottes.

AND for as much as at this time, Nero that notable Tyraunt Emperour reigned at me, vnder whome a great number of the true Preachers and Apostles of Christ, suf- ed most cruell persecution, Martirdome, and death, I thought it not much impertinent the story to make some speciall mencion of him, and namely bicause this lande as is esayde, was in his tyme againe made tributarie to the Empire of Rome, the saide reigning now as Emperour. But chiefely for that he was a wicked Tyraunt and a ecutor of the vniuersall Church of Christ.

e as is aforesayde, Nero the sonne of *Domicius*, being adopted to be Empe- *dius*, which maried his mother, reigned. xiiij. yeres. This man, although t vp by the reuerent, wise, and learned *Seneca*, yet by the ineuitable corrup- ture, he became horrible in all kinde of misiyuing, and so detestable in dis- nesse, prodigalitie, monstruous lecheryes, beastly crucitie, and couetous- he seemed to be borne to the destruction of the whole worlde. He was so lighted in singing and playyng with the Harpe, in sworde playyng, and driuyng of r Wagons, that he did not onely these exercises priuately, without all measure, so wearing the garments of Minstrels, Sworde players, and other vile personages, ndered ouer all Italy and Grece, to seeke and haunt common games, where he might e masteries, and shewe his cunning in those feates: and at his returne, triumphed in the tie of Rome, and sent into all Countries letters of commaundement to make supplica- and reioysing for his victories. 56 11 Nero the Tyraunt.

In vncleane lust of his body, he so furiously raged, that he absteyned not from his all Mother, Sister, ne any degree of affinitie or kindred. He tooke in open mariage e of excellent fauour, named *Sporus*, and vsed him as his Wife, he viciously bent aue himselfe to filthy imbracings of his awne seruaunts, & in riotous spending of his re he exceeded, for he vsed to fishe with Nettes made of Golde, which shoulde be e with Cordes of Purple silke: He neuer ware one garment twise: he caused to be death his mother, his brother in lawe, his two Wyues, and his instructor and lemaster, the reuerend *Seneca*, hauing therevnto no iust cause, nor honest pretence: ommaunded the City of Rome to be set on fyre, and himself in the meane season ll semblant of ioy, sitting in an high Tower to beholde the same, played vpon the e, and sang the destruction of Troy. This Nero was so wicked, that at the last he himselfe openly to such naughtie and wanton lyuing, that in the night season he e haunte Brothell houses, and other suspitious places, and oftentimes breake vp houses, and eyther robbe and beate them, or else rauishe their Wyues. And after e had committed most abhominable incest with his naturall mother, he commaunded be put to death. And then maried *Poppea*, a woman of notable incontinencie. fter all this he caused himselfe to be gelded and cut in the forme & shape of a wo- and so to be abused. And when the Senate had considered of the outragious life & wicked.

A description of Neroes filthy & abhominable life.

Seneca put to death by Nero.

Poppea, the wife of Nero a shamelesse Harlot.

& wicked doinges of Nero, they charged him with the setting of Rome on fyre, and
excuse himselfe charged the christians therewith, whereof folowed a most cruell persecu
tion of the christians, and in this persecution Peter and Paule, the Apostles of Chris
with many other Martirs were put to cruell death. And by his beastly cruelnesse, ther
were also many noble and verteous men put to most shamefull death, among the whic
Lucan a famous Clerk, cruelly put to death by Nero. were the aforenamed *Seneca* and *Lucan*, men of excellent learning. Finally, this wick
Tyraunt Nero was proclaymed by the Senate to be an enimie of the weale publique, a
iudged to be drawne through the Citie, and to be whipped to death: wherfore he fearing
come into the handes of his enimies, fled into a Farme house of his seruants in t
Countrie, where at last he was inforced to slea himselfe. *Cooper.*

AT this tyme the Scottes, because Corbreid Galdus the eldest sonne of king Corbrei
was not of sufficient age, made Dardannus the nephew of Metellane their king, who f
his seemely personage was greatly beloued of his people. In the beginning of his reigne
he vsed the counsayle of his Nobles, but after three yeres he left all iustice and honest
and slipt into most vncleane vices and cruell tyranny, and lastly endeuoured himselfe
haue murdered Galdas with his brethren, and therefore the Scottes deposed him, and p
him to death, when he had reigned iiij. yeres.

Marius. MArius the sonne of Aruiragus, after his father was king of the Britons: Which
rius as Gaufrid sayth, was an excellent wise man, and gouerned this lande very hon
bly, and greatly prospered and encreased in welth and ryches.

¶ In the time of the reigne of this Marius, a Duke or King of a Nation
which descended of the Scithians, named also of some Gothes, or Hune
this Isle. The aforesayde Duke or leader of the Pictes, as Gaufride sayth
Londricus a Duke of the Pictes. Londricus, and he landed with a great Nauy in the Prouince of Albania
Scotland, and there vnmercifully he began to spoyle the Country, with swor
Whereof when Marius was warned, he in all haste assembled his knightes a
Londricus slaine. and made towardes them, and gaue them a strong battaile, in the which Londr
slaine, and a great part of his people ouerthrowne. In the remembraunce of whi
torie, King Marius caused a great stone to be erected, and commaunded therein t
grauen these woordes, *Marii victoria*, that is, the victory of Marius.

Stanes Moore. ¶ This battaile as the English Chronicle sayth, was foughten at a place which now
called Stanes Moore. But wheresoeuer this stone is set, the Countrie thereabou
long after called *Westmaria*, and is nowe called Westmerland.

¶ Now when the residue of the people of Londricus which were fled from the fi
vnderstood that their hed & Capitaine was slaine: they made their humble request t
king, that he would accept them into his grace, and that he would geue them
Marius king of Briteyn gaue Londricus people yᵗ farre ende of Scotland to inhabite in. land or country to dwell in. And at the last the king graunted them a place in the
ende of Scotland, which Gaufride nameth *Cathenesia*, where the sayd Scottes, or P
first inhabited. And forsomuch as the Britons disdeined to geue vnto them their da
ters in mariage, therfore they acquainted them with the Irish men, and maryed
daughters, and grew in processe of tyme vnto a great people. And for this allya
Reynulph. betweene the Irishmen and them, their Country (as sayth Reynulph, in the xx
Chapter of his first booke) was called Irelande, and after Pictauia, and lastly Scot
But I find in an olde written Chronicle, that when they tooke the Irish women to
Scottes were first called Sottes. Wyues, and vnderstoode not their language they were therefore called Sottes, and a
ward Scottes, and their countrye which before was called Albania named Scotland,
this was the beginning of the Scottes, as it is there alleaged. Howbeit, Mathew of W
minster, Auethor of the booke, entituled the Flowres of Histories, sayth they were
ed Scottes, because they were a Nation that tooke their beginning of dyuerse Nat
For Scot, sayth he, is a worde signifiyng an heape of diuerse thinges gathered or

l together, according to our common speeche, thou shalt pay scot and lot, that is ay, all such duties as shall bee charged vpon thee.

And when Marius had thus subdued his enimies, he attended and set his minde to common weale of his lande and subiects, and continued the residue of his lyfe in great and quietnesse, and in the ende payde his naturall debt or tribute, and was buried at erleyle, leauing after him a sonne named Coylus or Coyll, when he had reigned. lij. es. Marius dead.

¶ In this time the Citie and Temple of Ierusalem was taken, conquered, spoyled, and troyed by *Titus*, in such wise that scarcely any man coulde iudge where the place was t it once stood in: which chaunced in the. xj. C. and one yere, after the Temple was t builded by Salomon, and the same day of the Moneth that it was first destroyed by buchodonosor king of Babilon. And in the time of the siege of the same, were slaine the Iewes xi. C. thousand, ouer and beside them which Vespasian slue in the subduing the Countrie of Galile. And. xvij. thousand Titus sent into Alexandria there to be t in most vile and peynfull bondage. And two thousand he brought in his triumph to me, of the which, parte he gaue to be deuoured of wilde beastes, and parte were rwise most cruelly slaine: at which time apered the most terrible example of the th & vengeance of God, for the contempt of his worde & veritie. For what hart is stony or hard that will not tremble for feare, when it considereth that God tooke so pe punishment vpon his awne people, whom before he loued most entirely, & among ther nations of the worlde, chose them for his peculier flock and Vineyarde. And tly after *Vespasian* the Emperour, and *Titus* his sonne, triumphed at Rome for their torie and conquest in Iudea. *Cooper*. But hereof ye may reade more in *Iosephus*, and e shall ye finde a most horrible and terrible Historie. The destruction of Ierusalem and the Temple.

Aldus, after the death of Dardannus, was ordeyned king of Scottes. This was the t valiaunt Prince that euer reigned among them, and was endued with many excellent Princely qualities. At the first entry he punished the wicked counsaylours of Darnus, and after called a parliament of his Lordes, wherein many noble acts were deni- and the naughtie lawe of king Ewyn (by the which the Wyues of the commons were to the nobles) was repealed and fordone. Of him the Scottes made manye goodly mbraunces in the honour of his noblenesse and great victories that he atchieued. 79 A wicked law.

About this time Petulius Cerealis was sente of the Romaines, as Lieutenaunt to n, where he discomfited Galdus King of Scottes, vanquished the Pictes and the ns, subdued to the Romaynes the Countrie of Brigantes or Yorkeshire men, ouer- and chased Vodicia the daughter of the valyaunt woman Voada, and quieted the e men, and certaine other Britons which rebelled. After this Petulius, a Romaine *Iulius Frontinus* was Lieutenaunt in Briteyn, who also warred against the Scottes tes. Petulius Cerealis a Romaine sent from Rome to gouerne Britteyn.

l after the death of Galdus king of Scotland, succeded Lugtack, an hatefull and tyraunt, & was as much hated of the Scottes for his vice, as his father was be- r his vertue. He slue many of the rich men onely to confiscate their goods, and ted the gouernance of the Realme to most vniust and coueteous persons, and eir company he was most delighted. He defloured his awne Auntes, Sisters, and ers, and scorned his wise and graue Counsaylours, calling them olde doting fooles, re in the thirde yere of his reigne he was slaine of his Nobles. 104 Lugtack, king of Scottes.

allus, being ordeyned king of the Scottes after Lugtack, at the beginning gaue to follow the wisedome and maners of his Vncle Galdus, and obteyned diuers tories against *Lucius Antonius* the Romaine Capitaine: but in his age he became in all kinde of Vices, and chiefely in couetousnesse, lecherie & crueltie. He ence to theeues and robbers to take the goods of their neighbours without punish- He first ordeyned the goodes of condemned persons to be confiscate to the kings 106 Mogallus King of Scottes.

vse,

vse, without respect of wyues, children or debtours, for which naughtynesse he slaine of his Nobles.

126 1 Coilus king of Briteyn.

COilus the sonne of Marius reigned King of Briteyn after the death of his fa This man was from his infancy nourished and brought vp among the Romaynes, by rea whereof they were louing and kinde to him, and he to them. And for as much as knewe the power of the Romaynes to be inuincible, he yelded and payde to them the bute during his life. This Coilus also (as Gaufride sayth) was a liberall man, by reas whereof he obteyned great loue of his Nobles, and also of his commons. And as s write, he made the towne of Colchester, but other ascribe it to be one Coill that was next after Asclepiodatus. And after that this Coilus had reigned in soueraigne peace terme of. iiij. yeres, he dyed, and was buryed at Yorke, and left behinde him a so named Lucius.

144

COnarus, which was the chiefe causer of his fathers death, was made king of Scot who dissimuled the vices whervnto he was naturally enclined: But assoone as he established in his kingdome, he wasted all the rentes perteinyng to the Crowne, in leude lustes, and gaue landes and riches to most vile and naughtie persons, because fauoured his corrupt liuyng, he inuented new exactions vpon his people, and there was of his nobles cast in Prison, and his wicked counsaylours hanged. In his p Argadus guided the Realme about. xiiij. yeres.

165 Ethodius Kinge of Scottes.

EThodius the first, nephew to Mogallus, was ordeyned king of Scottes, and reig xxxiij. yeres. This man was greatly delyted with hunting, and made many lawes thei He rewarded Argadus for his administration of iustice: He quieted the Isles, and be ayded by the Pictes, he vanquished *Victorine* the Romaine Capitaine, and brake do the Wall of Adrian.

180 1 Lucy the first christian King.

LVcius, or Luey, the sonne of Coilus, was made king of Brytons, by the ayde aucthoritie of *Marcus Aurelius Antonius* then Emperour of Rome, who fauoured singulerly: He was a very good Man, and folowed his forefathers steps, in all that good, and his gouernement was so graue and discrete that he obteyned the loue o his people. This Lucius as sundrie Authors doe write, did sende to Eleutherius Bishop of Rome, two godly learned men named *Eluanus* and *Medwinus* with ce Epistles and Letters, praiyng him, that he and his Britons might be receyued fayth of Christes Church. Whereof Eleutherius being very glad, sent into Brit noble Clerkes, *Faganus* and *Dunianus*, or after some *Fugacius* and *Damianus*.

¶ And as the reuerend Maister Iewell, Bishop of Sarisbury, writeth in his Repl Maister Hardings aunswere. Fol. 191. The sayd Eleutherius for generall ord taken in the Realme and Churches here, wrote his aduice vnto Lucius the King maner folowing.

Eluther. Bishop of Romes Letter.

Ye haue receyued in the Kingdome of Briteyn by Goddes mercy, both the la fayth of Christ. Ye haue both the new Testament and the olde: Out of t through Goddes grace by the aduice of your Realme take a law, and by the same Goddes sufferaunce, rule you your Kingdome of Briteyn: For in that Kingdome Goddes Vicare.

¶ Now when these learned men were come, they were honourably receyued cius, the which by their good doctrine & verteous example geuing, conuerted and a great part of the Britons. Now after that Lucy had thus receyued the fa by the aduice of the aforesayd learned men, & with the instructions sent to him aforesayde Eleuthery, did institute and ordeyne, that all or the more part of the myns, which is to meane Archbishoppes, and Bishoppes of the Pagan law, whic day were in number (as sayth Gaufride and other) three Archflamins, and. xx

Britaynes first receyued the fayth of Christ, in the yeare of our Lorde. 188. and in. 1294. yeres, next after the arriuall of Brute.

myns, shoulde be made Archbishoppes and Bishoppes of the Church of Christ as
weth.

The first Sea of the first Archflamyn, was at London. The seconde at Yorke, and
hirde at Gloucester. To these three Archbishoppes were subiect the aforesayd. xxviij.
myns or Bishoppes. To the Archbishops Sea of London, was subiect Cornewall, & all London.
ddle England vnto Humber. To the Archbishoppes Sea of Yorke, was subiect all Yorke.
rthumberlande, from the Bowe of Humber, with all Scotland. And to the third
hbishoppes Sea, which was Gloucester, there was subiect vnto all Wales: In which Pro- Gloucester.
ce of Wales were. vij. Bishoppes where as nowe is but foure. And at that day Se- Seuen Bishoppes in Wales.
ne departed Briteyn and Wales. But after the Saxons had the rule of the land, they
red much of these orders, and to be short, there are nowe but two Archbishoppes in
glande, that is Cantorbury and Yorke, wherof Cantorbury hath the premacie, and
vnder him. xv. Bishoppes in Englande, that is to say, Rochester, London, Chichester,
chester, Salesbury, Exceter, Bathe, Worcester, Hereford, Couentry and Lichefield,
ster, Lincolne, Oxford, Ely, and Norwich. And in Wales he hath. iiij Bishoppes,
daffe, S. Dauids, Bangor, and S. Asaph, commonly called S. Asse. And Yorke hath
two Bishoppes in Englande vnder him, which is Caerleyll, and Durhame.

Besydes these good orders taken the sayd Lucius destroyed the temple of the false
l Apollo, which then stood in a place called the Isle of Thorney nere London, and
so called for that it was a place all ouergrowne with Thornes, and he erected and made
sayde Temple a place dedicated to the honour of God, and named it Westminster, as
called at this day, and endowed the same with such and so great priuileges, that what
n soeuer could escape to the sayd Church, for what trespasse so euer it were, the
should be safe body and goodes.

Now after that Lucius had thus set this realme in good order, he died, when he had
ed. xij. yeres, leauing behinde him none heyre, which was the occasion of great
le to the Realme: For the Britons among themselues coulde not agree vpon a Go-
our, by reason whereof there was among them great discord, which continued the
xv. yeres, in the which time, the Empire and Senate of Rome apointed their
s to gouerne and reigne ouer this Realme.

the brother of Ethodius (because his sonnes were not of sufficient age to 196
Realme) was ordeyned king of Scottes, he was of false and subtile wit, and Sawahell King of Scottes.
ch cruelty, that for feyned causes he slue all the frendes of Ethodius to the in-
fraude his heires of the crowne, wherfore he was murdered of his familiers
had reigned. iiij. yeres.

ald, an humble and gentle Prince was chosen King of Scottes, and reigned. xxj. 199
He was the first King that coyned any money of Gold or Siluer in Scotland, for Money first coyned in Scotland.
ts vsed before enterchaunging of wares for chaffer, and one thing for another,
no money of their awne, but of the Britons and Romaines, and other externall

out the yere of our Lorde. CC. iij. this Donalde procured certeyne wise and The Britōs receyued the fayth of Christ xx. yeres before Scotland.
men to instruct him, his Wyfe, Children, and Subiectes in the fayth of Christ,
appened, 583. yeres after the beginning of the Realme of Scotland.

us Emperour of Rome hering of the great discorde in Briteyn, made hast from 208
nd came into this land to apease the vprores of the same. And at this time the I
nd Pictes inuaded Briteyn, and vexed the Britons very sore, wherefore Seuerus Seuerus.
Wall of Turues to be made, wherein were driuen great stakes, which Wall as A wall of Turues.
Polichronica was in length. Cxxij. Miles, and it began at the Riuer of Tyne and
l to the Scottishe See, or from the ende of the Lordship of Deira vnto the sayde
See, or after some Writers, from Durham to the See aforesayde.
d now Fulgenius the chiefe leader and Capitaine of the Pictes issued out from Al-

bania or Scotland into the land of Briteyn, & destroyed much of the Countrie beyonde Durham. Wherefore Seuerus with an hoste of Britons and of Romaines met with sayde Fulgenius in a place nere vnto Yorke, where after sore fight, the sayde Seu was slaine, when he had ruled this land fiue yeres, and was buried at Yorke, leauing hinde him two sonnes the one named Geta and the other Bassianus, betweene who there was and euer had bene from the beginning mortall hatred and enmity.

213 1 BAssianus Caracalla, after the death of his father, began to rule thys land of Brit he was a Man of nature cruel and fierce and hable to endure all paines and labo specially in warfare. But as Gaufrid sayth, after the death of Seuerus, great strife a betweene the Romaines and the Britons then being within the land of Briteyn. For commons helde for their king Bassianus because he was borne of a Britishe Wom And on the other side, the Romaines allowed Geta for their king, because he descen of a Romaine. And for this dissension a battaile was foughten betwene the sayde Geta slaine. brethren, in the which Geta was slaine, and Bassianus remayned for king ouer all land.

¶ In the time that Bassianus was now both Emperour and king of Briteyn, one na Carassus a Briton of lowe birth, but valiaunt and hardie in martiall affaires: purch of the Emperour the keeping of Briteyn, or as some write onely of the coastes of teyn, and promised to withstand the malice of straungers, as the Pictes and others. meane whereof Carassus drewe vnto him many Knightes, and specially of the Brit promising to them that if they woulde make him king, he would cleerely delyuer t from the seruitude of the Romaines. By reason wherof the Britons (as saith Gauf rebelled against Bassianus, and with their Duke and leader Carassus arrered agains deadly warre, conceyuing the better hope of victory because he was priuily certifi the Emperours death, who was then slaine by a seruant of his awne in Mesopot when he had ruled this land sixe yeres.

¶ But Polidore affirmeth that this Carassus tooke on him the gouernance of Br in the time of Dioclesian, and sayeth that this lande was in good quietnesse the lxxvi. yeres, with whome the Latyn Stories seeme to agree.

219 1 CArassus reigned after Bassianus ouer Briteyn, who as before is expressed, Emperour of Rome deputed for a substitute or a ruler vnder him. This C that he was not of power to withstande the Pictes, or for the fauour that he them for ayding him against the Romaines: gaue to them the Countrie of Alba nowe is called Scotland: But here is not meant all Scotlande. For as witnesse *chronica*, that parte which was thus geuen to the Pictes, was the South parte of and beganne at Twede, and endured to the Scotishe Sea. Of the nature and these Pictes, is somewhat shewed before, in the story of Marius, but more sh shewed hereafter in place conuenient, both of their ofspring and maners.

Note that Albania now called Scotland was wholy in the possession of Carassus, and he gaue the same to the Scottes and Pictes.

¶ Nowe it foloweth when the Romaines had knowledge of the death of Ba they forthwith sent a Duke from Rome named Alectus, with three Legions of K to subdue and vanquishe Carassus, who in the ende slue him, when he had rule the Britons. viij. yeres, and such as are disposed may read more of this man in and others.

Carassus slaine.

224 EThodius the seconde was ordeyned king of Scotlande and reigned. xvi. yeres, of dull wyt, geuen to auarice and gathering of riches, and nothing meete to goue Realme: wherefore his Nobles tooke vpon them the charge, and so continued time of his reigne.

226 2 ALectus a Duke or Consull of Rome, sent as before is sayde from the Senate o began to rule the Britons: and first he restored the land to the subiection of Ro

then pursued certaine of the Britons that had fauoured Carassus against the Romaines. And in that doing, he vsed and exercised many tyrannies and exactions, by reason whereof he fell in grudge and hatered of the Britons. Wherefore, they entending to oppresse and subdue the power of the Romaynes, procured and excited a Noble man of the Britons called Asclepiodatus Duke of Cornewall to take vpon him to be their Captaine, who gathered a great hoste of the Britons, and made warre vpon the Romaines, and chased them from Countrie to Countrie, and from Towne to Towne: and lastly *Alectus* with his Romaines drewe him to London and there abode for his more suretie. Whereof Asclepiodatus being warned, he with his Britons came nere vnto the sayde City, where by manes of prouocation of eyther partie vsed, at the last, the Romaines issued out of the Citie and gaue battaile to the Britons. In the which fight many fell on eyther partie, but more on the partie of the Romaines, among the which was slaine Alectus, wherfore the Capitain of the Romaines called *Liuius Gallus*, perceiuyng this mischiefe, and the great daunger that the Romaines were in, drewe back into the Citie with the Romaynes that were left aliue, and defended it with their powers. This was Alectus slaine of the Britons when he had reigned and ruled this land vnder the Romaines the space of. vi. yeres.

Alectus slaine.

Sclepiodatus or Asclepiodotus Duke of Cornewall (as sayeth Gaufride) tooke vpon the gouernement of the Britons, and with a great armie besieged London, and kept foresayde *Liuius Gallus* and hys Romaines in streight holde, and with knightly force violence entered the sayde Citie, and slue the aforenamed *Liuius Gallus*, nere vnto ooke which then was within the sayde Citie, and threwe him into the sayde Brooke: eason whereof, the same was from thence foorth called Gallus Brooke, or Wallus oke, and at this time the place where that Brooke was, is called Walbrooke. And Asclepiodatus had thus vanquished the Romaines, he held this lande a certaine of peaceably and quietly, and ruled the Britons with good iustice.

232

1

This brooke came from ye place which we call nowe Moore field, and that place being then a marish, ye water ran from thence thorow London into Thames.

And in this time by the mocion of some lewde and vnquiet persons, there grewe easure betweene the Kinge and a Duke of this lande, named Coill, the which as say builded Colchester and named it after his awne name in the Britishe tongue *olyn*, but what the matter of displeasure was, is not apparaunt. But howsoeuer , a great number of people were arreysed and assembled on both partes, and in de met in the field, where was foughten a great and fierce battaile, wherin Asclepiodotus tus was slaine, when he had reigned ouer this realme. xxx yeres.

Colchester.

Asclepiodotus slaine.

herco after the slaughter of Ethodius his father, was chosen king of Scottes, and l. xii. yeres. At the beginning, he shewed some tokens of honest towardnesse: r he was so wrapped in all vncleane vice and effeminate lustes, that he was not to go openly in the sight of the people playyng vpon a Flute, and reioysed more Fidelar than a Prince: Finally, being pursued for rauishing of the daughters of las, by a noble man of Argile, he slue himselfe.

240

halake tooke on him the kingdome of Scotland, by force, murther, and tyrannie, sting to the counsayll of Wytches and Inchauntours, was slaine of his awne ser- urrey, whome of all men he vsed most famylierly, when he had reigned. xi.

1252

l, Erle of Colchester tooke vpon hym the gouernaunce of Briteyn, and ruled the ry well for a certeine tyme. But as Gaufride saith: When the Senates of Rome erstanding of the death of Asclepiodatus, they were ioyous of his death, for that uer bene an enemie to the Empire: But forasmuch as at those dayes ỹ Romemselues were at great dissention, they could not conueniently send any warre vpon this Coillus, by reason whereof he continued the lenger in rest and

226

1

Constancius sent from Rome to gouerne Briteyn.

¶ Howbeit at length, the Senate sent a noble and wyse man called Constantius, who when he was arriued in Briteyn with his army, anone Coilus assembled his Britons: But before he proceded further, he sent an Ambassade to the said Constantius, for that he feared the strength and fame of him, which Ambassade declared vnto him condicions of peace, & graunt of the paiment of the Tribute: But finally, while this matter was in talke, Coilus dyed, & then the Britons for peace sake, entreated this noble man to take to wife Heleyn the daughter of Coilus, with the possession of the land of Briteyn, which by him was graunted. And thus Coilus when he had reigned. xxvij. yeres dyed.

263 AT this tyme Findock the eldest sonne of Athirco was made kinge of the Scottes, and kept peace with the Romaines, and Britons, and quieted the rebellion of Donald (a noble man of the Isles) by whose counsayle, through the consent of his awne brother Cara he was afterwarde slaine, when he had reigned. x. yeres.

Findock king of Scottes.

273 DOnald was king of Scottes one yere, he was taken in battail by Donald of the Isles and shortly after he dyed

274 AFter the death of King Donald, great trouble was in Scotland: For Donald of the Isles tooke on him the Crowne, which was Donald the third, and vsed much Tyranny the space of. xii. yeres: He neuer laughed, but when he heard of the discorde and slaughter of his Nobles, and therefore in the end for his crueltie he was slaine of Craithlint sonne of Findock, with. CC. of his naughtie Counsaylours.

Donald of ye Isles king of Scotes.

286 CRaithlint the sonne of Findock, after the death of Donald the Tyraunt, was King of Scottes, and reigned. xxiiij. yeres, with great wisedom and iustice. In his time happened great variance betweene the Pictes and the Scottes (which continued from the tyme of Fergus the first King of Scottes, to these dayes) for stealing of a Greyhounde, whereof ensued great murder and slaughter on both parties.

Craithlint King of Scottes.

289 COnstancius aforesayde, tooke vpon him the gouernement of the Britons, and aboue sayde, first maryed Heleyn the Daughter of Coilus, last King of Briteyn, which Heleyn was very beutifull and fayre, and therewith had learning and many other vertues and after gouerned Briteyn very wisely and honorablye: But within short tyme *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian* had geuen vp the Imperiall auctoritie, he was chosen perour, and reigned Emperour and King of Briteyn. xxx. yeres, and then dyed, buried in Yorke, leauing after him a sonne named Constantine.

1 Constancius.

¶ This Constantius was a Man of great affabilitie, clemency, and gentleness therewithall very liberall, endeuouring alwaies to enriche his subiectes, little regarding his awne treasure, thinking that to be his that the Commons had. Wherefore he said that it was better that priuate persons had the common treasure to the vse of the publique, then the same to be locked vp in Princes Cofers. In feastiuall dayes when he bade his Nobles to any banket, he borowed Plate of his friendes to furnishe his Court withall. *Cooper.*

310 COnstantine the sonne of Constancius and of Helyn, daughter of king Coilus, reigned ouer Briteyn after his father, and ruled the lande with much equitie. And although at this time he was a heathen and Pagan, yet he vsed no tirannie, neither did he compell the Britons to refuse their law, and to worship Idols, as other Tyraunts before had done.

1 Constantine.

¶ In this time, while Constantine ruled the Britons, one *Maxencius* which was sonne of *Herculeus Maximianus* sometime felow in the Empire with Dioclesian, by the pretorian Souldiours declared Emperour. Thys *Maxencius* did there behaue himselfe the worst of all men, and enterprised all maner of tirannie, and persecuted christians with all kindes of torments. And when Constantine heard of the tirannie of this man. He assembled a great hoste of Britons and Galles for to oppresse him with power and malice.

Christians persecuted.

¶ And for to rule and guyde this land of Briteyn in his absence, he ordeyned a man
might called *Octauius*, which then was king of Wales & Duke of Gwiscop, which
he expound to be Westsex, some Cornewall, and some Wynsore, to haue the go-
rnement of this dominion. Now when he had prouided all things necessarie for his
age, he betooke the lande of Briteyn to *Octauius*, and sped him forward in his
ney.

After whose departure, and during the time that he was occupied in the affaires of
pire, *Octauius* being Lieutenaunt in Briteyn vnder the sayde Constantine, ruled
to the contentation of the Britons for a certaine time. But when he perceyued
as in fauour with them, and also that Constantine was nowe farre from him, and
ng with hymselfe also, that the sayde Constantine being then Emperour, would
could not so lightly returne into Briteyn: he therefore with the helpe of hys Octauius vsurped the gouernment of Briteyn.
and such as he was alyed with, withstood the Romaines that were left in Briteyn
tantine, and vsurped the rule & dominion of the land: whereof when Constan-
truely certified, in all haste he sent a Duke into Briteyn, named Trayherne, the
is Vncle vnto Helyn the mother of Constantine.

ien this Trayherne was arriued in Briteyn with three Legions of souldiours. or Trayherne.
warre: anon *Octauius* made toward him with his Britons, and met him nere
tie then called Caerperis, and nowe named Portechester, but more truely in Portchester.
e vnto the Citie of Caerguent, which at this day is called Winchester. Winchester.
hen the two hostes were met, they ioyned a most eger and cruell battayle,
s a long and terrible fight. But in the ende, Trayherne was inforced to for-
ielde, and withdrew himselfe and his Romaynes into Albania or Scotlande.
Octauius being warned, folowed him, and in the Countrie of Westmerland
he second battaile, where then *Octauius* was chased and Trayherne had the
e which pursued *Octauius* so egerly, that he compelled him to forsake the
iteyn and to sayle into the Countrie of Norway for his safegarde.

as not long after, but the sayd *Octauius* gathered a newe power of people,
tons as also of Norwayes, and was redye to returne againe into Briteyn. In
an Erle of Briteyn that entirely loued *Octauius* by treason slue the sayd Tra- Trayherne slaine.
before the landing of *Octauius* aforesayde, who afterwardes reigned in this
least. iiij. yeres, but not without great and often warres made by the Ro-
nd this shoulde be as most wryters doe affirme, when Constantyne with the
herne had ruled this lande. x. yeres. But *Polidore* affirmeth that this Realme *Polidore.*
quiet all the tyme of Constantyne and his successors vnto the. iiij. yere of
d maketh no mencion of this *Octauius*, whereby it may apere what great va-
s euen among the best and most approued story wryters.

Constantine was a right noble and valiaunt Prince, and the sonne of Helena,
great sanctimony and borne in Briteyn, the which Elyn as it is reported of
the Crosse at Ierusalem, on the which our Sauiour Christ suffered his pas-
d three of the Nayles wherewith his handes and feete were pierced.

e sayd Constantine was so mightie in Martiall prowesse, that he was surnamed Constãtine the great.
tine the great. Of whome it is further written, that when he was in his voyage
y, which he made against *Maxencius* the Tyraunt, who was an extreme perse-
the Christians, he saw in the night season, the signe of the Crosse shining in
ient lyke a fyre, and an Augell by it saiyng on this wise: In this signe thou shalt
e. Wherefore receyuing great comfort thereby, he gathered such a courage,
tly after he vanquished the armie of *Maxencius* and put him to flight, who in the
is drowned in Tyber.

ally this good Emperour had the fayth of Christ in such reuerence, that alway
diously he endeuoured to augment the same. And in witnesse of his beliefe, he
e booke of the Gospelles to be borne before him. And further made the Bible

to

Close crownes came frō Constantine yᵉ Emperour.

to be copyed out, and sent into all partes of the Empire. Of this man, the kynge Briteyn had first the priuelege to weare close Crownes or Diademes. He ended his lyf Nicomedia, where he receyued Baptisme by *Eusebius* Bishop there, and was buried at stantinople, called before Bizance, who lust to know more of his actes and life, may the sayd *Eusebius*, who hath written a speciall treatise therof extant among his workes.

310 FIncormake, after the death of his Cosyn Cairthquint, was ordeyned king of and reigned. xlvii. yeres.

329 OCtauius Duke of the Iesses, tooke vpon him againe to rule as king of Bri

1 in the tyme of his reigne, he gathered such plentie of Treasure that he feare and he ruled the land peaceably, saue that he was now and then as is aforesayd with warres by the Romaines. And of him is no notable thing written, except he was fallen into age, by the counsaile of the Britons, he sent vnto Rome fo Man of the kindred of Heleyn mother vnto Constantyne called *Maximianus* *Octauius* offered his daughter in mariage, and to yelde vnto him the Kingdom teyn, the which when *Maximianus* vnderstood, he consented thereynto, and pr all haste for his voyage, and shortly after he with a conuenient companie landed hamton, whereof Conan Meriadock beyng warned did purpose to haue fou sayd *Maximianus*, & thought to haue distressed him, for so much as he kn that by him he should be put from the rule of the land. Bût this purpose the commaũdement of the king, or otherwise, so that the sayd *Maximian* ueyed safely to the kinges presence: and shortly after the king with the co more partie of his Lordes, gaue his daughter in mariage vnto the sayd *M* with the possession of this Isle of Briteyn. The which mariage beyng sole ended, the said *Octauius* dyed shortly after, when he had reigned as the agree. liiij. yeres.

358 AFter the death of Fincormake king of Scottes, because his heyres were

Romake king of Scottes. fierce warre was arreared betweene two noble men called *Angusiane*, an the gouernaunce of the Realme: whereof ensued much trouble in the Re lande, and great displeasure thereby engendered betwene the Scottes and as much as by the ayde of the Pictes *Romake* tooke on him the Kingdo great cruelties three yeres.

362 NOt long after the Nobles of Scotland assembled themselues and se

Angusian king of Scottes. *make* their king and slue him, and then was *Angusiane* ordeyned king. Be and the Pictes was great warre for the death of *Romake*, and in the end *Angusiane* and *Nectanus* king of Pictes were slaine. Then was Fethelm king, which vanquished the Pictes, and was after slaine in his bed by two were his seruauntes.

366 ABout this time one Eugenius the first, was made king of Scottes. H

Eugenius king of Scottes. tishe Historie maketh a long processe of the fierce & cruell warre that this against *Maximus* the Romaine Capiteyn, and the Pictes and Briteyns, which I be of no more credit than the residue of their Historie, that they haue feyned beginning. For vndoubtedly, if they had put the Romaines to so much troubl Chronicles shewe, both in the tyme of the Conquest and after: *Cæsar*, *Tacitus* and other woulde haue made some mencion of the Scottes, as they did of th *bantes*, *Cenimagnes*, *Segontiaces*, *Bibraces*, *Brigantes*, *Silures*, *Icenes*, an other.

379 ¶ The Scottes say, that in this time, after long and cruell warre made by t

Note here that the Britons had the possession of all Scotland. sayde *Maximianus*, they were vtterly extermined and driuen out of their Re Ireland and other Countries, and that the then said *Maximus* the Romain,

ir land the Pictes and Britons. And *Hector Boecius* sayth, it was for rebellion: But ion could it not be properly named, except they had beene subiectes.

nianus or Maximus, the sonne of Leonyn and Cosyn Germain to Constantine tooke vpon him the gouernement of this lande of Briteyn. This man was mightie, but for that he was cruell against the Christians, he was called *Max-* Tyraunt. Betwene this man and Conan before named, was great enuy and diuers conflictes and battayles were foughten, in the which eyther parte of iuersly: howbeit, at the last, they were made Friends. So that *Maximianus* hile in quiet, and gathered ryches and treasure, but not altogither without grudge. Finally, he was prouoked and excited to make warre vpon the h which counsayle, he with a great hoste of Britons sayled into Armorica led little Briteyn, where he bare him selfe so valiauntly that he subdued to his Lordship, and after gaue the same vnto Conan Meriadok, to holde ccessours the kings of great Briteyn for euer. And then commaunded be called little Briteyn. 383

Amorica is called little Briteyn.

victorie, the Souldiours of *Maximianus* proclaymed him Emperour, he being the more exalted in pride, passed further into the landes of toriously subdued a great parte of Gallia and all Germania. For Authours doe accompt him false and periured, wherefore it should comming from Rome, he was sworne to Gracian and Valentinian e should neuer clayme any part of the Empire.

Maximianus proclamed Emperour.

orde was brought vnto the Emperours that *Maximianus* had by dued Gallia and Germania: Gracianus with a great hoste came But when he heard of the Marciall deedes of *Maximianus*, he he Citie of Lyons in Fraunce: where afterwardes the sayde Gra- s brother Valentinian compelled to flee to Constantinoble, for

haue the more strength to withstand his enimies, made his w of the Emperour. And in this time that *Maximianus* Meriadoke, to whome as aforesayde *Maximianus* had geuen s he and his Souldiours had no will to marrie the daughters to haue Wyues of their owne blood: sent Messengers vnto wall and chiefe ruler of Briteyn, wylling him to send his number of Virgins to be coupled to him and his Knightes er was prepared according to the request of Conan, the with. xj. thousand Virgins, were sent by her sayde fa- th Gaufrid and other. But truely it appereth rather ein doe not agree, and therefore I will wade no fur- I left.

Vrsula commonly called saint Vrsula.

A fable.

ied in warres in Italy, two Dukes named Gwanus or Melga, king of Pictes, the which as Gaufrid saith, nian the Emperours, to punishe and subdue the *aximianus*, warred sore vpon the coastes of great e of Albania. Whereof when *Maximianus* had know- sente into great Briteyn a Knight and Captaine called Gracianus, the which Legions of Souldiours bare himselfe so valiauntlye, that in a short time he the sayde two Dukes into Ireland, and holde the land of Briteyn in good peace to hoofe of *Maximianus*.

Gwanus Melga.

In this tyme *Maximianus* continuing his warre against the Empire, and entending e Emperour, Theodocius named the elder, being then Emperour of the East part the worlde hering of the death of Gracian, and the chasing of Valentinian his bro-

ther,

Maximianus beheadded.

ther, sped him with great power towarde *Maximianus*, and shortly after at a Citie Italie named *Aquileia* tooke the sayde *Maximianus* and him beheadded.

391 — 1

WHen knowledge of the death of *Maximianus* was come to Gracian, who the rule of great Briteyn, he seased the land and made himselfe king of Briteyn by when or after that *Maximianus* had gouerned the same, as most Writers wytnesse, the space of viij. yeres.

¶ This Gracian hauing nowe obteyned the souereigne auctboritie, becau cruell Prince and exercised all tyranny and exaccion vpon the people, for whi was abhorred of all the Britons, and by them was slaine when he had reigned Then was the Realme a good space without a head or gouernor, in the w Britons were oftentimes sore vexed with the aforesayde Barbarous people rein enimies.

397 — 7 Augustine whome we call saint Augustyn.

IN this time was Augustine the most famous & learned Doctor of C he was Bishop of *Hippone* a Citie in Affrique. This man was of suc that in his childhood he learned all the liberal Sciences without any inst partes of Philosophy was wonderfully well learned. At the beginni opinions of them which be called Manichees, but by the continuall mother *Monica:* and the persuasion of holy Sainct Ambrose, he w true faith. They both of them being replenished with the holy Gho *Te deum*, aunswering mutually one to another. And afterwardes, preaching he so much profited the Church, that to this daye hys na honour and reuerence of all men.

403 — 13 Chrisostom.

ANd in this time also was Chrisostomus Bishop of Constanti Noble Clerk, and for his eloquence he was called the Golden yet escaped he not some persecution by meanes of Theophilus in in exile.

423 — Fergus king of Scottes.

THe Scottes (according to their Histories) vnder their kin turned out of Ireland into Albion, and continuing the reig Fergus, Eugenius and Dongarde, pursued the Britons with mo they discent from the English Chronicles, as well in the com *Beda.* relacion of the whole Historie, For after Beda, Gildas and Writers, the Scottes came first about this time out of Irela they afterwards named Scotland. But howsoeuer these l the Scottes being confederate with the Pictes, not long fr Writers, inuaded and spoyled the lande of Briteyn so cru streyned to sende for ayde to the Romaines, promising subiect to the Empire: which request was heard, & a Souldiours, who within a fewe dayes chased their enimi wall of Torues. to make a Wall of Torues and stakes, ouertwhart the meane from the water of Homber to the Scottishe Se keepers of the Wall (wherewith their enimies migh then they tooke leaue of the Britons and departed that the sayde Wall stretched from Penulton to the

¶ But notwithstanding the sayd Wall, the Britons and Scottes, who spoyled the Country verye sore. So that they were driuen to newe helpe of the Romaines, who sent to them againe a company of Souldier A wall of stone. eftsones chased the Pictes, and made a wall of stone of viiij. foote thicke, and in h xij. foote: which thing when they had done, comforting the Briteynes, and adm ing them hereafter to trust to their awne manhood and strength, they returned aga Rome.

433 — ¶ The Scottes and Pictes yet once againe after the departure of the Romaines, e

tred the lande of Briteyn, and spoyled the countrie, and chased the commons so cruelly, that they were altogether comfortlesse, and brought to such misery, that eche robbed and spoyled other, and ouer this the ground was vntilled, whereof ensued great scarcetie and hunger, and after hunger death. In this necessitie they sent for ayde to *Aecius* the Romaine Capitaine beyng then occupied in warres in a part of Gallia. But they had no comfort at his hand. And therefore were forced to send Ambassade to *Aldrocnus* king of little Briteyne to desyre of him ayde and comfort, which they obteined vpon condicion, that if they atchiued the victory, Constantyne his brother should be ordeyned king of great Briteyn, for to that day they had no king. Which thing beyng graunted of the Ambassadours, the said Constantine gathered a company of Souldiours, and went forth with them. And when he had manfully vanquished the enimies, and obteyned the victory, according to promes made, he was ordeyned king, & guyded this land. x. yeres with such manhood and pollecy, that he kept it in quietnesse & from daunger of straunge enemies.

Aecius. Aldroenus. Constãtyne.

Here endeth the Dominion and tribute of the Romaines ouer this land of Briteyn, which had continued the space of. 483. yeres.

433

COnstantine the second, who was the brother of *Aldroenus* king of little Briteyn, was crowned king of great Briteyn and guyded wel the land the space of. x. yeres, and in gr[illegible]t quietuesse. Of this Constantyne is little written, except ỹ he had by his wife [illegible]e sonnes, ỹ which were named Constancius, Aurely Ambrose, & Vter surnamed Pen[illegible]gon. But for that he sawe his eldest sonne named Constancius to be dull and insolent of wit, he therefore made him a Monke in the Abbey of S. Swithines at Win[illegible]ster. And the other two brethren, he betoke vnto Gwethelinus Archbishop of Lon[illegible] to nourish and instruct. Some wryte that Constancius entred into religion of pure deuocion, without the consent or knowledge of the king his father.

¶ In the Court of this Constantyne (as sayth Gaufride) there was a Pict, that was [illegible]h loued & greatly fauoured of him, so that he might at all times come to the kinges [illegible]nce, when he would himselfe. The which beyng an arrant Traytour, and serching conuenient time to execute his detestable treason, by a secret meane slue the king in his chamber, when he had reigned as king. x. yeres. The Author of the story named the rowers of stories, writeth that he slue him with a knife in a very thicke Coppes, as he was hunting.

Constantine slaine.

¶ In the tyme of this Constantyne of Briteyn, their reigned also among the Scottes [illegible]e of the same name, who was named Constantyne the first, he was a wicked Prince, [illegible]d geuen wholy to filthy lust and pleasure of the body, and without all vertue of pol[illegible]cye or noblenesse, wherefore in the ende he was slaine for rauishing of a noble mannes daughter.

436

Constantine King of Scottes.

COnstantius, the sonne of Constantyne, by the meane of *Vortigerus* Duke of Cornewall, or as some write of the Iewesses, after called West Saxons, was made king of Briteyn. This man as before is mencioned, was thought by his father, for that he was dull of wit and hawtye of minde to be therefore vnmete to take the charge of the Gouernement vpon him, and therefore his father made him a Monke as aforesayde. But now it came to passe that by the practise and procurement of Vortiger he was taken out of the Abbey and made king: By meane whereof the sayd Vortiger had all the rule of the lande, so that Constance had but onely the name.

443

Constancius first a Monk and then a king.

¶ This Vortiger then considering the innocencye and mildenesse of the king, cast in his minde how he might be king himselfe. And among other meanes, he practised to haue about the king an hundreth Pictes, to waite and attend vpon his person as a garde, which

A Garde appointed to attend on the king.

which beyng brought to passe, he bare him selfe so friendly towardes the sayde Pictes, and shewed him selfe so liberall vnto them euery way, that at length he had thereby so wonne their good will and fauour, that they abashed not to say openly, that he was more worthy to be king than Constance.

¶ And in this while Vortiger gate into his possession the kinges Castels and treasure, and looke what he commaunded, that was done, though some did murmure and grudge thereat, and euer in right or wrong he fauoured the aforesayd Pictes.

¶ Now when he sawe that he had wonne all their fauours, he made them all dronke on a tyme, and then declared vnto them in that case his pouertie and miserie, and that with teares, saiyng howe he was not able of his awne proper reuenew to wage somuch as fiftie Souldiours, and with that he departed from them vnto his lodging, as a man altogether dismayde, leauing them still drinking and quaffing in the Court. The Pictes hearing him say so, beyng nowe distempered and set in a rage by reason of Wyne, murmured one of them to another, saiyng, why do we not kill this blockish Monke, that this noble Man Vortiger, who is so good and beneficial a Lord vnto vs may enioy the Crowne. And with that they rose vp in their dronken moode, and fell vpon the king and slue him.

Constancius slaine.

¶ After which cruell deede so by them done, they presented the head of Constance vnto Vortiger. Wherof when he was ware, and to thentent that the Brytons should thinke that deede to be done against his mind and will, he wept and made semblaunce of all sorow and beauinesse, and caused the sayd hundreth Pictes foorthwith to be taken, and them by the iudgement of the law of the lande to be beheaded, by reason whereof he was iudged not to be culpable, but innocent of the kinges death.

The kings Garde put all to death.

¶ When the kings death was knowne to such persons as had the keeping of the two yonger brethren, Aurelius & Vter, they in all hast for the sauegard of themselues fled into little Briteyn, & there kept them vntill it pleased God otherwise to prouide for them. And thus as ye haue heard was king Constance slaine when he had reigned fiue yere.

446 COngallus, the sonne of king Dongarde was ordeyned king of Scotland after the D of Constantine. He was geuen to peace, quietnesse, and iustice, and was a good moderate Prince.

448 VOrtiger after the death of Constance, by force made himselfe king of Briteyn ruled, but not all without trouble. For it was not long or that the Pictes hauing knowle of the death and destruction of their knightes and kinsmen, inuaded the Northpartes the land, & did therin great domage and hurt. And besides this, many of the nobles the Britons perceyuing that king Constance was not murdered altogether without the co sent of the sayde Vortiger, rebelled against him, and dailye sent and sayled ouer in little Briteyn to the ayde and assistaunce of the aforesayde children of Constantine, whi put the sayde Vortiger to great vnquietnesse, the more for that that he wist not, nor kne not in whome he might put his trust and confidence.

Plentie of Corne and Fruite. Lechery. Pestilence.

¶ Now yet in all this broyle and vnquiet time, there was in this Realme so great plent of Corne and fruite, that the lyke thereof had not bene seene in many yeres passe wherewith was ioyned lecherie and pestilence, with many other inconueniences, so th vice was accompted for small or none offence. The which reigned not onely in the Te poraltie, but also in the Spiritualtie and heads of the same. So that euery man tur the poynt of his Speare against the true and innocent man, and the commons gaue the selues altogether to dronkennesse and Idlenesse, by reason whereof ensued fighting, stri and much enuie. Of which aforesayd mischiefes ensued much mortalitie and death men, that the lyuing scantly suffised in some Countries to burie the dead. And b sides this, the king was so heard beset with the aforenamed enemies, that he was co streyned, as sayth *Polichronica*, to sende for Paynems, as the Saxons, to helpe t withstande his enemies and to defend his land, and also he dailye feared the landing o Aurely and Vter.

Dronkénes. Idlenesse. Mortality.

Saxons.

¶ Vortiger

¶ Vortiger being thus beset with many enimies, and then being for the exployte of sundrie his affaires at Cauntorbury, tydinges was brought him of the arryuing of three talle Ships full of armed men at the Isle of Tenet. Wherefore, first he made countenance, as though he had bene in doubt whether it had bene the two brethren of Constance or no: But when the fame was blowen about, that they were none enimies: anone he caused the leaders and Capitaines of them to be brought vnto his presence, demaunding of them the cause of their landing, and of their Nation and Countrie: who answered vnto the king and sayde, they were of the Countrie of Germany, and put out of their Countrie by a maner & sort of a Lot, which is sundrie times vsed in the sayde lande, and the vse thereof grewe for that the people of that Countrie encreased so greatly, that without such prouision had, the Countrie might not suffise to finde the people that were therein: And that therefore sence fortune had brought them into this land, they besought the king that he would take them to his seruice, and they woulde be ready to fight for the defence of him and his Countrie. And when the king had enquired further, he founde that they had two leaders, named Hengist and Horsus, and they and their people were called Saxons. Hengist. Horsus.

¶ The king being thus assertayned of the maner of these strangers, & that they were of the heathen and Pagan law, said, he was verie sorie ỹ they were miscreaunts, but he was glad of their cõming, forsomuch as he had neede of such Souldiours to defend him and his lande against his enemies: and so receiued them into his wages and seruice, as sayth Gaufride and other writers.

¶ Beda the holye man and faythfull Historian sayeth, that Vortiger sent for the Saxons for that they were strong men of armes, and had no lande to dwell in, the which came in three long Shippes or Hulkes, and receyued a place of him to dwell in, in the East ide of Briteyn called the Isle of Tenet beside Kent: but *Guilielmus Malmisburiensis* in s worke *De Regibus*, sayth, that the Saxons came out of Germany of their awne will d courage to winne worship and laude, and not by any lot or compulsion. He sayeth that they worshipped in those daies, a God named WODEN, supposed to be Mer- y, and a Goddesse named FRIA Venus. In the worship of which God, the third iall day in the weeke, they named Wodensdaye, which we nowe call Wednesday. And worship of the sayde Goddesse, they called the fifte daye Frees day, which we now Friday. *Wyllian of Malmesbury.* The dayes called Wednesdaye and Friday, from whence they came first.

¶ And these foresayde people were of three maner of Nations, that is to saye, Saxons, glys and Iewets. Of the Saxons came the East Saxons, West Saxons, and the uth Saxons. Of the Anglys, came the East Anglys, the middle Anglys or Merceys, led Mercij, whiche helde middle Englande, that stretcheth Westward towarde the uer of Dee beside Chester, and to Seuerne beside Shrewesbury, and so forth to Bris-, and Estwarde towarde the See, and Southwarde towarde the Thamys, and so foorth London, and turning downeward and Westwarde to the Riuer Mercea, and so foorth the West See. Saxons. Angles. Iewets.

¶ And of the Iewets came the Kentishmen, and the men of the Isle of Wight. Of first comming of these Saxons into Briteyn, the writers doe varie. But to returne to storie.

These Saxons with the kings power did beate downe the enimies aforesayde, and ded the land in most knightly wise, so that the king had the Saxons in great nd fauour: which fauour Hengistus well perceyuing, vpon a season, when he saw nient time, he asked of the king so much ground as the hyde of a Bull or Oxe compasse, which the king graunted him. After the which graunt, the sayde Hen- the entent to winne a large plot of ground, caused the sayde beastes skinne to be into small and slender Thonges. And with the same he met out a large and great cuit of ground, vpon the which he shortly after builded a large and strong Castell. By Bull hyde.

Thong Castle. reason of which Thonge, the sayde Castell was long after named Thong-Castle, and it was builded in Lyndsey.

¶ After this, tydings went into Germany of the plentie and fatnesse of the lande of Briteyn, with other commodities belonging to the same: By meane whereof, the Saxons dailye drewe to the sayde lande, and couenaunted with the Britons, that the Britons should exercise and attende vpon their husbandry and other necessarie traffique, and the Saxons as their Souldiours would defende the lande from incursions of all enimies, for the which the Britons should geue to them competent meate and wages.

Ronowen the daughter of Hengist. ¶ Then by the assignement and apoyntment of Hengist, there came out of Germany xvj. Sayles well furnished with men of warre, and in them came Ronowen the daughter of the sayd Hengist, which was a Mayden of excellent beutie. After whose comming, Hengist vpon a day besought the king that he would see his Castle, which he had newly edefied. To whose request the king was agreeable, & at the day assigned he came to the Castle, where he was ioyously receyued. And there among other pastimes, the sayd Ronowen with a Cup of Golde full of Wyne presented the King, saluting and saiyng *wassayle*. The King which before that tyme had heard no like salutation, neither vnderstood what she ment, asked of her father what she ment by that worde *wassayle*. To whome it was aunswered by Hengist, that it was a salutation of good lucke and gladnesse, and that the king should drinke after her, and adding also this aunswere, that it was as much to say, as drinke hayle. Wherfore the king as he was informed tooke the Cup of the Maydens hand and dranke: And after he behelde the Damsell in such maner, that he was wounded with the dart of the blinde God Cupide, in such wise that neuer after he coulde withdrawe his lust from her: but lastly by the instigation of the Deuill, asked her in mariage of her father. And by force thereof as witnesseth *Polichronica*, he put from him his lawfull wyfe, of the which he had before tyme receyued three noble sonnes, *Vortimerius*, *Catagrinus*, and *Pascentius*. Then the King gaue to Hengist the Lordship of Kent, though *Garangonus* then Erle thereof thereat grudged with many of his Nobles and Commons.

Wassayle.

Polichron.

Vortimerus, Catagrinus, Pascencius.

¶ For this, and because the king had maried a Pagan woman, all the Britons in maner forsooke him and his wôorkes. Notwithstanding, yet some there were, as well the Nobles as other, that comforted the King in hys euill doyng. By which meane and other vnlawfull deedes, then dayly vsed, the fayth of Christ began sore to decay. And besides that, an heresie called the Arians heresie began to spring in Briteyn, for the which two Bishops named *Germanus*, and *Lupus* (as Gaufride saith) were sent into Briteyn to reforme the people that were infected with the same, and erred from the way of truth.

Arians heresie. Germanus. Lupus.

¶ Then to finish the story of Vortiger, forasmuch as the Britons withdrewe themselues from hym, he was therefore constrayned to retayne with him the Saxons. By whose counsayle he afterwarde sent for Octa the sonne of Hengist, the which brought with them another companie out of Saxonie. And from this tyme the Saxons sought alway occasion to extinguish vtterly the power of the Britons, and to subdue the land to themselues.

Octa the son of Hengist.

¶ When the Lordes of Briteyn saw and considered the great multitude of Saxons, & their dayly repayre into this land, they assembled them together, and shewed to the king the inconuenience & ieopardy that might ensue to him and his land, by reasō of the great power of these strangers, & they aduertised him in aduoyding of greater daunger to expel & put them out of this realme, or the more part of them: But all was in vaine, Vortiger had such a mind to the Saxons by reason of his wyfe, ỳ he preferred the loue them, before the loue of his awne natural kinsmen & frends. Wherfore the Britons one will & mind crowned *Vortimerus* the eldest sonne of Vortiger king of Briteyn, depriued the father of all kingly dignity, when he had reigned. xvj. yeres.

Vortiger depriued.

464

1 VOrtimer the sonne of Vortiger, was by the assent of the Britons made king of Briteyn, the which in all haste pursued the Saxons, and gaue vnto them a great battayle vpon the

the Riuer of *Darwent*, where he had of them the victorie. And secondarily he fought with them vpon the Foorde called Epyfoord, or Aglisphorpe. In the which fight *Catrignus* the brother of Vortimer, and Horsus, brother to Hengist, or Cosin, after long fight betwene them two, eyther of them slue other, in which fight also the Britons were victours. The thirde battaile he fought with them nere vnto the Sea syde, where also the Britons chased the Saxons, and compelled them to take the Isle of Wight for their suretie. The fourth battayle was nere vnto a Moore called Cole Moore, the which was long and sore fought by the Saxons, by reason that the sayd Moore closed a part of their Hoast so strongly, that the Britons might not approche to them for daunger of theyr shot. Howbeit, in the ende they were chased, and many of them by constraint were drowned and swalowed in the sayde Moore.

Catrignus. Horsus slaine. Cole Moore.

¶ And ouer and besides these foure principall battailes, Vortimer had with the Saxons sundrie other conflicts and skirmishes, as in Kent, Thetfoorde in Norfolke, and in Essex, nere vnto Colchester, & left not vntill he had bereft from them the more part of suche possessions, as before time they had wonne, and kept themselues onely to the Isle of Tenet, where Vortimer besieged them, with his Nauie, and oftentimes fought with them by water.

Vortimer. Thetfoord.

¶ And as Gaufride sayeth, when they sawe that they were not able any longer to endure the force of the Britons, and to make their partie good with them, they then sent Vortiger the father (whome they had present with them in all the Fieldes that they fought against the Britons) vnto the king his sonne, praiyng him to lycence them safely to depart againe into their country of Germany. And whiles this matter was in talke betweene the father and the sonne, they priuily conueyed themselues into their Shippes, and so returned home againe, leauing their wyues and children behinde them. *Fabian.*

Gaufride.

¶ When that Rowen the daughter of Hengist perceyued the great mischiefe that her father and the Saxons were in, by the martiall Knighthood of Vortimer: she sought such meanes (as sayeth Gaufride and other) that Vortymer was poysoned, when he had ruled the Britons. vij. yeres.

Rowen practised the poysoning of Vortimer.

Because the storie touching the end and death of the sayde Vortimer is verie notable, shall not be amisse to recite it here in effect, as it is written by the sayd Gaufride. When Vortimer had now gotten the victorie of the Saxons, he beganne lyke a good prince to restore againe vnto the Britons such possessions as were taken from them by the sayde Saxons, and to loue and honour them: And at the request of the holy man Germaine to reedefie such Churches as were by them destroyed and ouerthrowne. But Deuill by and by enuied at his vertue and godlynesse, who entering into the heart of his stepmother Rowen, moued her to imagine his death: wherevpon she sending for all the Wytches and Poysoners that she coulde hereof, caused verie strong Poyson to be mingled vnto him, by a verie familier and nere friend of his, whome she had corrupted before with many great giftes. Now when this noble warryour had receyued this deadly poyson, he vpon a sodaine became desperately sick, in such wise as their was no hope of life in him. Then commaunding all his Souldiours to come before him to shewe to them what daunger he stood in, and how the houre of death was at hande, he deuyded among them his treasure and such goodes as his auncetours had left him. And perceyuing them greatly to lament and bewayle the miserable case and daunger that he was in, he comforted them, saiyng, that the waye which he should goe was commen to all fleshe, and so exhorted them that as they had before sticked vnto him like men, and had shewed themselues valyaunt and couragious in fighting against the Saxons, euen so hereafter they should lykewise perseuer in the defence of their natiue Countrie, against all the inuasions of forrein enimies. That done, of a great heardy courage he commaunded a Sepulcher of Brasse to be made spire wise, and the same to be set in that porte or Hauen where the Saxons were commonly wont to arryue, and his dead corps to be layde in it, that assoone as those barbarous people should see once the Sepulchre, they for feare might returne

backe againe into Germany. For he sayde that not one of them all durst be so hardie as to approche the lande if they once saw the sayde Sepulchre, O most hardie and dowtie king, who desyred to be feared of them euen after his death, vnto whome he was a terrour in his lyfe time: But when he was dead, the Britons performed not his commaundement, but buryed his body at London.

471

I Vortiger restored to his kingdome.

VOrtiger was now againe restored to the kingdome of Briteyn, and shortly after Hengist eyther of his awne accorde, or as Gaufride wryteth sent for by the procurement of his daughter Rowen, entred thys land againe with a great multitude of Saxons, whereof Vortiger, being informed in all haste, assembled his Britons and made towardes them. But when Hengist heard of the Britons, and of the preparation that was made against him, he then made meanes for the intreaty of peace, where in the end, it was concluded that a certaine number of Britons, and as manye of the Saxons, should vpon the next May day assemble vpon the playne of Ambrij, now called Sarisbury, or as Gaufride saith, nere vnto the Abbey of Amesburie, founded by one Ambrius: which day being certeynly prefixed, Hengistus vsing a new practise of treason, charged all his Saxons by him appointed, that eche of them should put secretly a long Knyfe in their hosen. and at such time as he gaue to them this watch or bye worde, *Nempnith your Saxes*, that is, drawe your Knyfes, that euerie one of them should drawe out his Knyfe and slea a Britton, sparing none, but Vortiger the king onely. And at the day before appointed, the king with a certaine number of Britons, not ware of this purposed treason, came in peaceable wise to ỹ place before assigned, where he found ready Hengist with his Saxons. The which after due obedience made vnto the king, he receyued him with a countenance of loue and amitie, where after a time of cõmunication had, Hengist being minded to execute his purposed treason, gaue forth his watchword. By reason whereof anon the Britons were slaine lyke shepe among Wolues, to the number (as Gaufride writeth) of. iii C. and. lx. barons & noble men, hauing no maner of weapon to defend themselues withall, except that any of them might by his manhood & strength either get ỹ knife out his enimies hand, or else by stones or such like weapõ as they might come by, anoy the by which meanes diuers of the Saxõs also were slaine, so ỹ this there trechery was performed. And among the number of these Britons ỹ were thus distressed, there was the an Erle called Edolfe Erle of Chester, or rather after Gaufride Edole, Baron of Glocester, who seing his felowes & friends thus murthered (as the said Gaufrid saith) by manhood recouered a stake out of a hedge, with the which he knightly defended himselfe and slue of the Saxons three score and ten persons, and being ouer set by his enimies and not able to make any longer resistance was compelled to flie to his awne Citie. After which treason thus executed, the king remayned with Hengistus as Prisoner. *bian.*

Sarisbury.

Treason wrought by Hengist.

Dissimulation.

¶ But the sayde Gaufride writeth more fuller hereof in this wise. After the Saxons had accomplished their mischeuous purpose, they woulde in no wise sley Vortiger: But threatning to kill him, they kept him in a holde, and demaunded him to geue vp & deliuer vnto them his good townes and strong holdes as a raunsome for his lyfe: vnto which the king graunted whatsoeuer they requyred of him, so that he might depart with life. And when he had confirmed his graunt made vnto them by an othe, then was he set at lybertie and delyuered out of Prison. This done, the Saxons tooke Yorke, Lyncolne and Winchester, and wasting al the Countreys as they went, they set vpon the common people and slue them, as Wolues are wont to deuoure the siely pore Sheepe that are alone and forsaken of their Shepheards. Now when Vortiger sawe the great murther and slaughter of his people, he gat him into Wales as a man that wist not what to do and howe to be reuenged vpon this wicked Nation.

Vortiger taken.

¶ Of the taking of Vortiger, and slaiyng of the Lordes of Briteyn (*Gulielmus de regibus* sayth) that Hengist agreed with Vortiger and his Britons that he should enioy the

Castell by him before made, with a certeyne lande therevnto adioinyng for him and his Saxons to dwell vpon. And when the said agreement was surely stablished, this Hengist entending treason, desired the king with a number of his Lordes to come and feast with him within his sayd Castle, the which of the King was graunted. And at the day assigned the king and his Lords came vnto the sayd Thongcastle to dynner, where he with his, was well and honourably receyued, and also deyntily serued. Treason. Thong Castle.

¶ But when the King and his Lordes were in their most mirth, this Hengist had commaunded before, that his awne Knightes shoulde fall out among themselues: which beyng so done, the remnaunt of his Saxons, as it were in parting of frayes, should fall vpon the Britons, and sley them all, saaing only the king. The which thing was done, as ye heard before deuised, and the king was kept and holden as prisoner. A trayterous practise not altogether vnreuenged.

¶ Hengist then hauing the King as prisoner, and a great part of the rulers of Briteyn, thus as aforesayde subdued, was somedeale exalted in pride, and compelled the king to geue vnto him, as *Polichronica* sayth, three prouinces in the East part of Briteyn, that is to say, Kent, Sussex, Norffolke and Suffolke (as sayth the Floure of Histories) But *Guido de Columna* sayth, that the aforesayde three Prouinces were Kent, Essex, Norffolke and Suffolke. Of the which sayde Prouynces when Hengist was possessed, he suffered the king to go at his libertie. And then Hengist began his Lordship ouer Kent, and ent other of his Saxons to guyde and gouerne the other Prouynces, vntill he had sent r other of his kinsmen to whome he purposed to geue the same Prouynces vnto. *Polichron.* Hengistes lande.

¶ Thus Hengist beyng in the possession of this Prouynce of Kent, commaunded his axons to call it Hengistes land, whereof as some Aucthors wryte, the whole land of riteyn tooke his first name of England: But that is not so, as after shall be shewed in e story of King Egbert. *Mathew of Westminst.*

¶ The Lordship or kingdome of Kent had his beginning vnder Hengist, in the fift e of Vortigers second reigne, and in the yere of our Lorde after most wryters. iiij.C. j. But Denys and other which say, it begonne. xxj. yeres sooner, aloweth the beginhereof to be when Hengist had first the gift of the same, by reason that Vortiger ed his daughter. This Lordship conteyneth the Countrie that stretcheth from the Occean vnto the Ryuer of Thamys, and had vpon the Southeast, Southery, and the West, London: vpon the Northeast the Thamys aforesayde, and also Essex, in this Lordship was also conteyned the Isle of Thanet, which Lordship or Kinge endured after most wryters, from the tyme of the first yere of the reigne of Henvntill the. xxv. yere of Egbert before named, which by that accompt should be. xlij. yeres. At which season the sayd Egbert then king of West Saxons, subdued Balus then king of Kent, and ioyned it to his awne Kingdome. Howbeit *Polichronica* neth it to endure by the space of. iij.C.lxviij. yeres, vnder xv. Kinges, whereof Balus was the last. The first Christen King of this Lordship was *Ethelbertus* or Ethel-, the which receyued the fayth of Christ by Austine or Augustine the Monke, in the of our Lorde. iiij.C.xcvj. The which Ethelbert caused the Monasterie of Saint r and Paule at Cantorbury to be buylded, and as some say, he first began the buildf Poules Church in London. He gaue vnto Austyn and his Successors Bishoppes antorbury, a place for the Bishoppes See, at Christes Church within the sayd Citie, ndowed it with many riche possessions, as more at large shall be shewed in the lyfe areticus. The kingdome of Kent continued CCC.xlij. yeres. Ethelbertus the first christian king of Kent.

This Hengist and all the other Saxons which ruled the. vij. principates of Briteyn, after shall be shewed, are called of most writers *Reguli*, which is as much to say in r vulgare speche, as small or petie kings: So that this Hengist was accompted as a ttle king. The which when he had thus gotten the rule of the thre Prouinces before ncioned, he sent for mo Saxons, and gathered them together that were sparckled broade, so that in these Prouinces the fayth of Christ was vtterly quenched and layde leepe. Reguli. Small kings.

¶ Then

¶ Then Hengist with Octa his sonne gathered a great strength of Saxons, and fought with the Britons and ouercame them, and chased them in suche wise that Hengist kept his Lordship in peace and warre the space of. xxiiij. yeres as most wryters agree.

¶ Nowe let vs returne againe to Vortiger, the which when he sawe the Saxons in such wise encrease their strength, & the Britons dayly to decrease, for as Gaufride sayth, the Saxons had the rule of London, Yorke, Lincolne, and Winchester, with other good townes. Wherefore the king for feare of the Saxons, and also for that he was somewhat warned of the comming of the two brethren, Aurely, and Vter, sonnes of Constantyne: He therefore considering these manye and great daungers, fled into Cambria, or Wales, and there held him for the more suretie, where before he had builded a strong Castle. Of the which buylding, and impediment of the same, and of the Prophet Marlyn many thinges are written by Gaufride, and reported by the common voyce of the people yet at this day.

Aurely. Vter.

¶ Now while Vortiger was thus in his Castle in Wales, the aforenamed two brethren Aurely and Vter prepared their nauie and men of armes, and passed the Sea, and landed at Totnesse, whereof when the Britons had knowledge, they drew vnto them in all hastie wise. The which sayd brethren, when they saw that they had a competent number of Knightes and men of warre, first of all made towarde Wales to distresse Vortiger.

¶ Whereof he being well warned, and knowing also that he coulde not make sufficient defence against them, he therefore furnished his Castle with strength of men and victuall, entending there to sauegarde himselfe, but all was in vaine: For the said two brethren with their army, besieged the Castle and after many assaultes, with wyldefyre consumed the same, and Vortiger also, and all that were with him.

¶ Of this Vortiger it is redde, that he lay with his awne daughter, in trust that Kinges shonld come of his blood. And lastly, he ended his life as before is expressed, when he had reigned now the second tyme. ix. yeres.

475 COnrannus, for so much as the Children of his brother Congallus were but yong, ordeyned king of Scottes, and guyded them in good peace and quietnesse a long sp but at the last he was slaine for extorcion, that Tomset his Chauncelour vsed in his n

Extorcion.

481 AVrelius Ambrose, the seconde sonne of Constantine was by the Brytons made k of Briteyn. Of him it is written that when he vnderstood of the deuision that was in land of Briteyn betwene Vortiger and the Saxons, and in what maner the Saxons subdued the Britons, he in all goodly haste, with the ayde of the King of little Brit sped him into his land, and first came to Yorke, and there chased the Saxons that h the Citie with Octa the sonne of Hengist, and tooke the sayde Octa, and kept hi prisoner a certeyn season.

1 Aurelius Ambrose.

Octa taken & after escaped.

¶ But howe it was, by treason of his keeper or otherwise, he brake Prison and caped. And after, he with his father gathered a great hoste, and met Aurelius and Britons, at a place called Crekynforde, where was foughten a strong and mightie b taile, to the losse of both parties, but the greater losse fell vpon the Saxons: For of t was slaine foure Dukes, and. iiij.M. of other men, and the residue chased to their daunger. Yet this notwithstanding Hengist continued his Lordship in Kent: and A lius Ambrose kept the Countrie called Logiers or middle England with Wales, and ch the Saxons that dwelled in the two Prouinces of East Saxon, and East Anglis o those Countries.

Crekinsoord battayle.

Ella. Symon. Pletynger. Cissa.

¶ And in this tyme a Saxon named Ella, with his three sonnes, Symon, Pletyng and Cissa, came with three Shippes or Hulkes, and landed in the South part of Briteyn & slue many Britons, at a place then named Caneueshore, or Coningsborough & chase many into a Wood then called *Andresleger*, and after occupied that Countrie, and inha bited himselfe & his Saxons within the sayde Prouince, making himselfe king and Lord thereof: By reason wherof and by his might and power, the said Prouince or Count

was after named the Kingdome or Lordeship of the South Saxons. The which after most writers had his beginning the. xxxii. yere after the first comming of Hengist, which was the yere of our Lorde 482. and the second yere of the reigne of Aurely Ambrose then King of Briteyn. South Saxons.

¶ The kingdom of the South last aboue named had on the East side, Kent, on the South, the See and the Isle of Wight, and on the West, Hampshire, and in the North Southerey, and conteyned Southhampton. Somersetshire, Deuonshire and Cornewall. Of which sayde kingdome Ethelbald or Ethelwald was the the fourth king, and the first christen king. This kingdome endured shortest season of all the other kingdomes: For it endured not aboue an hundred and. xij. yeres, vnder. v. or. vij. kings at the most. Ethelwald the first christian king of the South Saxons.

¶ But now to returne where we left: Aurely which as before you haue heard, held and occupied the middle part of Briteyn with Cambria or Wales, did his diligence to repayre ruynous places, as well Temples as other, and caused the seruice of God to bee sayde and done, which by the meane of the Saxons was greatly decayed thorough all Briteyn. Aurely inhabited Wales.

¶ And after this, Aurely besieged the Saxons in the hill of Badon or Baathe, where he slue many of them. But dailye the Saxons encreased and landed in great Briteyn, as shall appere. For shortly after a Saxon named Porth, landed with his two sonnes at a Hauen in Sussex, after whose name as some wryte, the Hauen was afterwards called Portesmouth, which Haun is so called to this day. And lykewise they came to lande in diuers places of Briteyn, so that Aurelius had with them manye conflictes and battailes, wherein he sped diuersly, for he was sometime victour and sometime ouercome. Portesmouth.

¶ It is written in the English Chronicle and other, that Aurely by the helpe of Marlyn did fetch the great stones nowe standing vpon the playne of Salsburie, (called the Stone Henge) out of Ireland, and caused them to be set there as they now stand, in the remembrance of the Britons that were there slaine and buried in the time of the treyterous communication that was had with Hengist and his Saxons as before in the storie of Vorter is touched: But *Polichronica* allegeth the same act to Vter his brother. Marlyn. Stonehege. Salsbury playne.

In the tyme of this Aurely, as sayeth *Polichronica*, dyed Hengist in his bed, when had reigned ouer the Kentishe Saxons. xxiiij. yeres. After whose death Octa his sonne held the sayde kingdome other. xxiiij. yeres. Albeit that the Britishe bookes and also the Englishe Chronicle, saye that Aurelius slue in battaile Hengist, & then tooke to his sonne Octa his sonne, and gaue to him and his Saxons a dwelling place in the Countrie of Northumberlewaye, which semeth not lykely, for matter that shall after ensue, and also that which before is touched of the Pictes and Scottes in the time of the miserie of the Britons. Hengist dead. Octa.

Now it foloweth, that this Octa, neyther augmented nor minished his Lordship, but was to him therewith contented as his father had lefte it vnto hym.

And finally in the ende of the reigne of Aurely, Pascentius the yongest sonne of Vortiger, which after the death of his father was fled into Ireland for feare of Aurely, was chaced ayde of Guiliamor king of Ireland. And with a great armie inuaded this land of Briteyn, by the Countrie of Wales, in taking the Citie of Meneuia, now called S. Dauids, and in wasting the sayd Countrie with sworde and fyre. In the which season and time Aurelius laye sicke in the Citie of Winchester. Pascentius. Guiliamore king of Irelande.

For which cause he desyred his brother Vter to gather an hoste of Britons together, to appease the malice of Pascencius and his Adherents. The which accordingly prepared his hoste, and at length ouercame the hoste of Pascentius and slue him and the other named Guyliamour in the Fielde.

Howbeit, Gaufride reporteth this storie otherwise, affirming that Pascentius the sonne of Vortiger, who for sauegarde of his lyfe, fled into Germany, came with a great armie of Germaynes out of the same Countrie against Aurelius to be reuenged vpon him for his fathers death, and gaue battaile vnto Aurelius himselfe, in the which the sayde Pascentius and hys Germaines were discomfited and put to flight. Then Pascentius who durst not after the sayde discomfiture returne into Germany, gate him into Ireland desi-

ring ayde of Guillomannius then king of that Countrie, who taking compassion of him, ayded him with all he might. And so by the helpe of the sayde king arriued at Meneuia, now called S. Dauids in Wales: At the which season Aurelius being sick at Winchester commaunded his brother Vter to gather an armie to appease his malice, the which he did, and then went into Wales to meete hym, where was foughten a cruell battaile betwene them, in the which Vter had the victorie, and Pascentius and Guillomannius were slaine.

¶ Now while Vter was thus gone against Pascentius, a Saxon, feyning himselfe a Briteyn, and a cunning man in Phisick, by the entisement of Pascentius & vpon great rewards by him promised, came vnto Aurely where he lay sicke, and by his subtill and false meanes, purchased fauour with those that were nere vnto the Prince, that he was put in trust to minister potions and Medicines vnto the king. This man of some writers is called Copa, and of some Coppa, but of Gaufride Copa. The which when he had espied his conuenient time, gaue to Aurelius a potion enpoysoned: by violence whereof he shortly after dyed, when he had reigned. xix. yeres, and was buried at Stonhenge beside Amesburie.

Vffa, first king of the East Anglis.

¶ In the time of the reigne of the aforesayde Aurely (*Polichronica* sayeth) that t kingdome of East Anglys began vnder a Saxon named Vffa, in the yere of our Lord CCCC. xcij. The which conteyned that Prouince which we call now Norffolk and Su folk. They had in the East and Northsides, the Sea, on the Northwest, Cambrideshir notwithstanding dyuers aryters affirme Cambridgshire to be parte of the sayde kingdom and in the West S. Emondes Diche, and Hertfortshire, and in the South Essex. Th Lordship was called first Vffins Lordship, and the kings thereof were named Vffins, as some write, they were called Vffines people, but at the last they were named E Anglis.

Redwallus the first christian king of the East Anglis.

¶ The first christen king of this principate, was Redwallus, but he was not so c stant as was meete for his Religion. His sonne named Corpwaldus was more sted which after was slaine of a misbeleuing man, and for Christes faith as some write.

Sebertus was the first builder of Paules Church.

Guido sayth that Sebertus was the first Christian king of this Lordship, and that he Paules Church of London. This Lordship vnder xij. kings, endured vntill the Ma dome of S. Edmond the last king thereof, the which was martired in the yere of

Thetford.

Lorde. viij. hundreth. lxix. And of this Lordeship at those dayes was Elman or Thet the chiefe Towne.

THe Historie of Scotland sayth, that the Pictes and Scottes were alyed with this brose, and made partakers and chiefe doers in all the victories that the Britons atchi against the Saxons.

500

1

Vter Pendragon.

VTer the last and yongest sonne of Constantine, and brother of Aurely, tooke him the Kingdome of Briteyn, and gouerned the same verye honourably. This man surnamed Pendragon. The cause thereof, as sayth the English Chronicle, was for Merlyn lykened him vnto a Dragon vnder a starre apering in the firmament: Whe there is made long processe in the story of Gaufride, but Layland a man in his tyme skilfull in the antiquities of this Realme, thinketh this name was geuen him for his prudence and wisedome wherein Serpentes do excell. But how so euer were, tr is, that after Vter (as is aforesayde) was made king, he atchiued many victories a the Saxons, and lastlye slue theyr chiefe Capitaines, Octa, & Cosa, as Gaufride w of him: It is also written that he was enamored vpō the Dukes wife of Cornewal Igerne, and for to obtaine his vnlefull lust, he sought many and dyuerse meanes: So lastly he made warre vpon her Husbande named Garolus, or Gorleys, and at length the sayde Duke at his Castle called Tyntagell, standing in Cornewall, and after ma

The birth of King Arthur.

his wyfe, and receyued of her the noble knight Arthur, and a daughter named An And in the ende he dyed at Verolame by force of poyson, when he had reigned. x

yere

e or Stonehenge, vpon the plaine of Sarisbury,
noble King Arthur.

n; of the age of, xv. yeres, or as some wryte. xviij. 517
teyn, and hauing continuall battayle and mortall
ly prosper and preuayle.
e declare the fame of this noble Prince to the com-
all dedes, so that I might somwhat iustifie my report by
out hereof I doubt the more because of the saiyng of Reynulph
of Chester which voucheth vpon William of Malmesbury, wryter of the Histo-
Kinges, as is rehersed at length in the. vj. Chapter of the fift booke of the sayd
lph, vnto the which place because I would be briefe I referre the reader. But
what yet to say to the honour of so great and victorious a Champion as was thys Ar-
re, I will do my endeuour, so farre foorth as I may be able to auouche my saiyng by
icient warrandise, and therewith glad the Welshmen, that he should discende of so
le a victour, that so many dedes of honour in his dayes executed. For though of him
written many thinges in the Englishe Chronicle of small credence, and farre discordant
m other writers, yet all agree in this, that he was a noble and victorious Prince in all
deedes, and testifie that he fought. xij. notable battayles against the Saxons, and had
ayes the vpper hande: But that notwithstanding he could not auoyde them out of his
de, but that they helde theyr Countries, which they were possessed of, as Kent,
utherey, Northfolke, Southfolke. Notwithstanding some wryte that they helde those
untries of him as tributaryes. And the foresayd. xij. battayles as I finde written in the
ncient wryter Nennius, who liued about the yere of Christes incarnacion. 620. whose *Nennius.*
horitie I preferre, wryteth thereof as foloweth.

The first battayle (sayth he) was foughten in the mouth of the water of Gleyn, other-
called Gledy.

The second, the thirde, the fourth and fift, nye vnto another Ryuer called Dug-
the which is in the Countrie of Lyneweys.

e sixt vpon the Ryuer called Bassas.

The. vij. in the Wood of Calidon, otherwise called *Carcoite Celidon.*

The. viij. beside the Castle called Guynyon.

The. ix. in Carcillion in Wales.

The x. in a place by the sea syde called Trayhenrith, otherwyse Rytherwyde.

The xj. vpon an hill named Agned Cathregonion.

The. xij. at the hill or Towne of Bathe, where many a one was slaine by the force
ight of Arthure.

For as it is reported of him, he slue with his awne hande in one day by the helpe of
an hundreth and fortie Saxons, he bare the Image of our Lady in his Shielde,
shielde he called *Pridwen*, his sworde was called *Calaber*, and his Speare was *Rone*, after the Britishe tongue or speeche. Ihon Frosard affirmeth, that king *Pridwen. Calster. Rone.*
e first builded the Castle of Windsour, and there founded the order of the round
: but some thinke it was rather Winchester, for there is the Table.

n this tyme also I finde mencion made of a noble and valiant man called Arthgall, Arthgall the first Earle of Warwike.
e was the first Erle of Warwike, and he was one of the knightes of the round Ta-
King Arthure, after whome folowed by succession Moruyde, and Merthrude.
Arthgal tooke a Beare for his beast because the first sillable of his name which is
, in the Britishe speche, and is in English a Beare.

About the fift yere of his reigne, began the Lordship of the West Saxons, vnder
axon called Cerdicus and Kenricus his sonne: For Dionice and other say, that this Cerdicus first king of the West Saxons.
dship or Kingdome should haue his beginning the lxxj. yere after the first comming of

Hengist, or the yere of our Lord fiue hundreth
Arthure aforesayd.

¶ This Lordship conteyned the West Country of
Berkshire, Dorcetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornew
hampton, on the North Thamys the famous Ry
Occean.

Yarmouth. ¶ The aforesayd Cerdicus, which of some is called
shore, which now is called Yermouth, an hauen Towne
And by the helpe of other Saxons which then dwelled there, the
obteyned the aforesayde Countries, and named them West Saxons, and reigned the
Lorde and king a certeyn of yeres, and after him Kenricus his sonne.

Kingilsus the first christian king of the west Saxons. ¶ The first christian king of this Prouince: was named Kyngilsus, and conuerted t
fayth by meanes of that verteous man Brennus Bishop of Dorchester. To whome
chelinus brother of the aforesayde Kyngilsus, gaue the sayde Citie to make there his S
Berinus Bishop of Dorchester. after that he also had receyued Baptisme of the sayd Berinus. And as Guydo sayth, t
sayde Quichelinus gaue after to the Byshoppe of Wynchester. vij. Myle compasse of lan
to buylde their a Bishops See, the which was accomplished and finished by Kenwalc
his sonne.

¶ This Kingdome endured longest of all the other, which were seuen in number,
sixe beside this. Some writers accompt the continuance of thys kingdome from Cerdic
521 to Egbert, and some to the last yere of Aluredus. But Guydo accompteth the con
Guydo. nuance of this kingdome from the first yere of Cerdicus vnto the last yere of Edward t
The kingdome of the west Saxons cõtinued fiue C.liiij. yeres. Confessor, and by that accompt it should endure fiue hundred and. liiij. yeres: But mo
agree that it should be reconed from the first yere of Cerdicus to the last yere of Alured
for he made one Monarchy of all the. vij. kingdomes, in the which time passed aw
CCC.lxxviij. yeres.

¶ But nowe to returne to Arthur, the which by a long tyme dwelled in warre and
tall battaile with the Saxons, by meane of their daylie repaire into this lande. The
also alyed them with the Pictes and other Nations, and made their partie the stron
that meane: But yet King Arthur brought them into such an obedience, that they
ledged him to be the chiefe Lorde of Briteyn.

¶ Finally, when he had by a long time maintained his warres against the Saxons,
specially against Cerdicus king of West Saxons: he for a fynall concorde gaue vnto
sayde Cerdicus (as sayth *Polichronica*) in his sixe Chapter of his fift Booke, the
uinces of Hampshire and Somersetshire. And when he had set his lande in some qu
Mordred. nesse, he betooke the rule thereof vnto his Nephew Mordred, and with a chosen a
sayled (as sayth Gaufride and other) into Fraunce where as sundrie Authors write
wrought wonders.

AFter the departure of Arthur (as *Polichronica* sayeth) the aforesayde Mordred
desirous to be king, feared somewhat the might of Cerdicus king of the West Saxo
therfore sought for his fauour and to obteyne his good will, gaue vnto him certaine To
Fortes, and Castels, and other great giftes, so that at the last he wanne him, in
Treason. sort that he consented to Mordreds request: in so much that Mordred was shortly a
London crowned king of Briteyn, and Cerdicus was after the maner of the Pagans cr
ed king of West Saxons at Wynchester.

¶ Now when knowledge came to Arthur of all this treason wrought by his Ne
Mordred: he in all the haste made towarde Briteyn and landed at Sandwiche, wher
was met of Mordred and his people, whiche gaue vnto him a strong battaile at the
of his landing, and there Arthur lost many of his Knightes, as the famous knight Ga
and other. But yet this notwithstanding, Arthur at the length recouered the land a

chase

chased his enimies, and after the buriall of his Cosyn Gawen and other of his, that were there slaine, he set forward his hoste to pursue his enimies.

¶ Mordred being thus ouerset of his Vncle at the Sea side withdrewe him to Winchester: where he being furnished of newe Souldiours, gaue vnto Arthur the second battaile, wherein also Mordred was put to the worste and constrained to flee. Thirdly and lastly, the sayde Mordred fought with his Vncle Arthur at Baath, where after a long and daungerous fight, Mordred was slaine, and the victorious Arthur wounded vnto death, when he had reigned. xxvj. yeres, and after buried in the vale or Isle of Aualon, nowe called Glascenburie, whether he was conueyed to bee cured of hys woundes. Who so lust to know more touching the certeyntie and truth of these matters maye reade the booke of the excellent antiquary Iohn Leyland, intituled the Assertion of Arthur, where euerie thing is more at large discoursed. Mordred slaine.

EUgenius the thirde, the sonne of Congallus, was made king of Scotland after Conrannus, and reigned. xxxiiij. yeres. The Scottishe Historie affirmeth, that he with his Scottes were present in the battailes that Mordred fought against Arthur. 534

¶ The Scottes say that this Mordred was king of Pictes, and that Arthur was slaine in battaile, and the Britons discomfited, and Guanora the Queene taken prisoner by the Scottes with great spoyle.

COnstantine the thirde, the sonne of Cador Duke of Cornewal, and cosyn to king rthur by assent of the Britons was crowned king, and he was by the two sonnes of Morred grieuously vexed, for that they claymed the lande by the right or title of their father. o that betwene him and them were foughten many and sundry battayles, but where or hen, it is not shewed, neyther are the names of the two sonnes of Mordred expressed. 543 1

¶ But sundrie Authors agree that after the aforesayde two battailes thus foughten finalthe two sonnes of Mordred were constreyned of pure force to flie for their safetie. d so the one fled to London, and the other tooke Sanctuarie in the olde Abbey Church Vinchester, dedicated to Saint Amphibalus.

Whereof Constantine being warned, left not vntill he had slaine the one within the astery of Wynchester, and the other within a Church or Temple of London, of the h crueltie of his, Gildas sore complayneth. *Gildas.*

When Constantyne had thus subdued his enimies and thought himselfe now in a sure uiet state: then arose vp his awne kynsman named Aurelius Conanus and arrered Aurelius Conanus. battaile against him, and at the last slue him in the Fielde, when he had reigned yeres, who was buried at Stonehenge. But some wryters say, he dyed by the hande d of a great sicknesse.

Urelius Conanus after the death of Constantine was crowned king of Briton. This was noble and liberall, but he vsed to cherishe and make much of such as loued and dissention within his lande, and gaue light credence to them that accused other, it right or wrong. And as sayeth Gaufride and other, he tooke by strength his Vnwhich of right should haue bene king and cast him into a strong prison, and after tirannously the two sonnes of his sayde Vncle: But his reigne continued not long, for yth Gaufride, he dyed in the second yere of his reigne leauing after him a sonne ed Vortiporius. 546 1

And here is to be noted, that after this time, the Britons decreased of Lordship and within Briteyn, and drewe them toward Wales, so that the Countrie about Chester Britons decayed, the chiefest of their Lordship within Briteyn. For dailye the Saxons landed with their panies, and occupied the principall partes of the same, as shall after appere.

¶ Now in the time of the reigne of the aforesayde Aurely (as sayeth *Polichronica*, uydo and other) beganne the kingdome or Lordship of Bernicia, vnder a Saxon named da in the. D. xlvij. yere of our Lord, and in the last yere of the sayde Conanus. This Ida the first king of Bernicia, or Northumberlande.

Lordship was in the North parte of Briteyn, and grewe in short while more and more, so that finally, it was named the kingdome of Northumberlande, and was first deuyded into two
Deyra. kingdomes, whereof the first as abouesayde was called Bernicia, and the other Deyra. The meres or markes of this kingdome of Northumberlande, were by East and by West the Occean Sea, by South the Ryuer of Humber, and so downeward toward the West by the endes of the Shires of Notyngham and Derby, vnto the Ryuer of Merse, or Martia, and by North the Scottishe Sea, which is called Foorth or Frith in Scottishe, and in Britishe, the Werde.

Bishoprick of Durham. ¶ The Southside of this Lordship is called Deyra, which is now called the Bishoprick of Durham, and the Northside was called Bernicia, which were then departed or seuered with the Ryuer of Tyne, Deyra conteyned the lande from Humber to the Ryuer of Tyne, and Bernicia included the Countrie from Tyne to the Scottishe Sea.

Ella first king of Deyra. ¶ In Bernicia reigned first as is abouesayde, Ida or Idas, and in Deyra reigned first Ella, which Lordships beganne both within three yeres. But in processe of time both in one were named the kingdome of Northumberlande, which so continued, somewhile vnder one King, and somewhile vnder two, the space of. CCC. xxj. yeres, as sayth Reynulph Monke of Chester. And the name continued afterward vnto the Saxons and Danes, vntill the comming of Edredus brother of Ethelstane, and sonne of Edward the elder. The which Edredus in the. ix. or last yere of his reigne ioyned this to his awne kingdome. By which reason it should seeme that this kingdome endured vnder that name foure hundreth. ix. yeres.

Edwinus the first christian king of Northumberlande. ¶ The first christian Prince of this kingdome was named Edwynus, that receyued the fayth of S. Paulyne (as Guydo sayth.) In this Lordship also were included these Shires and Countries now called, Yorke, Notyngham Shire, Derby Shire, the Bishoprick of Durham, Copelande and other.

¶ Among the many kinges of Saxones that reigned in thys Lordship, which after some wryters were to the number of. xxiij. there was one which was accompted the. viij. king
Ethelfridus. named Ethelfridus, who destroyed moe Britons than all the other Saxon kings, and was father to Oswy, called Saint Oswald.

A slaughter of Monkes. ¶ But most cruellye raged he against them in a battayle that he had besyde Ches where by the instigation of Ethelbert king of Kent, he slue also two thousande Monkes the house of Bangor, as sayeth *Polichronicon* in the. x. Chapter of his fift Booke, which Monkes were come together to praye for the good speede of the Britons. And syde this number of Monkes, there were fiftie that fled, whereby they with their le Bruciuall were saued. Of such a number of Monkes in one house, might be demed a der: But Reynulph and Guydo also do affirme that in the house of Bangor at those d were three tymes seuen hundreth Monkes which liued by the trauayle of their handes.

Gaufride. ¶ The cause of the great slaughter of the aforesayd Monkes is declared by Gaufride the. viij. booke and. iiij. Chapter, who wryteth thereof as foloweth. Their Abbot sayth named Dionotus, was a man singulerly well learned in the liberall sciences, who wh Austyn required the Britishe Bishoppes to submit themselues vnto him, and perswa him to take paynes with him to preach the Gospell vnto the Englishe Nation, proued diuerse reasons that they ought not to yelde any such subiection vnto him, forasmuch they had an Archbishop of their awne, nor yet to preach to their enemies the Saxo which seased not dayly to take from them theyr awne naturall Countrie, for the wh cause they hated them deadly, and weighed not what fayth or Religion they were off, n ther did they communicate with them in any thing more than with Dogges. Therfore w Ethelbert king of Kent saw how the Britons disdeyned to submit themselues vnto Austy and contemned his doctrine, and preaching, beyng highly displeased therewith he incens Ethelfride king of Northumberland, and other of the Saxon kinges also, to assemble great power of men of armes, and then to go to Bangor and destroy Dionotus, with the Clergie there, & all the sayd religious persons that had so dispised the sayd Austyn. The

which

which Princes folowing his aduice and counsayle, gathered together a wonderfull great army, and so marching forwardes towardes Wales, came into the towne of Chester, where Bruciuall head ruler of that towne wayted for theyr comming: Whether also came atthat same season an innumerable sort of Monkes and Heremites out of diuerse Prouinces of the Britons, but especially out of the Citie of Bangor, to pray to God to saue and defende their people.

¶ Nowe when Ethelfridus king of Northumberlande had arrered a great power out of all quarters, he set vpon the sayde Bruciuall, who by reason he had the lesse number of Souldiers, was constreyned to forsake the Citie and flie away, but not before he had slaine a great number of his enemies. Now when Ethelfridus had taken the City, and vnderstood the cause of the comming of the sayd Monkes, he commaunded them first of all to be set vpon, and so were there of them the same day a thousand and two hundered martyred. Hetherto Gaufride.

¶ The aforenamed Oswy or Oswalde, was after king of this Prouynce, which gaue with his daughter Elfleda a Nonne. xij. Lordshippes vnto the Church, to buyld therewith. xij. Monasteries, whereof. vj. of the sayd Lordshippes were in Bernicia, and. vj. in Deyra, as sayth Guydo and Reynulph in his fift booke, and. xvj. Chapter.

Oswald or Oswy, gaue xij. Lordships to builde. xij. Abbeyes.

VOrtiporius the sonne of Conanus, reigned after his father ouer the Britons: Of this man is no notable thing written, but that Guydo sayth he was a victorious knight, and that in sundry battayles he discomfitted the Saxons. 548 1

¶ In the tyme of the reigne of this king, a Saxon named Ella the sonne of Iffus, began to reigne on the Southsyde of the Kingdome of Northumberland called Deyra, as before is expressed.

When Vortiporius had ruled the Britons foure yeres, he dyed, leaning none heire of his body.

And forasmuch as all writers agree that the kinges of West Saxons, at length subdued all the other kingdomes in Briteyn, and made the whole lande of Briteyn but one Kingdome or Monarchy, and all other aswell of Britons as Saxons left off: Therefore I am mynde to bring in the name of euery king of the West Saxons from the first Cerdicus or Aldericus, and ioyne them with the kinges of the Britons, for so long as hereafter the sayde Saxons continued their reigne within any part of Briteyn.

MAlgo a Duke of Briteyn, and nephew to Aurely, reigned ouer the Britons. This Malgo by the testimonie of many wryters was the comlyest and most personable man of all the Britons that then lyued, and therewithall was a hardie knight. And he so withstood the Saxons, and kept them vnder, that they dammaged not the lande, the which he then had possession of, and as Gaufride sayth, he subdued six Prouynces, that is to say, Iseland, the Isles of the Orcades, Gothland, Iseland, Norway, and Denmarke, and held them in quiet possession. 552 1 Malgo. Iselande. Orchades.

¶ In the time of the reigne of this Malgo, reigned in the Lordeship or Kingdome of Kent Ethelbert, who (as sayth Reynulph) assembled a great armie, and gaue battayle vnto Caulmus sonne of Kenricus, and then king of West Saxons, the cause whereof is not expressed. But this battayle was the first battaile that was foughten betwene the Saxons, after that they obteyned land and dwelling within Briteyn, which was foughten in a place called Wilbaldowne. And in that fight were slaine two Dukes of Ethelbertes, and himself with his people put to flight and chaced.

Also the sayd Reynulph witnesseth that the yere folowing Cutwolphus the brother of Caulmus before named, fought strongly against the Britons at Bedford, and recouered from them foure Cityes or townes, named Liganbrough, Egelsbrough, Besington, and Aylesham.

¶ But now to returne to Malgo king of the Britons, the Authour of the Flowre of

Histories sayth, that notwithstanding the many vertues, the which God had endued him with, yet in the ende he forgat God, forsaking all vertue and gaue himselfe to sundrie vices and sinnes, namely to the abhominable sinne of Sodomy: whereof ensued to him the wrath of God, whereby he was afterward sore persecuted of his enimies the Saxons.

Sodomy.

¶ It was not long after the aforenamed battaile done at Bedforde but that the aforesayde Cutwolphus dyed: But yet his sayde brother Ceaulmus desirous of honour, mainteyned his warre against the Britons, so that after he made a newe voyage against them, and gaue them another discomfiture, and tooke from them the Cities of Bathe, Gloucester, and Worcestre, which should be as Reynulph accompteth in the. xxix. yere of the reigne of Malgo.

¶ About the. xxxiij. yere of his reigne Ceaulmus before named, gathered his Saxons, and fought with the Britons at a place called Fechanlege: where after long fight the sayde Ceaulmus chased the Britons, and wan of them victory: but his brother called Cutha, was slaine in the fight, for whom he made great sorow. Thus in his latter dayes Malgo beyng oppressed and pursued of his enemies, lastly dyed, when he had reigned. xxxv. yeres.

568 17 COnwall was made king of Scottes, and reigned. x. yeres. He was a Man of great deuocion, and gaue much to Churches. He made many lawes concerning the libertie o Priestes. In his tyme Saint Colme of Ireland, and Mungo the holy bishop of Blasquey were in Scotland.

578 27 Kincatill brother of Conwallus reigned in Scotlande foure Monethes, and after hi Aidane. xxvij. yeres. In his tyme variaunce happened betweene the Pictes and Scottes because that Lerudeus Kinge of Pictes would not restore to Aidane certaine Trayto which fled out of his land.

586 1 Ciuile battaile. CAreticus, or Carencius, as some call him, after the death of Malgo, reigned oue Britons. This Man was a louer of ciuile battayle, and was in maners and condicion worst of all men, and therefore was hated of God and his subiectes, in such wyse as excited and prouoked the Saxons to warre against him (as sayth Guydo) and chase from Citie to Citie, and from Towne to Towne, vntill they had recouered fro all such land as his predecessor Malgo, had holden before him.

¶ But *Polichronicon* addeth more therevnto, and sayth, forasmuch as the Saxons k of the dissension betwene Careticus and his Britons, they in all haste sent into Irelan the king called Gurmundus, King of the Affricans, and he warred so sore vpo Britons, that lastly the sayd Careticus was faine to take the Towne nowe called Sicester and therein besieged him with his Britons a certaine time, where, by dailye skirmishes an assaultes he lost many of his people.

Gurmundus king of Irelande. Sicester.

¶ When Careticus had a season assayed and prooued the strength of hys enimies, a sawe that they still encreased and his people lessened and minished: he sodainely left t Towne, and with a certaine number of Britons tooke ouer Seuerne water and so into W then called Cambria, which should be in the thirde yere of his reigne.

¶ Truth it is, that after Careticus and his Britons were thus driuen into Wales, y lefte not continually to make assaultes vpon the Saxons that were nere vnto him.

IN this time, or sone after, Ethelfridus ruled the North Saxons, for as sayeth Gu he began the reigne ouer Deyra and Bernicia, in the yere of our Lorde fiue hundred.

Ethelfridus the sonne of Ethelricus. This is Ethelfridus the sonne of Ethelricus that pursued so sore the Britons, & slue so a number of the Monkes of the Towne of Bangor as is before rehersed, the which d warred vpon the Britons, and the Britons vpon him, so that he destroied & subu much of Christes fayth, with the helpe of the aforesayd Gormond: insomuch

Bishops fled out of this Realme. Bishops of London and Yorke, with other ministers of the Church, fled into diuers tries, so that their Church dores were shut vp after them, or else occupied in the wor ping of their Idolles and false Goddes.

Fayth of Christ decayed in Englande. ¶ Thus the fayth that had endured in Briteyn from the time of Lucius the first christ kin

king in Briteyn till this day, neere vpon the space of foure hundreth yeres and odde, was almost extinct throughout all the lande.

¶ And when the aforenamed Gurmond had finished his tirannie within the lande of Briteyn, then he sayled into France, where he was after slaine (as sayeth *Polichronica*) albeit the French Chronicle speaketh nothing of any such man during this persecution, as witnesseth Guydo. Persecutiõ.

¶ During also this trouble betweene the Saxons and the Britons, the Lordship or kingdome of the East Saxons beganne to take place, as after shall be shewed.

¶ In this time also Ethelbert reigned in Kent, and bare himselfe verie valiantly, in such wise that he enlarged his kingdome to the bounds of Humber. In which time Gregory, who for his notable deedes was surnamed the great, was made Bishop of Rome: This Gregory, as before is touched in the storie of Ethelbert, hauing compassion on the Countrie from whence so fayre children came, as he before had seene, and thinking it not meete that it should be inhabited with Pagans or people of misbeliefe, sent into Briteyn a learned man named Austyne, with other of his brethren, to preache to the Anglis the fayth of Christ. But as sayeth *Antoninus* in the thirde Chapter, and xij. title of his aforesayde worke: when Austyne was three dayes iourney gone and passed, such a sodaine feere entered into him and his felowes that they turned againe. Then Gregory comforted the sayde companye, and sent them with Letters to the Bishop Arelatensis, wylling him to helpe and ayde him in all that to him needed. The tenour of which Letters and other sent to Ethelbert king of Kent, with their aunsweres, are written with other questions in the Register of Gregory, and in the bookes of Beda and other. Gregory Bishop of Rome. *Antoninus.* Austyn sent into Englad to preache.

¶ Austyne being thus comforted, sped him on his iourney and landed on the East side of Kent in the Isle of Thanet with. xl. of his felowes, whereof some were Interpretours, or such as could speake all languages. Nere vnto the place before named, where Austyne landed, stood at those dayes, the manour or Palace of the sayde king Ethelbert, where at this daye appere some of the ruynous walles, and is called of the inhabitaunts of that Isle, Richbourgh. It is apparaunt betweene the Isle and the Towne of Sandwiche, vpon a Myle and a halfe from the sayde Towne, Eastwarde from Cauntorbury. Richb

¶ Then when Austyne was landed, he sent the sayde interpretours vnto Ethelbert, saiyng that they were sent from Rome for the saluation of the king and his Realme. The king before time had heard of the fayth of Christ, for he had to wyfe a French woman that was christened, named Berta, and had receyued her vpon condicion that he should suffer her to lyue after her lawe.

¶ Then after a certaine time, the king spake with Austyne, but that was without the house, after the maner of his lawe, who against the comming of the king arrered and displayed a Banner of the Crucifixe, and preached to him the worde of God. Then the king sayde, it is fayre that ye promise, but for that it is to mee straunge and newe, I maye not so soone assent vnto you. But for that ye become so farre for my sake, ye shall be well entreated, and haue all things that shall be vnto you necessarie, and we graunt you leaue to conuert of oure people as many as ye can. And when they had receyued this comfort of the king, they went with procession to the Citie of Cauntorbury, singing *Alleluya*, where they led their liues, like as holy fathers did first begin in the Primatiue Church, in fasting, praiyng, watching and such lyke godly exercises. *Fabian.* Procession.

¶ At length, when the king had well considered the conuersion and godly lyfe of Austyn and his felowes, he heard them the more gladly, and lastly, by their good exhortacions & ghostly loue, he was conuerted, and christened in the yere of our Lord fiue hundreth. xcvj. and the sixt yere of his reigne, as sayth *Polichronicon.* Ethelbert conuerted to the fayth of Christ. *Polichro.*

¶ Then the king gaue to Austyn a place for his Bishops See, at Christes Church in Cauntorburie, and builded the Abbey of S. Peter and S. Paule, on the East syde of the Christes Church in Cãtorbury.

Saint Austynes in Cauterbury.

sayde Citie, where after Austen and all the kinges of Kent were buried, and that place is called now Saint Austynes.

¶ Then Austyn sayled into Fraunce to the Bishop of Arelatensis, and was of him consecrated Archebishop of Cauntorburie.

Melitus. Iustus. Paulinus.

¶ Now when Gregory was certefyed of the good expedicion of Austyn, he sent to him mo helpers, as *Melitus*, *Iustus*, and *Paulinus*, with bookes and answeres to Austynes questions: that was, that all such goodes as fell to the Church, should be deuided into foure partes: The first part should go to the house and maintenance of the Bishoppes

A charitable diuident.

housholde: The seconde to the Clergie, the thirde to the amendment of the Churches, and the fourth to the reliefe of poore people and deedes of mercie.

Archbyshops to Caunterburie & Yorke.

¶ When Austyn had baptised a great part of the kingdome of Kent, he after made two Archbishops by the commaundement of Gregory, the one at Cauntorburie, the which before was at London, and the other at Yorke, as sayth the wryter of the flowers of stories: and by the helpe of Ethelbert, he assembled and gathered together the Bishoppes and Doctours of Briteyn, that were before disparkeled. The place of the assembly was long

Austynes Oke.

tyme after called Austynes Oke, which is expounded to be Austines strength, & is in the Marches or confines of the people then called Wictij, now *Wigorniensis*, that is to say Worcester. For this synode, as Bale writeth was holden in Worcestershire.

¶ In this place, he charged the sayd Bishoppes, that they should ayde him to preach the worde of God to the Anglis, and also that they shoulde among themselues amend certaine errors then vsed in the Churche, and specially for the tyme of keping their Easter, the contrary whereof, the Bishoppes of Briteyn held an opinion vntill (sayth Fabian) that Austyn by his prayers shewed, there a Myracle by a blinde Angle or Saxon.

¶ After the which Myracle shewed, the sayd Bishoppes applyed them to the will and minde of Austyn in that matter: But for all this, there were of them that sayd, that they might not leaue the custome which they so long had continued, without the assent of all such as had vsed the same. Then he gathered a Sinode to the which came. vij. Bishoppes, but they agreed not.

¶ The Authour of the flower of stories, sheweth howe Austyn hauing conference with the Britishe Bishoppes and Clergie, coulde in no wise perswade them at the first, to receyue his doctrine: And beeing by him required to come to a second Synode or counsayle, as they were goyng to the same, they came first vnto a discrete godly man, which had of a long time led an Anchores lyfe amongest them, to aske him counsayle, whether at the preaching of Austen they should forgo their olde traditions or no? who answered on this wyse: if he be a man of God, folowe him. To whom they sayd againe, & howe may we knowe that? you knowe (sayth he) that the Lorde gaue this commaundement, saiyng: Take my yoke vpon you, learne of me because I am lowely and meeke in heart, then is it likely that he beareth the yoke of Christ him selfe, and also offereth the same vnto you to beare. But if he be proude and hye minded, you may be sure that he is not of God, neyther ought you to take any regarde vnto his wordes. Then sayde they againe and how may we discerne this? Prouide (sayth he) that he and his may come first into the Sinode, and if when you come, he arise vp and reuerence you, then you may be sure that he is Christes minister, and is to be heard obediently of you: But if he dispise you, and thinke himselfe to good to geue any such reuerence vnto you beyng the greater part, dispise you him againe. And it so fortuned afterwardes, that Austyn beyng set downe before they came in, sate still in his Chayre, and made them no countenaunce at all, neither yelded any reuerence vnto them. The which thing they beholding, were by and by in a chafe, and notyng him to be hautye and proude, endeuoured them selues, to contrary and speake against al that euer he spake: But who so desyreth to read more hereof, shall finde the same set out at large in Fabian in his fift part and. C.xix. Chapter.

These

These folowing were the names of the British Bishoppes that were in those dayes.

Henfortēsis	The B. of	Hereford	Elinensis	The B. of	S. Asaph
Tanensis		Cardiffe	Wiccensis		Worcester
Paternensis		Llandaffe	Morganēsis		Morgan
Bachorensis		Bangor			

And all these were vnder the Archebishop of Mineuia, called at this day Saint Dauyes.

¶ Ethelbert as diuers writers doe write being now confirmed in the faith among other chargeable and costlye deedes began the foundation of Paules Church within the Citie of London, and ordeyned it for the Bishops See of London. For the Archbishops See that before tyme had beene there, was by Austyne and Ethelbert at the sute and request of the Citizens of Cauntorburie, translated to Cauntorbury. But of the building of the Church of S. Paule, dyuers opinions be. For some write that it was builded or begonne to be builded by Sigebert king of East Anglis, but more truely king of Essex. This Ethelbert also foūded the Church of S. Androw in Rochester in Kent.

Ethelbert foūded Paules church in London, but some say Sigebert founded it.

Archebishoprike of Lōdō translated to Cantorbury.

¶ Also (as Fabian sayth) he excited an inhabitaunt or Citizen of London to builde a Church or Chappell in the worship of Saint Peter in the West ende of London then called Thorney (and now the Towne of Westmynster, the which at that time was exceedingly forgrowen with Thornes, Bushes and Bryers,) where the sayde Citizen began to builde the Church of Westmynster, which afterwarde was by Edwarde the Confessour enlarged or new buylded. But by king Henry the thirde it was newly edified and made as it is now a bewtifull Monastery, and he endued it with goodly possessions and riche Iewels.

S. Peters at Westminster.

The building Westminster.

¶ And as Reynulph sayeth, this king when he had reigned. lvj. yeres ouer the Lordship of Kent, dyed in the. xxj. yere after that he had receyued the fayth of Christ.

Aldane king of Scottes, being confederate with the Britons about thys tyme warred fiercely against Ethelfride king of Northumberlande and the Pictes, and ouerthrewe them in two great battailes. 595

KEnneth Keir the sonne of Conwallus was ordeyned king of Scotlande, and reigned onely foure monethes. And after him Eugenius the fourth of that name, xv. yeres. He was a iust and verteous Prince, and instructed in his youth by the holy man Colme. He commaunded all Iuggelers, Mynstrels, Scoffers and such idle persons eyther to auoyde his lande, or else to finde some honest craft or occupation to lyue by. 606

Minstrels, Iuggelers, & Scoffers banished as vagabonds.

¶ During also the aforesayde persecution of the Britons, before anye ruler of them were specially named, began the reigne of the East Saxons (as sayeth Reynulph) vnder Sebertus their first king. Albeit that *Guydo de Columna* sayth, that it began when the kingdome of the East Anglis began. This kingdome, that is to say, Essex, hath on the East side the Sea, on the Weast Middlesex and London, on the South the Thamys, and on the North Suffolke, and endured two hundreth yeres, as most writers affirme.

Sebertus first king of the East Saxons.

¶ The first christian king of this Lordship was the aforenamed Sebertus, conuerted by the meanes of Molitus Bishop of London, as sayth Guydo: But after his saiyng this Sebertus shoulde be the thirde king of Essex. All writers agree that the kings of this Lordship were most commonly named vnder kings, or Pety kings, & were subiects vnto the kings of Mertia.

Sebertus conuerted to the christian fayth.

¶ But now to returne to the Britons, which in all this time occupied a part of Cornewall and the Countries of Cambria, as Northwales & Southwales, and there held them in making of assaultes vpon the Saxons, as before is sayde, the which so continued by the space of. xxiiij. yeres. At which tyme the Britons of one assent chose for their souereigne and ruler the Duke of Northwales named Cadwane.

Cadwane.

613 CAdwane Duke of Northwales, was by one assent of the Britons made their Lorde and gouernour.

¶ Ye haue heard before what discorde and trouble was among the Britons in the time of Careticus last king, and long after, by reason wherof the Saxons wanne the more lande. And as before it is shewed that Ethelfride king of Northumberlande ouerset the Britons at the Citie of Chester, and forced them to flee ouer Seuerne, and so into Wales, where they then chose or elected this Cadwane to be their Duke and leader. The which after he was put in auctoritie, assembled his Britaynes and came againe into Briteyn, and gaue battaile vnto the sayde Ethelfride, in the which they sped diuersly, so that some season the Saxons wanne, and sometime the Britons: But the Britons helde Chester and other good Townes, which they recouered at their last comming.

¶ It should seme by the meaning of Reynulph, that this Cadwan should at the length slea the sayde Ethelfride and Osricus, both kings of Bernicia and Deyra. But Guydo and Gaufride saye, that after this Cadwan had the better of Ethelfride, it was agreed by Mediatours that Ethelfride shoulde enioy all the lande ouer and beyonde Humber into Scotland: and Cadwan also should haue the lande from Humber toward the South. To the which saiyng agreeth the Englishe Chronicle, affirming also that he should be the sonne of Bruciuall King of Leycester, the which of other writers is not testified.

Bruciuall King of Leycester.

¶ It is also there shewed, that after the sayde accorde betwene Ethelfride and Cadwan, that then they continued during their lyues as two most speciall friendes and louers, during the reigne of this Cadwan, the two sonnes of *Colricus*, *Kingilsus* and *Quichilinus* after the death of their fathers brother, Colwolphus ruled ioyntly the principalitie of the West Saxons. The which in their beginning fought against the Britons at Abyndon beside Oxford, and wanne of them the Towne and other holdes, which the Britons in that Countrie occupied. But by agreement of Writers, this Cadwane was not at this conflict, neyther medled he so farre within the lande. But as it should seeme by Guydo, these Britons shoulde be some company that shoulde lyue vnder the tribute of the Saxons, the which for the manhood that they had heard reported of Cadwan, rebelled against the Saxons.

¶ Then it foloweth when this Cadwan had thus continued his amitie with Ethelfride, it fortuned that this Ethelfride for hatred or otherwise, put from him his wyfe being great with childe, and tooke to him another. Wherfore this woman being remedilesse, calling to minde the great loue that was betwene her husbande and Cadwan, she went vnto him and most instantly besought him to reconcile hir Lorde and husbande, that she might be restored to his companie. But for that Cadwan, after many meanes and requests made, coulde not bring it about, he therefore tendring her necessitie kept her in his Court vntill she was delyuered of a man childe, whome she caused to be called Edwyn. And soone after was the wife of Cadwan delyuered of a sonne, whome the father named Cadwalyn. But the Authour of the flowre of histories sayeth, that these two children were borne long before this time. The which should seme to be true, for so much as this Cadwalyn was of laufull age to gouerne this lande when his father dyed, the which he coulde not do if he had bene borne but now, and of this ye maye reade more in Fabian, in his fift booke and. C. xxviij. Chapter.

Edwyn. Cadwalyn.

Matheu of Westminster.

¶ But to returne to the storye of Cadwan: About the. xiiij. yere of his reigne Quinchelinus that was brother vnto Kyngilsus, and ioyntly ruled the West Saxons, sent vpon an Easter day a Ruffian called Eumerus, to slea Edwyn king of Northumberland. This Cutthrote Ruffian came to a Citie beside the water of Darewent in Darbishire, & wayted his tyme, and at the last finding the king smally accompanied, entending to haue runne through him with a sworde enuenomed: But one Lylla the kinges trustie seruaunt, beyng without eyther shilde or other weapon to defende his Maister, start betwene the king and the sword, and was striken through the body and dyed, and the king also was wounded with the same stroke: and after also he wounded another which was a Knight, and then was he taken, and confessed by whom he was appointed to woorke that treason. The knight and the Kinge that were wounded, lay long sicke before they were healed. And the night fo-

A vile Treytour.

lowing

lowing the Queene was deliuered of a Daughter, the which King Edwyn caused to be Christened of *Paulinus* Archebishop of Yorke, in token that he woulde fulfill such promise touching the receyuing of baptisme as he before had made. And she was named Enfleda. Enfleda.

¶ And after Whitsontide then next folowing, Edwyn beyng scantly whole of the wounde, assembled his hoste, and made toward the kinges of the West Saxon, and after a great and sore fight, he vanquished and ouerthrew them. But for all this victory he forgat to be thankfull vnto God, the geuer not onlye of his health, but also of the same victory. And afterwarde he receyued letters of exhortacion from Boniface then Bishop of Rome, to take vpon him baptisme: And the sayd Bishop likewise exhorted the Queene, and sent vnto her a Glasse to looke in, with a combe of Iuory richely garnished, and a shirt for the King wrought in sundrie places with letters of Golde: but all this preuayled nothing at all. Tokens sent from the Byshop of Rome.

¶ How be it, it was not long after, that the King assembled his counsaile, and by theyr agrement he was of the sayde *Paulinus* baptised within the sayde Citie, the. xj. yere of his reigne, and the yere of our Lorde. 627. He was the first Christian king that reigned in that Countrie. And after him, many of his Lordes and subiectes were also Christened of the sayde *Paulinus*, and the Flamyns or Bishops which were worshippers of false Goddes, were conuerted and made the Ministers of Christes Fayth. In token whereof, they armed themselues as knightes, and bestrydde good horsses, where before by their law, they might vse no armour, nor ride but only on a Mare. *Fabian.* Edwyn the first christian king of Northumberland.

¶ From this tyme forwarde by the terme of vj. yeres, during the life of king Edwyn, *Paulinus* christened continually in both the Prouynces of Bernicia and Deyra, in the Ryuers of Gueny, and Swala which he vsed for his Fontes, and Preached in the Shire of Lindesey, and builded a Church of Stone at Lincoln, the which of some is supposed to be the Minster Churche. And in this tyme was so great peace in the Kingdome of Edwyn, that a woman might haue gone from one towne to another without griefe or anoyaunce. And for the reliefe and refreshing of wayfaring men, this Edwyn ordeined at cleere Welles and Springes, certeyne Cuppes or Dishes of Iron and brasse, and caused the same to be fastened vnto them with small cheynes, and no man was so hardy to take away any of those Cuppes, he kept so good iustice, and therewith was knightly of his deedes. Christening first vsed in Ryuers. Cuppes of Iron.

¶ He was the first that wanne the Isle of Eubonia, now called the Isle of Man. And by his meanes Orpewaldus, or Corpewaldus the sonne of Redwaldus king of the East Angles, or Norphis, to whom Edwyn had fled for succour, was conuerted to the true fayth, & a great part of his men with him. Eubonia now called the Isle of Man.

¶ And about this season began the kingdome of Mertia or middle England, vnder the strong Saxon or Panyme called Penda, which Lordeship conteyned Huntingtonshire, Herefordshire, Glocestershire, and other, and that was the greatest of all the other Kindomes. And at that time reigned in diuerse partes of this land seuen kinges: Sibertus among the east Saxons: Redwold king of East Angles, nowe called Essex, Norffolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire: Ethelbert king of Kent: Ethelwolphus king of Sussex: Kingilsus, and Quinchelinus king of West Saxons: Fenda of Mertia, and Edwyn of Northumberland.

¶ And for that this Edwyn excelled the other kinges, they enuied at him, and specially Penda king of Mertia, the which prouoked Cadwan king of Britons against him. So that they two assembled a great hoast against Edwyn, and lastly met in a place called Hatfield, and after sharpe and sore fight on both sides, there Edwyn was slaine, when he had reigned ouer the Northumbers. xvij. yeres. *Fabian.*

¶ When these two kinges Cadwan, & Penda, had thus ouercome the king, and slaine both him & many of his people, they became so cruell to men of that countrie, ỳ they destroyed therin great numbers of people, not sparing, men, women, children, religious persons,

Paulinus. persons, nor other. Wherfore *Paulinus* the Archebishop, beholding their cruelnesse, tooke with him the Queene, and Enfleda her daughter, & fled by water into Kent. And because the Bishoprich of Rochester was then voyde, by reason that *Romanus* the last Bishop was deade: *Paulinus* was there ordeyned and made Bishop of that See, and there dyed, and also as Reynulph sayth, he left there his Pall, and the Archbishoprick of Yorke was void. xxx. yeres after. But the Queene which was named Etherberga, sayled into Fraunce, and became there a Nonne, and likewise her daughter Enfleda kept her possession, and was after Abbesse of Stemshalt in the Vale of Whytbye.

Osricus. ¶ After the death of Edwyn, Osricus that was the sonne of Elfricus, which was brother to Ethelfridus, tooke vpon him to be king of Deyra, and *Eaufricus* the eldest sonne of Ethelfrida, was made king of Bernicia, both the which reuolted from Christes fayth, and became Myscreantes. For the which the wrath of God shortly after fell vpon them, for they were both slaine in the yere folowing, of the aforenamed Cadwan and Penda.

Oswalde. ¶ And when the sayd two kinges were thus slaine, Oswalde the second sonne of Ethelfride began his reigne ouer the prouince of Bernicia, as chiefe of that Kingdome of Northumberland, and had the rule of Deyra likewise, whereof when Cadwan was ware, he gathered his Britons, and thought to haue slaine him as he had before slaine his brother *Eaufricus*. But when Oswalde was warned of the great strength that Cadwan had, he made his prayers to God, and besought him meekely of helpe to withstand his enemye for the saluation of his people. Then after he had thus prayed, the two armyes met in a fielde named at that tyme Denysborne or Denyslake, where was foughten a strong
Cadwan slaine. battaile, and in the ende Cadwan was slaine, and his people chased, the number whereof did farre exceede Oswaldes hoste. And thus ended the sayde Cadwan when he had reigned ouer the Britons. xxij. yeres, leauing after him a sonne named Cadwallyne.

628 FErquhard the eldest sonne of Eugenius was king of Scottes. xij. yeres. In the tyme of this mannes reigne, by his negligence was great diuision, and debate among the Nobles of the Realme, and for his cruelty and negligence in the affayres of the common weale, he was of the Lordes disgraded, and cast in Prison, and for sorrow thereof slue himselfe.

625 MAhomet, of Arabia, at this time when there was great confusion of things both in the East and West, then began his errour, he came out of a base stock, and being fatherMahomet. lesse, one Abdemonaples, a man of the house of Ismaell bought him for his slaue, and
Abdemonaples loued him greatly for his fauour and wyt: For which cause, he made him ruler of his
Sergius a Monke. merchandise and other businesse. Then one Sergius a Monke, which for Heresie fled into Arabia, who instructed him in the heresie of Nestorius. In the meane season, his master dyed without children, leauing behinde him much ryches, and his wyfe a riche Wydowe of fiftie yeres of age, whome Mahomet maried, and when she dyed, he was made heire, and greatly encreased in ryches: and for his magicall artes, was had also in great admiration and honour of the foolish people. Wherfore by the counsayle of Sergius he called himselfe the Prophete of God, and shortly after when his name was published, and then
Alcaron. taken to be of great authoritie, he deuised a lawe or kinde of Religion called ALCARON, in the which he tooke some parte well nere of all the heresies that had been before his time. With the Sabellians he deuyded the Trinitie: with the Manichees, he affirmed to be but two persons in the deitie: he denied the equalitie of the father and the sonne with Eunomius: and sayd with Macedone, the holy Ghost was a creature: and approued the multitude of wyues with the Nicolaites: he borowed of the Iewes, circumcision, and of the Gentiles much superstition, and somewhat he tooke of the christian veritie, beside manye Deuelishe phantasies inuented of his awne braine: Those that obeyed his lawe, he called Saracens. When he had lyued fourtie yeres, he died of the falling sicknesse, the which he had of long time dissembled, feyning that when he was taken therewith, the Aungell Gabriell appered vnto him, whose brightnesse he coulde not beholde. *Cooper.*

DOnewald the thirde sonne of Eugenius was ordeyned king of Scottes, and gouerned the realme verteously and wisely. xv. yeres. 631

Donewald Kinge of Scottes.

CAdwallyn, the sonne of Cadwan, after the death of his father tooke vpon him the gouernement of the Britons, and he was valiaunt and mightie, and warred strongly vpon the Saxons, which were neere about him, and he wanne from them both Casteles and Townes, and droue them back into the lande toward London: whereof hering Penda king of Mertia assembled his Saxons and made towarde the sayde Cadwallyn: But he was in the ende distressed, and glad and fayne to seeke and purchase his fauour and friendship, and to lyue vnder his tribute. 635 1

¶ And after this Penda was in great fauour with Cadwallyn, insomuch as he tooke parte with him against the other Saxon Kings. And about this time Kyngilsus one of the kings of the West Saxons, was by the preaching of Berinus conuerted to the right beliefe, and christened of him at the Citie of Dorchester, within. vij. Myles of Oxforde. And Oswald king of Northumberland, or rather king of Bernicia, was his Godfather, & wedded his daughter afterwarde. And then that Citie was geuen to the Bishop, to the ende that he shoulde there ordeyne his See, where the sayde Berinus sate. xiiij. yeres after, and there was buried, vntill Beda Bishop of Winchester trãslated his body to the City of Winchester, albeit, the Chanons of Dorchester said, that ỹ body of Beryne was not taken thence but another in the stead thereof, & yet in token that it was not remoued thence a Beare of a wonderfull worke stood of late daies ouer that graue where this holy man was first buried. It should seeme that this Citie of Dorchester, is now called Dorset. This See was in the time of William Conquerour translated to Lyncolne. Penda. Dorcester. Lyncolne.

¶ About this time Sigebertus or Sigisbertus king of the East Anglis set vp certaine scooles in diuers places, and ordeyned ouer them Scoolemasters and Vshers, as he sometime had seene in Fraunce. And after the opinion of many writers one of them was by him erected in Gtrantbridge, being then the head Citie of his dominion, now called Cambridge, the which in processe of time grew to be a famous Vniuersitie as it is now at this day. And the sayde Sigebert was conuerted to the faith of Christ, by that holye man named *Felix* a Burgonnion: and finally the sayd king betooke his kingdome vnto his Nephew Egritus, & became himselfe a Monke in an Abbey which he himselfe buylded. Cambridge.

¶ But when Penda king of Mertia warred after in that Countrie, the sayde Sigebert was against his wyll pulled out of the foresayde Monastery, and went in armes, or as some write vnarmed with a whyte rod in his hande nycely, and so was slaine, and well neere all his hoste that came with him to that Fielde. Sigebert slaine.

¶ After the death of this Sigisbert, Anna was made king of East Anglis. Anna.

¶ About the. vij. yere of the reigne of Cadwallyne, a Saxon reigned in Kent named Ercombertus, who helde that principate. xx. yeres nobly. And among other of his famous deedes, he reuiued and quickened againe the faith of Christ, that in some places of his kingdome was sore apalled. For he destroyed the Temples of false Gods thorough all that Countrie and ordeyned by the aduice of his Clergie the time of Lent to be fasted. He wedded the daughter of Anna king of East Anglis, named Sexburga, of whome he receiued a daughter & named her Eukendoga, the which after was a Nonne in a Monastery in France. Ercõbertus. The institution of the time of Lent.

¶ About this time, as it were about the viij. yere of Cadwallyne, dyed Kyngilsus king of the West Saxons, when he had reigned with his brother and alone. xxxj. yeres. And Kenwalcus his sonne was king after him, the which at the beginning of his reigne would not be christened, and forsooke his wyfe the daughter of Penda, and tooke to him another. Wherfore Penda to be aduenged for his daughters cause, gathered his host and chased Kenwalcus out of his kingdome, and kept him thence three yeres. In the which time, he was with Anna king of the East Anglis and was christened of Felix, and after by the helpe of the sayde Anna recouered his kingdome. Kenwalcus.

¶ When

Agilbert. ¶ When Kenwalcus was thus restored to his lande, he made a Bishops See at Wynchester, and ordeyned there a Bishop named Agilbert, a Frenchman borne, but he came out of Ireland. The which when he had sitten there a certaine of time, he was deposed and put from thence, but the cause why, I know not, and in his place was set one named Wyn, of whome sayeth *Polichronichon* the Citie tooke the name of Wynchester, as it were Wynnes Citie. But he was also deposed: And then was Leutherius Bishop, and after Lutherius succeeded Cedda: And after him Theodorus Archebishop of Cauntorbury ordeyned two Bishops to the Prouynce of West Saxon. The one at Winchester, and to that was subiect two Countyes, Southrey and Southhampshire. And the other See he ordeyned at Sherborne, to the which were subiect sixe Counties, that is to saye Barkeshire, Wyltshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornewall, but in Wylliam the Conquerours time, the See of Sherborne was turned to the See of Sarisbury, as was also the See of Rammesbury.

Wyn, of whō the towne of Winchester tooke his name.

White Gosneborough. ¶ It was not long after but that Kenwalcus warred with the king of Britons, the which fought with him at a place called Whyte Gosneborough, and was of him there ouercome. Then Cadwallyne assembled a newe hoste of Britons, and met with Kenwalcus at a place called the hill of Pent, where after a long and sore battaile, the Britons were put to flight.

¶ Ye haue heard before how Oswald was made king of Northumberland, the which continued his lyfe in iustice and vertue as a king should do, by the space of. ix. yeres. But Penda king of Mertia, who to him and to all christian men had great disdeyne and enuie, about the. ix. yere of Cadwallyne made warre vpon Oswald, and slue him in a field called Meserfelde, where after his death (as Fabian sayth) God shewed for him many miracles. But after one yere of his death Oswy his yonger brother recouered the kingdome, and buried his head in the Churchyarde of Lyndesar, for the bodye was conueyed by the Pagans, and deuyded in sundrie peeces.

Oswalde.

Meserfelde.

¶ When Oswy had a season ruled his kingdome, he by vnlawfull meanes procured the death of Oswyn king of Deyra. This Oswyn was the sonne of Eaufricus eldest brother of Oswald, which Oswyn was good of condition and therewith both meeke and mylde, and being thus slaine, as is aforesayde, the sayde Oswy tooke to him as felow of that kingdome his brothers sonne Odylwald, the sonne of Oswald. This Oswald gaue vnto Cedda Bishop of Wynchester before named, a grounde in a place of the North Countrie in the high hilles called Lastyngery, for to buylde an Abbay vpon, which he there buylded, and after taught his brother Chymbillus how he should rule and gouerne that place.

Oswyne slaine.

Penda. ¶ Nowe Penda Kinge of Mertia; which forgat not the strengthening and fauouring that Anna Kinge of East Anglys had shewed to Kenwalcus his daughters husbande, and his enemye, and therefore desirous to be reuenged on him, gathered a power of men of warre and went agaynst the sayde Anna, and slue him in plaine battaile.

Oswy. ¶ After the which victory, the sayd Penda, beyng puffed vp with pryde, and glory, went forward with his host into Northumberlande, entending to slea Oswy, as before he had slaine his brother Oswald. Whereof when Oswy had knowledge, he assembled his power and made towardes him. And for affinite of mariage that was betwene their children, and other causes as after shall apere Oswy offered vnto him many great offers, to the intent to haue had him to haue stayed from battaile, and to haue had peace with him.

Vowe. ¶ When Oswy perceyued the obstinacie and pryde of Penda, and sawe that by no reasonable meanes he coulde moue him to peace, he sayde, seeyng this Paynym will not receyue our giftes and proffers that we haue offered vnto him, we will now offer it to him that can receyue them. And foorthwith he made his vowe vnto God, that if he had the victorye ouer his enemies, he woulde offer his daughter Elfleda vnto him, with sufficient possessions for to buylde. xij. Abbeys. And shortly after, he ioyned in battaile with Penda, in the countrey of Leedys, not far from Yorke which battaile was so sore foughtē that the lyke was not seene many yeres before: But in the ende Penda was slaine, and.

Penda slain.

xxx. of his chiefe Capitaynes, and yet he had three tymes the number of people that Oswy had. And those that escaped the shot and sword, were for the greatest part drowned in the Ryuer Wynwed, which was nere vnto the place of that battaile. And among the Prisoners that were taken at this fielde, the wife of Penda was one, and her sonnes Vncle named Egfridus was another. *Fabian.*

¶ Then Oswy yelded his thankes vnto almighty God, and according to his former promes, he offered his daughter Elfleda beyng of the age of three yeres vnto God, and tooke her to the Lady of Hilda, Abbesse of Hertsey, or Hertes Islande. And after that the sayde Hilda remoued to the Abbey of Stremshalt in the vale of Whitby. xxx. Myle from Yorke, where she was after Abbesse, and so was Elfleda also. And Oswy as he had promised gaue landes and rentes to builde. xij. Abbeyes, whereof sixe were in Bernicia, and sixe in the Prouynce of Deyra.

¶ This aforenamed Penda had dyuerse sonnes, as wryters report, that is to say, Wolferus, Weda, Egfridus, besyde other not mencioned. To this seconde sonne Weda, Oswy had before time maryed a daughter of his by consent of Penda his father: Wherefore, by the helpe of Oswy his father in law he was made King of South Mertia, the which Lordship is seuered from the North Mertia by the ryuer of Trent, & it conteined by the recorde of Beda fiue thousand housholdes. This Weda also promised when he maryed the sayd daughter of Oswy, that he would become a Christian man, the which he perfourmed after the death of his father. But when he had scantly reigned three yeres ouer the sayde South Mertia, he was by treason of his wyfe slaine (as sayth *Fabian*) but he sheweth no cause. And after that Kingdome fell to Wolferus the other brother, the which had wedded the daughter of Ercombert king of Kent, named Ermenilda. This Wolferus was shortlye after christened; so that he is accompted for the first Christined king that reigned in Mertia, and was father to Keneredus, and to Wereburga. Wolferus. Ercombert king of Kent.

¶ And for that it is long sithen I spake of Kenwalcus king of West Saxons, it is to be noted that after he had ouercome the Britons (as before is shewed) and at that tyme had not perfited the Bishops Sec of Winchester, he then busied himselfe thereabout. And according to the will of Kingilsus his father, he gaue to the sustentation of the sayd See, all the land which lay within. vij. miles of the sayde Citie (as sayth the floure of Histories) and finished it somedeale to his purpose, but farre from that it is nowe. Kenwalcus. Kingilsus.

¶ Soone after that Kenwalcus had ended this worke, he made warre vpon Wolferus of Mertia. But in that iourney fortune was not frendlye vnto him, for he lost thereby and wanne nothing of his entent and purpose.

¶ It was not long after, but Ercombert king of Kent dyed, and his sonne Egbert was king after him. ix. yere. And shortly after chaunced great mortalitie and death throughout this land of Briteyn, the which continued and encreased more and more during the life of this Cadwallyn, and the lyfe of Cadwallader which folowed him. In the which season or beginning of this mortalitie and sickuesse, dyed many Bishops in this lande, insomuch that Vitalcanus then beyng Bishop of Rome ordeyned Theodorus Archebishop of Cantorbury to haue the rule of the Churches of Briteyn. Somewhat before this tyme, Benet that was in good fauour with king Oswy, and descended of riche kindred, forsooke seruice and house and all his kindred, and became a Monke. This Benet was he that first brought the craft of Glasing into this land, and tooke to his scholer Beda, when he was but. vij. yeres of age, and taught him during his lyfe. Mortalitie. Glasing first brought into this land.

¶ And here for that speciall mencion is made a little before that Benet was the first that brought into Briteyn the Arte and craft of making of Glasse, I thought it well to adde this note thervnto, which I find written in Reynulph in his fourth booke and fourth Chapter. That in the tyme of the reigne of Tiberius Emperour of Rome, which was not long after Christes incarnation, a certeyn craftes man had found out the Art of myxture and melting of Glasse in such sort, as he made the same malliable, that is to say, to abide the Hammer as Tynne and other metalles do: And he came to the Emperour thinking to haue receyued *Reynulph.* Tiberius Emperour of Rome put to death him yt inuẽted glasse to abyde the Hammer.

receyued ,some rewarde, and shewed it vnto him. The Emperour when he saw it, caused some of his awne Glasses to be fet and broken,'and the Artificer forthwith amended them. And when the Emperour had well considered of the man and of his cunning, he demaunded of him if there were any man liuing beside himselfe that could do the like and he simply answered, none that he knewe or euer heard of, and the emperour aunswered, neither shalt thou euer do it againe, for this Art would make golde and other precious metall to be of no valure: wherefore he commaunded him to be behedded, and it was done, which certainly was a tyrannous deede, namely for that he would attempt to suppresse the giftes of God.

Glasse made to abide to Hammer.

¶ Nowe I will returne againe to Oswy: the which when he had long reigned ouer the Norththumbers, he made Cedda that was Abbot of Lastingay, Archebishop of Yorke, more of wyll then of good skill, and put out Wilfride the Archebishop of that See; But it was not long after but that Cedda was depriued of that dignitie, by the authoritie of the Archebishop Theodorus, as he depriued other at that tyme, which came to their benefices against the lawes of the Church, and made him by great instaunce after this, Bishop of the West Saxons. And about the. xxx. yere of the reigne of Cadwallyn, Cissa that was father to Iue king of West Saxons builded the Abbey of Abingdon. *Fabian.*

Monkes religious.

¶ In these dayes the Monkes and Clergie of Briteyn set all their minds to serue God, and not the worlde, and were wholy giuen to deuocion, and not to filling of the Paunch and pampering of the bodye: wherefore they were then had in great reuerence and honour, so that they were then receyued withall worship. And as they went by the streetes and wayes, men that sawe them, woulde runne to them and desire their blessings: and well was him then that might geue vnto them possessions, and to builde them houses and Churches. But as they encreased in ryches of worldly treasure, so they decreased in heauenly treasure, as in the dayes of Aluredus somedeale began, and sithen that time hath sprong not all to the pleasure of God. Then they applyed nothing that was worldlye, but gaue themselues to preaching and teaching of the worde of our Sauiour Iesu Christ, and folowed in lyfe the doctrine that they preached, geuing good example to all men. And besides that, they were vtterly voyde of couetousnesse, and receyued no possessions gladly, but were inforced therevnto. *Fabian.*

Monkes had in great reuerence.

Decay of Religion.

¶ At this time Oswy king of Northumberlande dyed and Edfridus hys sonne was Kinge after hym and reygned fiftene yeares, after hys father had reygned with hys felowes Oswyne and Oswalde, twentye and eyght yeares.

¶ Then dyed also Kenwalcus king of West Saxons, about the. xxxix. yere of Cadwallyne, when he had reigned ouer them. xxx. yeres, and his sonne Kenewynus succeded him, but entred not into possession before Sexburga his mother had ruled that Prouynce one yere.

¶ Ye haue heard before howe Wilfride was deposed & put out out of the See of Yorke, wherefore he went to Rome and complayned vpon him to Agathon then bishop of that See, and was well allowed in some things. But the king and Theodorus had there such Procters and friends, that he fayled of his purpose, wherefore he returned to the South Saxons, and after he had preached among them. xv. yeres, he then taught them the arte or craft of Fishyng.

The arte of Fishing.

¶ Egfridus or Edfridus king of Northumberlande, claymed the lande that Etheldred king of Mertia helde, for the which diuers assemblies of intreatie were had, but they tooke none effect, wherefore eyther partie gathered his strength, and met vpon a playne, neere vnto the Ryuer of Trent, where was foughten betwene them a long and sharpe fight: In the which among a great number on both parties, was slaine the brother of Egfride named Elswinus, but yet the saide Egfride had the better. Then after this battail, meanes of peace was againe made, so that finally Egfride had great sommes of money in recompence of his brothers death, and so the sayde two kings agreed and rested afterwards in quiet.

¶ Sone after this time, Theodorus for diuers causes kept a Synode or Counsaile of Bishops and other men of the Church, at Hatfielde: By auctoritie of which counsaile (sayth Fabian) he deuyded the Prouynce of Mertia that Sexwolphus then ruled alone, into fiue Bishopricks, that is one to Chester, the second to Worcester, the thirde to Lichefielde, the fourth to Cedema in Lyndesey, and the fifth to Dorchester. Theodorus holdeth a Synode. Hatfielde.

¶ About the. xlvj. yere of Cadwalyne, Kenewinus king of West Saxons had occasion of warre against the Britons, so that they met neere vnto the West See, where after a sharpe skirmishe, the Britons were chased. And sone after Edfridus king of Northumberlande made warre vpon the Pictes or Scottes, because they fauoured & ayded the East Anglys against him. But in the ende by colour of fliyng back, they brought Edfride into a streyte among hilles and mountaines, and slue him there with a great parte of his people. Egfride slaine. And after his death a bastarde brother of his, named Alfridus, the bastarde was king of Northumberlande and reigned among them xviij. yeres.

¶ And shortly after, dyed Cadwalyne king of Britons, when he had reigned, xlviij. yeres, and many other things are written of him by Gaufride, but neyther by Reynulph nor by any other authour of good authoritie, and therefore I passe them ouer. Cadwalyn detd.

Ferquhard called Ferquhard the second, the sonne of the late king Ferquharde was made king of Scottes, and reigned. xviij. yeres. This man in his priuate lyfe was verie liberall aboue his power, but when he was auctborised king, he became a cruell couetous and glotteynus Tiran, wherefore he was striken of God with a vile and peinfull sickenesse, wherof he dyed. 646 — 18

¶ *MAldwyn the sonne of Dowald* was auctborised king of Scottes, and reigned. xx. yeres: he made peace with the Pictes and Saxons, and at the last was murdred of his wyfe for suspicion of Adultrie. 665 — 3x

Cadwalader, began to rule the Britons and also the West Saxons. He made warre vpon Lotharius king of Kent, and destroyed much of that Prouince, and wanne the Isle of Wight, and gaue the fourth part to S. Wilfride, in the which fourth part were accoimpted three hundred housholds. 683 — 1 The Isle of Wight.

¶ The whilest that Cadwalader was busied in one part of Kent, his brother named Mulkyn with a certaine of Knights were besieged, and lastly brent in another parte thereof. In reuengement whereof, Cadwalader of newe destroyed the more parte of the sayde Prouynce. And the sayde warre continuing Lotharius aforenamed was wounded and dyed, after whome Edricus was king, and reigned but a short tyme.

¶ Then Cadwalader made warre vpon the king of Southsex named Athelwalde, and slue him in plaine battaile, and after made his Prouynce subiect to him.

¶ When Cadwalader had ruled the Britons, and also the west Saxons by the terme of three yeres. he then (as sayth Reynulph Monke of Chester) of pure deuotion renounced the pompe and pride of the world, and went on pilgrimage to Rome, where of Sergius then Bishop of Rome, he was confirmed, and after made a whyte Monke, and so continued all his lyfe tyme.

¶ But other write as namely Nicholas Brodrugan in his Epitome, that king Cadwalader reigned ouer Briteyn in great peace and tranquilitie. xij. yeres. And then there happened so great a death among his people, that in maner the lyuing did scarsely suffice to burie the dead, and therefore he fled into little Briteyn, whose Cosyn Iuor and Iue, being repulsed out of Englande by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons, they and their posteritie remayned Princes. And now vpon this great death and cruell warres among the Saxons, the Scottes thought to slip the Collar of obedience, and entered into league with Charles then king of Fraunce, the articles whereof folow in the historie of Achaius king of Scottes. Nicholas Brodugan.

¶ And here endeth the lyne and gouernement of the Britons, nowe called Welshmen, which tooke that name of their Duke or leader called Wallo, or Gallo, or else of a Wallo or Galle.

Queene of Wales, named Galaes, or Wales. But how soeuer that name came first to them, nowe they are called Welshmen, which sometime were named Britons, or brutons, and descended first of the Troyans (sayth Fabian) and after of Brute, and lastly of Mulmucius Dunwallo: Albeit they were mingled or medled with sundrie other Nations, as Romaynes, Pictes, and others. And now they be English, that in their beginning were named Saxons or Anglis.

Welshmen.

¶ And after the departure of Cadwalader, this Realme was called England, and the Inhabitantes therof were called Anglis, or English men. And this happened 1972. yeres, or as sayth Fabian 1822. yeres after that Brute first arriued in this Islande: And after the conquest of Cesar 735. yeres: And from the entring of the Saxons vnder their leaders Hengist and Horsus in the tyme of Vortiger 235. yeres.

686 4647 ¶ Thus then apereth by the former processe of this worke, that the last yere of Cadwalader, was the yere of our Lord sixe hundreth. lxxxvj. which maketh the yere of the worlde foure thousand, sixe hundreth. xlvij. So that as Fabian sayth, the Britons had the rule of the more part of this land, reconing from Brute vnto this tyme, a thousand. viij.C.xxij. yeres. And now the Saxons or Anglis began fully to reigne, and to haue the whole dominion of this Realme.

AFter the departure of Cadwalader (as Fabian sayth) this land of Brit[illegible]s in great dissention, by meane of variaunce betwene the Britons and Saxons, a[illegible]ayde contencion continued. xj. yeres. And beside this, the great death and mor[illegible]efore mencioned, vehemently and greatly encreased, and by reason thereof folow[illegible]scarcitie, whereof ensued hunger, and vniuersall famine through the Realme: S[illegible]t[illegible]y the occasion of one thing and other, the people of this Realme were wonderf[illegible]mi[illegible]shed and decayed, and that so many and so much (as sayth Gaufride, and also the E[illegible]glish Chronicle) the quicke bodies suffised not to burye the dead.

Famine.

A pittifull and horrible plague.

685 3 EVgenius the fift of that name was king of Scottes, and reigned foure yeres. In his tyme, as sayth the Historie of Scotland, he warred vpon Edfride king of Northumberlande, and slue him in battayle.

687 1 IEwe, or Iuas, discending of the blood of the Saxons, was ruler or king of west Saxons, next after that Cadwalader had renounced the pompe of the worlde. He ruled the west Saxons verye honourably, and mainteyned such warre against the kentish Saxons that they of Dorobernia or Cantorbury, graunted him to haue peace, and also gaue vnto him for a recompence of the death of Mulking brother to Cadwalader before slaine, three thousand pounde.

¶ In the. xj. yere of the reigne of this Iewe, chaunced the wonder & meruaile that is written in *Polichronica*, in his fift booke, and. xxj. Chapter, and he allegeth Bede for his Authour, of one Brigthwaldus, the which after that he had beene a long while dead, was restored againe to lyfe, and tolde manye thinges of great wonder to many men. Whereby he caused great almose, and many deedes of charitie to be done.

Brigthwaldus raised frō death to life.

701 16 ¶ In the. xvj. yere of this mannes reigne, Ethelredus before mencioned, which was king of Mertia, forsooke his worldly honor, and became a Monk at Bardeney, when he had long tyme ruled the men of Mertia.

708 23 ¶ In the. xxiij. yere of this Iew, Colredus then king of Mertia assembled his people and warred vpon Iew. Wherof when Iew had knowledge he likewyse gathered his people together, and they met to both their harmes at a place called Wodensburgh: where after long fight, eyther of them sped so vnhappely, that it was not knowen whether part had greatest dammage.

721 37 ¶ Nowe when Iew had ruled the west Saxons nobly by the space of. xxxvij. yeres, by the importunate labour of his wife Ethelburga, he renounced his honourable estate and tooke

tooke on him the wede of a poore man, and became a Pilgrime to Rome. And Ethelburga his wife made her selfe a Nonne in Barking. vij. myles from London.

¶ Also some Authours write that this Iew was the first king that graũted of euery house that had fyre burning in it a penny, to be payed to the Bishop of Rome & his successors, and it was called Rome skot or Peter pence. Rome scot, Peter pence.

¶ And as Fabian sayth, when he should renounce his estate and gouernment, he resigned the same vnto Ethellardus his Nephewe. This man also as sayth Cooper, builded the Colledge or Cathedrall Church of Welles, and the Abbey of Glascenbury. Welles College.

EVgenius the sixt of that name, reigned. x. yeres in Scotland. He made peace with the Northumbers, and hated extremely the Pictes. 688

AMberkeleth, a cruell Tyrant, reigned in Scotland two yeres, and was slaine by one of his seruaunts, as he was goyng with an army against the Pictes. 3 698

EVgenius the. vij. was king of Scottes. xviij. yeres. He was mightye of body, and of honest maners: he made peace with the Pictes, and caused the Actes of his auncetours to be put in wryting, and commaunded that Historiographers should be found of the common cost. 13 700 15 A worthie note.

MOrdack was King of Scotland, and reigned. xvj. yeres. In his tyme the foure diuerse Nations reigning in Albion, had peace betwene themselues, that is, the Britons, the Anglis, the Scottes, and the Pictes. 716 31

¶ And about this tyme Germanie receyued the fayth of Christ.

ETHelard the Nephewe of Iewe, reigned ouer the west Saxons: Of this Man is little written, sauing that he reigned fiue yeres, and then dyed, leauing behinde him none issue of his body. And in his tyme, the reuerend and holy Priest Beda, was famous, who wrote his booke called *Anglica Hystoria* to Offrike king of Northumberland. 724 x Beda that reuerend father.

CUthert the Nephewe of Ethelarde, reigned ouer the West Saxons next after his sayd Vncle, of whome also is little mention made, sauing that in the sixt yere of his reigne, holy Beda dyed, who in his tyme wrote lxxviij. bookes. And this Cuthert when he had reigned. xvj. yeres, departed out of this worlde also. This man made often warre vpon Ethelwalde of Mercia, and sped therein dyuersly. 729 I Beda dyed.

EDfine the sonne of Eugenius the seuenth, reigned in Scotland. xxx. yeres: This man was geuen to iustice and peace, and kept the league that was made with the Britons, Englishmen, and Pictes. 735 47

SIgebert the Cosyn of Cutbert, reigned ouer the west Saxons. He was cruell and tirannous to his subiects, and turned the lawes and customes of his forefathers, after his awne will and pleasure. And because a noble man of his Realme named the Erle Combranus, did somedeale sharpely aduertise him to chaunge his maners and to be more prudent and temperate towarde his people, he therefore maliciously caused him to be put to most cruell death. 745 I Tirannie.

¶ Now for asmuch as this king Sigebert continued in his malice and cruell condicions, and would not amend, his subiectes conspired against him, and depriued him of all kingly dignitie: so that he fell after into great desolation & miserie, for being on a season found in a wood or desolate place, wandering alone without all comfort: he was by a Swynheard or villaine, murdred & slaine, in the reuengement of Earle Combranus death, whom Sigebert being king had before most cruelly caused to be put to death in the same place: vnto the which Earle the sayde vyllaine had beene sometimes belonging. And thus was Sigebert deposed and murdered, when he had reigned two yeres. A plague due to a tyraunt.

KEnulph of the lyne or blood of Cerdicus the which Cerdicus was the first king of the west Saxons, tooke vpon him the rule and gouernment of the sayde West Saxons. The vertue 748 I

30859

vertue of this man passed hys fame: For after that he with the agreement and consent of his people had depriued Sigebert their king from his regall authoritie, he then first of all appeased dyuers murmures and grudges that kindeled among his subiects, for the sayde depriuation, and so set his Lordeship in great quietnesse, and rest touching their ciuile discorde.

756 8 ¶ About the. viij. yere of the reigne of this Kenulphus, Offa slue a Tyraunt named Beoruredus, who before had slaine Ethelwald king of Mertia. After whose death the sayde Offa, Nephew to the sayde Ethelwald, reigned as king of that Prouynce.

¶ Of this Offa is tolde many things, whereof something I entende to shewe. He had warre with the Northumbers, and them for a tyme subdued. He also had warre with Etheldrede king of East Anglis, and with Egbert otherwise called Pren king of Kent, whome he tooke prisoner, and led him bounde with him into Mertia.

Egbert king of Kent imprisoned.

Winchcōb Churche.

¶ Then after these victories, Offa buylded the Church of Winchécomb. In the time of the which buylding, and in the presence of. xuj. Bishops and many other great estates, he discharged the sayde Egbert of imprisonement, and set him at libertie, for ioy whereof the people there present, made such a shouting and cry of reioysing and gladnesse, that al the Church rang thereof.

Egbert king of Kent enarged.

The Archebishops See of Cauntorburie remoued to Lichfielde.

¶ This king had such displeasure to the Citizens of Cauntorburie, that he remoued the Archebishops See, by the agreement of the first Adrian then Bishop of Rome, vnto Lichefielde. He furthermore chased the Britons or Welshmen into Wales, and made a strong Dyke betwene Wales, and the vtter boundes of Mertia, or middle Englande, the which to this daye is named Offidiche. And after he builded there a Church, which long time after was called Offkirck: he also buylded the Abbey of Saint Albons. Besides this it is written of him that he maried one of his daughters to Brightrices that was king of West Saxons. And for that in his time there was variance betwene him and the Frenchmen, and that passage and traffique of Marchaunts was forboden: therefore he sent the famous Doctor Anselmus vnto Charles the great, then king of France to intreat of peace. Which Charles had the sayde Anselmus euer after in such fauour, that he became hys Disciple. *Fabian.*

Passage of Merchantes forbodden

759 11 ¶ But nowe let vs returne to Kenulphus, who before time had often warre with Offa, and also had with him many conflicts, but lastly they were agreed. About the. xj. yere of this Kenulphus, Egbert king of Northumbers, renounced his kingly dignitie, and became a Monke.

¶ And finally, when Offa had reigned ouer Mertia. xxxix. yeres, as saith Guydo, he left the kingdome to his sonne, who also was named Kenulphus, or as some write Egfurtus, and went himselfe to Rome.

¶ And the foresayde Kenulphus king of the west Saxons kept strongly his Lordship against the power of all his enemies, and had his subiectes in due order of obedience.

Lechery.

Lastly, he was surprised with the loue of a woman that he kept at Merton, whose companie he haunted more secretly, then stoode with his honour. Whereof hauing knowledge, a kinsman of Sigesbert late king, entending to reuenge the deposing and murthering of his kynsman, awayted the tyme, and beset the house where Kenulph and his Paramour were smally accompanied. But so soone as the sayde Kenulph had espied his enemies, he set vpon them, and as Reynulph sayeth, though they were in number. lxxx. yet fought he with them a long while, but in the ende he was slaine of Clito his enemie.

Murder. Clito.

¶ It was not long after or worde sprang of the kinges death: wherfore Offricus then beyng maister of the Kinges Souldiers and garisons, armed himselfe, and tooke with him a certaine of the sayde Cheualrye, and pursued the sayd murderers, and at the last encountered with them, and slue the sayde Clito their Capitaine, with the more part of his companie. And that done, he retorned to Merton, and there tooke the Corps of Kenulph, and with great solemnitie conueyed it to Winchester, where it was with all reuerence buried, when his father and he had ruled. xxxj. yeres.

Murder vpon murder.

EVgenius

EVgenius the. viij. was king of Scottes, and was slaine of his Lordes for his couetousnesse, filthy lust, and cruelty, when he had reigned three yeres. 761

FErgus the thirde was made king of Scotland, and reigned three yeres: He was a foule dronken glutton, and so outragiously geuen to Harlottes, that he neglected his awne wife, and brought her to such penurye, that shee was faine to serue other noble women for her liuing. Wherefore, she murdered him in his bed, and after slue her selfe also. 764 Lechery. Murder.

SOluathius reigned in Scotland. xx. yeres, and then dyed of the Goute. In his tyme rebelled Banus of the Isle of Tyre, and Gillowham of Galloway, which were brought to due obeysaunce. 768

BRithricus of the blood of Cerdicus, began his reigne ouer the west Saxons, in the yere of our Lorde. vij.C.lxxviij. This Man before tyme had maryed one of the daughters of Offa king of Mertia, as before is touched, by whose ayde and power, he put out of his rule Egbert the sonne of Alcumundus, the which Egbert at that day was an vnder king or ruler in the Lordeship of west Saxons, which Egbert was discended of the blood of Genulphus, of whome some part of the story is declared in the. xxv. Chapter of the fift booke of *Polichronicon*. And after he was thus of Brithricus expulsed, he sayled into Fraunce, and there exercised himselfe in the feates of warre with the knightes of Charles court the French king during the life of the sayde Brithricus. 778 1 *Polichroni.*

¶ About the second yere of this Brithricus, was seene in great Briteyn a wonderfull sight: For sodeynly as men walked in the streete, Crosses lyke vnto blood fell vpon their clothes, and blood fell from heauen lyke droppes of raine. 779 2 A straunge & terrible sight.

¶ This after some expositors, betokened the comming of the Danes into this lande, the which entered shortly after. For as sayth Reynulph, about the. ix. yere of Brithricus the Danes first entered this land. In defence whereof, this said king sent forth his Steward of his houshold, with a small companye, which shortly was slaine. But by the strength of Brithricus and the other kinges of the Saxons, they were compelled to auoyde the land for that tyme. 788 9 The first entering of the Danes.

¶ Brithricus thus well and knightly ruling his lande, his wife named Ethelburga, not contented with him as she ought to be, sought diuerse wayes and meanes howe she might bring her Lorde out of lyfe, so that finally shee poysoned him with many other of his famely: wherefore she fearing ponishment, fled into Fraunce, and by such frendship as she there had, was well cherished in Charles Court the French king surnamed the great. Ethelburga. Poysoning.

¶ Of her it is tolde, that when he had information of the vnstablenesse of this womans condicions, he at that season beyng a Widower, and at a time talking pleasantly with her, sayde: Nowe I put to your choyse, whether ye will haue me vnto your wedded Lord, or else my sonne standing here in your presence: and him that you choose, him shall ye haue and enioy for your husband: But she chose the sonne, and left the father. Then sayd the king, if thou haddest chosen me, thou shouldest haue had my sonne: but for that thou hast forsaken me, thou shalt haue neyther of vs. And after he closed her in an Abbey, where in processe a lewde man kept with her such companie, that shee was voyded that place, and after demeaned her selfe so viciously, that in processe of tyme she fell in such pouertie, that she dyed in great penury & misery.

¶ Nowe because of the misdemeanor of this Woman, that shee had thus vnnaturally slaine her Lorde and husbande, the king of Anglis, and specially of west Saxons, would not suffer their wyues to be called Queenes, nor yet suffer them to sit by them in places of great honour or kingly seate, by a long tyme after. The names and prehemineuce of Queenes forbodden.

¶ Thus as before is shewed, dyed Brithricus, beyng empoysoned by his awne wyfe, when he had ruled the west Saxons. xvij. yeres.

AChaius was ordeyned king of Scottes, and reigned. xxxij. yeres. In his tyme was made 788

A league betwene Fraice and Scotland.

made the solemne league betweene Scotlande and Fraunce, against the Saxons or Englishmen: which tooke such effect, that euer sithen that day, the Scottes haue more enclined to the French men, than to Englishmen. And here I haue entered the Articles of the sayd league as they are written by *Hector Boecius* in his Scottish Chronicle.

Articles betwene the Frenche men and Scottes.

¶ First that the Amitie and confederacie of French men and Scottes to be made for euer, both for the people present, and to come.

2 The Iniurie of Englishmen done to any of those people, shall be perpetually holden as common to them both.

3 When French men are inuaded by English men, the Scottes shall send their armie in defence of Fraunce, so that they be supported of mony and victualles by Fraunce.

4 When the Scottes are inuaded by English men, then the French men shall come vpon their awne expenses to their support.

5 And if any priuate person, eyther Frenchman or Scot support the English men, against any of them, with counsaile money, or victualles, or remaine among them during the tyme of battayle: the doer thereof shall be holden a Traytor and an enemy to them both.

6 None of these two people shall take peace or truce with the Englishmen, but by the aduice eyther of other. *Hector Boecius. x. Booke. iii. Chapter.*

795

EGbert, or after the Englishe Chronicle Edbright, the sonne of Alcumundus, reigned ouer the west Saxons. This man as is beforesayd, was driuen out of the lande of Briteyn by the force of Brithricus. But he hauing knowledge of his death, sped him out of Fraunce, and in so knightly wyse behaued himselfe, that he obteyned the gouernement abouesayd, and was made king of west Saxons.

I

Bernulphus.

¶ Bernulphus king of Mertia had this Egbert in great derision, and vsed against him sundrie scoffes, and made of him trifling and rayling rymes, the which for a tyme he paciently suffered. But when he was somwhat stayed in his kingdome, and had proued the heartes of his subiectes, he at the last assembled his Knightes and Souldiours, and

Elindone.

gaue vnto Bernulphus a battayle in a place called Elindone, in the Prouince of Hampshire. And albeit that in that fight was great diuersitie of number, as. vj. or. viij. againe one, yet Egbert had the victory: For his knightes were leane, pale, and long breathed, so that they might endure to fight long: But Bernulphus Souldiours were fat, corpulent, grosse and short breathed, and therfore could not endure.

¶ Here is to be noted, that after the death of Offa king of Mertia, or middle England (of whom somewhat is spoken in the story of Kenulphus) reigned his sonne Egfertus, and after Egfertus reigned Kenulphus, the which was father vnto Kenelme, and vnto the two fayre Virgines Quindreda, and Burgemilda. And after Kenulphus reigned the sayd Kenelme: And after Kenelme, Colwolphus, and after him Bernulphus before named.

¶ And nowe to returne to Egbert, who when he had as before is sayde ouercome Bernulphus, he seased that Lordship into his awne hand: and that done, he made warre vpon the kentish Saxons, and at length obteyned also of them the victorie. And lykewyse, he subdued the Northumbers, and caused the kinges of these three Kingdomes to liue vnder him as tributaries, and ioyned them to his Kingdome.

¶ This Egbert also wanne from the Britons or Welshmen, the towne of Chester, which they had kept in their possession vntill that daye. For the which victoryes thus by him obteyned, he shortlye after called a counsayle of his Lordes at Winchester, and there by their aduises, he was crowned king and chiefe Lord of this land, which before this day was called Briteyn: But nowe he sent into all the Costes of this lande his commaundementes and commissions, that from that day forwarde the Saxons should be called Anglis, and the land Anglia, in Englishe, England.

Briteyn. Anglia first named. England.

819

¶ About the. xxiiij. yere of the reigne of Egbert, Kenelme before mencioned the sonne of Kenwolphus was admitted for king of Mercia, beyng then but a childe of the

24

age of. vij. yeres. The which by treason of his sister Quendreda was slaine in a thicke wood, by a tyraunt called Hesbertus. Treason. Quendreda.

¶ In the. xxix. yere of the reigne of Egbert, the Danes with a great hoste entered the second tyme into this land, and spoyled the Isle of Shepey in Kent, or nere to Kent. Whereof, when king Egbert had knowledge, he assembled his people and met with them at a place called Carrum: But he wan in that fight little worship, for the Danes compelled him and his knightes to forsake the fielde. And beyng encouraged by that victory, they drewe westwarde, and made a confederacie with the west Britons, that liued in seruitude: By whose power they assayled Egberts landes, and did much harme in manye places of his dominion and else where, so that after this day they were continually abiding in one place of the Realme or other, vntill the tyme of Herdikenitus or *Canutus fortis* the last king of the Danes blood, so that many were maryed to Englishe women, and many that nowe are, or in tyme passed were, are discended of them. And albeit they were many and sundrye tymes chased and driuen out of this land, and chased from one country to another, yet that notwithstanding, they euer gathered new strengthes & power, so that they abode still within the land. 824 29 The entrāce of the Danes.

¶ Of the king of these Danes, and of what people they be discended, dyuerse opinions of writers there be, which here I passe ouer, because afterward I purpose somewhat at large to say more therein.

¶ Nowe it foloweth, in the tyme of the persecution of these Paganes, and Danes, Egbert dyed, when he had well and nobly ruled the west Saxons, and the more part of Englande the terme of. xxxvij. yeres, and was buried at Winchester, and left behinde him a sonne named Ethelwolph, otherwise called Edelphus. 852 37

COnwallus, succeded Achaius in the kingdome of Scotland, and reigned fiue yeres. 819

DOngallus reigned in Scotland sixe yeres, & as he was going with an armie against the Pictes (in the quarrell of Alpine a Scot, which claymed the crowne of the Pictes) he was drowned in a ryuer. 25 824

ALpine the sonne of Achaius was made king of Scottes: He pursued the warre against the Pictes, and slue their king Feredech, but not long after he was vanquished and slaine by Brudus king of Pictes, when he had reigned foure yeres. 30 829 35

EThelwolph, or Edelphus the sonne of Egbert reigned ouer the Saxons or Anglis, in ỹ yere of our Lord. 832. This man in his youth was very willing to be a priest, and was entered into the order of Subdeacon. But after he was maried to Osburga his Butlers daughter, a womā of low birth, but in an old writtē Chronicle, I find ỹ he was maried to Iudith, daughter of ỹ French king, which was Lewes ỹ first, by whom he had foure sonnes, Ethelwald, Ethelbert, Etheldread, and Alurede, the which after their father, reigned as kinges of Englande, the one after the other as shall apere. 832 1 Ethelwolph.

¶ This Ethelwolph after he had bene a while king, went to Rome, and tooke with him his yongest sonne Alurede, or Alfrede, and taryed there the space of a yere. In the which season he repayred the Saxon schole, the which before tyme was there founded by Offa king of Mercia (as saith Guydo) but more truely by Iewe king of west Saxons, as sayth Mathew of Westminster. And for that he graunted of euery house in his Kingdome a pennie, as in his story before is shewed: But this schoole was sore decayed, and the house thereof lately brent, the which this Ethelwolph newely repayred, and set it in much better order than before it had bene. A Schole at Rome builded by the Saxons. Peter pēce.

¶ This king also to reforme the grieuous corrections that he sawe there executed to Englishe men for spirituall offences, as in wearing of Irons and Guyues, he graunted of euery house of his lande wherein fyre was brent a pennie, as Iewe before had done, for the mittigating of the sayd corrections. By the which it should seeme, that there was two pence graunted of euerye house throughout the land. For this Rome skot, or Rome shot as it was then called, was of euery house a penny and no more. And therefore it Euery house that had fire a peny. Rome skot, or Rome shot.

is mistaken of the writers, that alege the dede to the one king for the other: Howbeit, it may stande by reason, that Iewe made the first graunt, and this king confirmed the same. But the Author of *Chronica Chronicarum* sayth, that Ethelwolph graunted to Saint Peter the Peter pence, and speaketh no worde of Iewe, nor of none other.

Chronica chronicarū.

¶ It is also shewed by *Polichronica*, that this king for the acquiting of the Churches of England, of all maner of kinges tribute, payed yerely to Rome three hundreth Markes: that is to saye, to Saint Peters Church, an hundreth Markes, to the light of Saint Paule, an hundreth Markes, and to the Bishop of Romes treasure, an hundreth Markes. And ouer and besydes all this, of his deuotion he gaue to the Church of Rome, the tenth part of his mouable goodes.

Deuotion.

¶ When Ethelwolph had thus sped his businesse at Rome, he retorned by Fraunce, where at that tyme was king of that land Charles the Balde, of whome he was ioyously receyued. And after he had disported him there a season, he maried the daughter of the sayde Charles in the. xx. yere of his awne reigne.

Charles the Balde.

Iudith daughter to Charles the French king.

¶ Then Ethelwolph taking leaue of the Frenche King, tooke shipping and landed in England with his wife Iudith by name. And for that he contrary to the lawe (made in Brithricus time) set his wife in the kinges throne, and magnified her like a Queene, the Lordes of his land arose against him, and tooke from him a great part of his dominion, and made his eldest sonne ruler thereof, the which was done altogether in the reproch of Ethelburga, that slue her Lorde Brithricus as before is shewed. But in the end, the matter was appeased, and he to his kingly honour was restored. And in the yere folowing died the said Bertulphus king of Mertia. After whose death, Burdredus was made king of Mertia, or middle England, who before had spoused the daughter of this king Ethelwolph.

The name & honour of Queenes restored.

¶ In the latter dayes of this Ethelwolph, the Danes did much harme in Lyndsey, and also in Kent, and from thence came to London, and robbed and spoyled the Citie. Wherefore Ethelwolph gathered his people, and at the last met with them in Southrey, vpon a downe called Oclea, and there discomfited them, not without shedding of great plentie of the Anglis blood, and forced them to take the Sea, so that afterward they landed in East Anglia, as shall appere. And nowe this good king ended his life when he had reigned. xxij. yeres.

835 / 4 KEnneth reigned in Scotland. xx. yeres, he mainteyned hys warre against the Pictes so fiercely, that he vanquished them in diuers great battayles and slue their king, and lastly chased them vtterly out of the bounds of Scotland. 1151. yeres (as sayth the Scottishe Chronicle) after they began to haue dominion in that Countrie, and from the comming of the Scottes into Albion (after their opinion) a thousande three hundred. xxj. yeres.

855 / 1 EThelwald the sonne of Ethelwolph after his father reigned ouer the west Saxons or Anglis. This man was very wicked, and maried the woman which his father sometime kept for his Concubine, or as some write his stepmother: But to be short, there remayneth in story no worthy thing written of him, but that he reigned not aboue one yere, & then dyed, but howe he came to his death as testifieth Reynulph it is vncertaine, except it be as one writer sayeth that he was slaine of the Danish princes, Hunger and Hubba.

856 / 1 DOnalde the fift of that name (a vicious and wicked Prince) reigned in Scotlande. vj. yeres. In his tyme Osbret or Osbright and Ella which were kings of the Anglis and Britaines made warre vpon the Scottes, tooke their king and subdued all the Countrie from Striueling to the Irish Seas, and from the water of Fryth and Clyde to Cumber, with all the strengthes thereof. The Englishmen had the landes betwene Sterling and Northumberlande. This was Clyde March betweene the Scottes and Britons one the one side, and the water of Frith named the Scottish Sea March betwene them and the Englishmen on the other side: and Sterling common March to three people. Britons, Englishmen, and Scottes.

Scotland conquered.

Scottes. And in the Castle of Sterlyng the sayde king Osbright caused his first money to be coyned, which yet we call Sterling Money. And the Englishmen did there build a bridge of stone for passage ouer the water of Frith, in the midst whereof they made a Crosse, and vnder the same writ these two Verses. Starling money.

I am free Marche, as passengers may ken
To Scottes, to Britons, and to Englishmen.

¶ Nicholas Bradyngham in his Epitome sayeth, that after Ethelwald their reigned one Osbright king of Briteyn, who conquered Scotland, and at the last an agreement was taken that from thenceforth the water of Frith should be the March betwene the Scottes & Englishmen in the East parts, and should be named the Scottish Sea. The water of Clyde to Dunbriton, to be Marche in the west part betwene Scottes and Britons. And at Dunbriton was a Castle called Aclude, and now Dunbriton. So that the Britons had all the landes from Sterling to the Irish Seas, and from the water of Frith.

ETHelbert the seconde sonne of Ethelwald reigned ouer the greater parte of England. And in his time the Danes with more strength entered the west part of this land, and robbed and spoyled the Countrie before them, vntill they came to Winchester, and tooke the Citie by strength, and did therein what they would: but the king made such prouision, that by him and his Dukes they were forced to forsake the Citie. And as they went toward their Shippes, they were fought withall, and a great parte of them slaine and taken. 856

¶ Of this king, nothing else is left in memorie, but that he dyed when he had reigned sixe yeres, and was buried at Sherborne, leaning after him none issue.

COnstantine the second, a good and verteous Prince, reigned in Scotlande. xiij. yeres. 860

ETheldred the thirde sonne of Ethelwald tooke vpon him the gouernment of the west Anglis. And in the beginning of his reigne the Danes landed in East England, called Norffolke and Suffolke: but they were compelled to forsake that Countrie, and so to make againe into their Shippes, in the which retire they were foughten withall and many of them taken and slaine, and then they sayled Northward, and landed in Northumberlande, where the two kinges that reigned there, met with them, and gaue them battaile, their names were Osbright and Ella, and there was a strong fight: But the Danes with the help of such as inhabited in the Countrie, wanne the Citie of Yorke and held it a certaine time. 863 Danes lided in Norffolke & Suffolke.

¶ Then the people of Northumberlande, varied within themselues, and were more readier to ayde and helpe the Danes, then to lyue vnder the gouernment of the king of west Saxons. For here is to be noted, that all such kings as reigned there after Egbert, were tributaries, and therefore oppressed the people that lyued vnder them.

¶ Wherfore Etheldredus hering of the ayde and comfort that the Danes had there, assembled his people and sped him thetherward, and sent vnto the aforesayd two kings that had the rule of that Countrie, commaunding them also to prepare their people against his comming. But howe it was, or the king came with his hoste, the Danes so prouoked the Northumbers to battaile, that they met in playne fielde, and fought a long fight: But in the ende the Danes wanne the price, and slue both the aforesayde kings with a great multitude of their people. After which victorie, they subdued much of the sayde Countrie and destroyed the towne of Acliut, the which as sayth Beda, was one of the strongest townes of the North. Acliud or Acliut, a Towne or City by west the arme of the Sea that departeth England and Scotlande, and it standeth at the ende of the wall that was made to deuide Englande and Scotlande, and it is thought not to be farre from Carlile.

¶ When Etheldred had prepared all thing for the warre, and was set forward towarde the North, worde was brought vnto him of the great discomfiture of the Northumbers, and also of dyuers of the sayde Danes, with other that were come to Mertia, and howe that they had wonne the Towne of Notyngham, which tydings letted him of that iourney, and so the Danes kept possession of that Countrie, in suche wise that no Angle had

rule therof vntill the time of Adelstone, or as some write, vntill the time of Edredus, so that they helde it in possession the terme of. xl. yeres.

¶ Then the Danes being thus possessed of the North Countrie, manned the same, and fortefied the strong holds thereof. And the other companie of them came downe into Mertia or middle England and wanne a part therof with the aforesayde Towne of Notyngham, and dwelled there the more part of the yere following.

¶ Wherefore king Etheldred with the ayde of Burdredus, then king of Mertia, layde siege vnto the Towne: the which when the Danes perceyued should be wonne, they refused the towne & tooke the Tower or Castell, and defended it in strong maner, in so much that they helde it vntill a peace or appointment was concluded betweene the two kings and them: which was, that they should go free where they woulde, and carie with them their horse & harneys without any pillage. And when this peace was thus made, eyther of the kings departed to their awne, and the Danes returned into Yorke and dwelled there the yere following.

¶ And in the yere following, a certaine number of the sayde Danes, taking shipping in the North, purposed to sayle into East Englande, and vpon the Sea, they chaunced to meete with a great Flote of Danes, whereof the Capitaines or chiefe leaders, were named Hungar and Hubba: The which by exhortation of the other comming out of the North, made all one course, and lastly landed in East England or Norffolke, and in processe of time came vnto Thetfoord.

Hungar. Hubba.

¶ When Edmond king of the Prouynce heard hereof, he assembled an hoste, and gaue vnto them battaile. But Edmond and his hoste was forced to forsake the fielde, and Edmond with a fewe persons fled into the Castle of Fremingham, whome the Danes pursued: But he in short tyme after yelded himselfe vnto the persecution of the Danes. And for that this vertuous Man Edmond woulde not denie, or renie Christ, and his lawes, they therefore most cruellye bound him vnto a Tree, and caused him to be shot to death, and in the ende caused his head to be smitten from his bodye, and cast amongest the thickest of the Bushes, as sayth *Fabian*.

Fremingham Castell.

The martirdome of king Edmond.

¶ Then his friendes with great solemnitie caried the body vnto the Abbey, then called Eglidon, or Eglysdon, and nowe called Saint Edmondes bury, and there buried him in the yere of our Lord. viij.C.lxix.

Saint Edmõds bury

¶ But now to returne againe to the Danes. When they had as before is sayd martired this godly Man Edmond, and robbed and spoyled that Countrye, they tooke againe their Shippes, and landed in Southerey, and continued their iourney vntill they came to the towne of Reding, and wanne the Towne and Castle.

Reding.

¶ And as *Potichronicon* sayth, the thirde day after they came thither, Hungar and Hubba, as they went in purchasing of prayes, were slaine at a place called Englefield, which Captaines of the Danes beyng thus slain the rest of them kept close together, in such wise that ỹ west Saxons could take of them none aduauntage. But within fewe dayes after, the Danes were holden so short, that they were forced to issue out of the Castle, and to defende themselues in plaine fielde. In the which by the comfort of king Etheldred, and of Alured his brother, the Danes were discomfited, and many of them slaine: whereof the other beyng ware, fled againe to the Castle, and kept them within the same a certeyne tyme.

Hungar. Hubba. Englefield.

Danes discomfited.

¶ Then the king commaunded Ethelwold who at that tyme was Duke of Bareoke, or Barkshire, to attend with his people vpon that Castle, and to see that the Danes brake not out at large, while he went into other partes of that Countrie to subdue other of the sayde Danes. But when the Danes knewe of the kinges departure, they brake out, and tooke the Duke vnprouided, and slue him and most of his people, and caused the rest to withdrawe themselues from that towne and Castle.

Barkshire, or Barcokshire.

¶ It was not long after, but that the king was certified of the death of Ethelwolde Duke of Barkeshire, and of the discomfiture of his people, and of the great victorie of the

the Danes: which vnto him were heauie newes. And foorthwith also, he heard that a Dane was landed named Osricke, whome *Poliehronicon* nameth to be the king of Denmarke, the which Osricke in a short tyme had gathered together by the helpe and assistance of the other Danes a great hoste, and were embattayled vpon Ashedowne. Osrike. Ashedowne.

¶ Vnto this battayle Alured was sent for, to his brother the king with great spede, that he should set forward vpon the Danes. But before he could be ready, the hostes of the Anglis, and the Danes were ioyned together with great violence. And although the Danes had wonne the hill, and the christian men were left in the valley: yet by the grace of God, and manhood of themselues, the christian men recouered the hil of the Danes, and slue their Duke or king called Osricke, and fiue of their Dukes, with many of their people, and chased the rest vnto the towne of Redyng. Osrike slaine.

¶ Wherefore the Danes reassembled theyr people, and gathered a newe hoste, so that within. xv. dayes, they met at a towne called Basingstoke, and there gaue battaile vnto king Etheldred, and had the better. Then the king gathered his people, the which at that fielde were sore scattered, and seperated, and with fresh Souldiours to them accompanied, met the Danes within two Monethes after, at a Towne called Merton, and gaue vnto them a sharpe battayle, so that many people were slaine on both parties, that is to say, aswell of the Christians, as of the Danes. But in conclusion, the Danes had the honour of the fielde, and the king of Anglis was wounded and faine to sauegarde himselfe by pollecy, because might and strength fayled him. Basing Stoke. Merton.

¶ After these two fieldes thus wonne by the Danes, they obteyned and enioyed a great circuite of grounde, and destroyed man, woman, and childe, that to them were disobedient. And Churches and Temples they turned to the vse of Stables and other vile occupations. And to this great sorow was yet added another.

¶ For where the King hoped well to haue recouered his losses by the ayde and helpe of his subiectes, aswell of other partes of the lande, as of hys awne which was the west Saxons, he sent his commissions into Northumberland, into Mercia, and East Anglia: But he had of them small or little comfort, & in effect it was no comfort at all, so that the Countrie of west Saxons was brought into great desolation. For the king was beset with enemies on euery syde, and besydes that, his knightes and Souldiours were tyred, and weried with ouer watching and labour. The number of which aduersities and troubles entring, and deepelye sinking into the kinges minde, with his sore broose and hurt ensuyng of the wound taken at the battaile besyde Merton, shortened his dayes, so that he dyed when he had reigned in great vexation and trouble of the Danes. viij. yeres, without issue of his bodie, and was buryed at Winbourne: By reason whereof, the rule of the laude fell vnto his brother Alurede. Some write that he first founded the Cathedrall Churche at Exceter. Exceter.

ALurede the fourth sonne of Ethelwolphe, and brother to Etheldred reigned ouer the west Saxons. This Alured was borne at wantage, x. Miles from Oxforde then a Towne of the king of the west Saxons, who as some write was. xii. yeres of age before he was set to schole: but for all that, he spent so well his tyme, that he exceeded all his brethren that were long set foorth to schole before him. And by the counsayle of a verteous and well learned Monke named Neotus, and other learned men of that tyme, he founded the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and fraunchised the same with many great liberties and priuileges. But the historie of that Vniuersitie of Oxforde seemeth to make it to be of a much greater antiquity, and to referre the beginning thereof vnto certaine Greeke Philosophers that came into this Iland with Brute and the Troyans, and afterwards placed themselues in a place not farre distaunt from Oxforde, called corruptly Crekelad for Grekelade. The which Philosophers being afterwarde allured with the pleasaunt situation of the place remoued from thence to the soyle where Oxforde nowe standeth, and there taught the liberall Sciences. And the same schole being at the length decayed, and brought to extreme 872 1 The founder of the Vniuersitie of Oxford.

treme ruyne by ciuill warre and alteration of time: Alfred (say some) otherwise called Alurede as a seconde founder restored againe vnto the auncient state, who besides many other godly actes done for the encrease and maintenance of good learning, founded there a College, named the Myckle Vniuersitie Hall, nowe called the Vniuersitie Colledge: and in the same ordeyned a Gouernour by the name of a Master and a societie of lxxviij. felowes, wherof there were. xxvj. Diuines. xxvj. Philosophers. xxvj. Grammarians, to the mainteyning and sustenance of the which number, he appointed a competent yerely reuenew to be payde out of the Kings Cofers, by his heires and successours for euer, the which payment did still continue, as the monuments and auncient wrytings of the sayde College doe testifie, vntill the comming of Wylliam the Conquerour, who was the first that vpon displeasure conceyued against the students and scholers there, withdrewe the sayde payment.

¶ Also he translated manye lawes, and namely the lawe of Mertia, and other out of the Britishe speeche into the Saxon tongue. He was also verye cunning and skilfull in building and making of Plottes, and excellent in hunting. He was of goodly stature and the best beloued of his father of all his other children. In his youth he was somewhat giuen to the pleasure of the fleshe, which hindered him from many a verteous purpose, for the repressing whereof, he euening and morning and oftentimes in the night season woulde resort vnto Churches and there deuoutly praye a long season, and at the last he fell into an extreme sicknesse called Ficus. For it is sayde that he desired of God that his fleshe might be chastised with suche a sicknesse, whereby he might serue God the better, and yet not to be vnapt to worldly businesse. And when he was cured of the aforesayde sicknesse, then he fell into another more grieuous than that, the which continued with him from the. xx. yere of his age, till he was. xlv. But yet notwithstanding he wedded a noble woman named Ethelwyda, by whome he had two sonnes, Edward surnamed the Elder, and Egelward, and three daughters: Elfleda that after was Lady of Mertia, Ethelgotha which was made a Nonne, and the third was called Elfrida. And he caused all his children as well daughters as other to be brought vp in science and learning, and for that purpose reteyned the learned man Asserius and Meneuia and other.

Ficus.

¶ Nowe after this Alured was admitted king, he considering the great daunger that his lande was in, gathered vnto hym his Lordes, and those whom he coulde not winne without strife, he wanne by strength and power: So that shortly, he assembled a great hoste, and in the secoude Moneth that he was made king, he met with the Danes on Wylton hil on the South part of Wilye Bourne, and there gaue vnto them a great battaile, but not without great daunger and losse of men on both partyes. *Fabian.*

¶ Mathew of Westmynster, Author of the flowres of stories, sayth that the victory fell vnto the Danes, because Alureds army was much fewer in number than the other were: For the force of the nobles and people of the west Saxons was then sore minished and abated, by reason of. ix. battailes that had bene foughten against the sayde Danes the yere past on the Southside of Thames, beside diuers roades and skirmishes made by their horsemen. After the which victorie, the Danes returned to London and wintered there, and thether came also vnto them, Buthredus king of Middle England, and friendly compounded with them for mony and tooke a truce.

¶ Then he renued his people, and in sundrie places fought with the Danes in the first yere sixe tymes: By meane whereof his people were so sore minished and weakened, that he was forced to take peace with his enimies, vpon condicion that they should auoyde the Countries and Prouinces that he had dominion of.

¶ Vpon which agreement firmelye concluded, the Danes for a tyme voyded these Countries, and drewe towards London, and rested them about that coast the greatest parte of the yere folowing: and from thence to Lyndsey in robbing and spoyling the Townes and Villages as they went, and holding the common people in seruitude and bondage, and

so continued the space of two yeres and more. But before the thirde yere was ended, they went vnto Repindon, and there put downe or slue Burdredus then king of Mertia, and they delyuered the kingdome vnto a seruant of his named Colwolphus, vpon condition that he should kepe it to their vse. And then they besieged a towne thereby called Hambourgh, and assaulted it right sharply. After the which assault the inhabitaunts of that Towne of Hambourgh fled vnto Winchester. Fabian. But this storie in all pointes agreeth neyther with Huntyngdon, nor the Aucthor of the Flowres of stories and other auncient Wryters. Colwolph.

¶ Then the king made againe peace with the Danes, as he had done oftentymes before, and in trust thereof he roade with the fewer people, whereof the Danes hauing knowledge, layde bushementes for him, and set so nere him, that they slue a great part of his companie, in an euening as he rode towarde Winchester. But Polodore wryteth, that this was done in a Manour of the kinges not farre from London, whether the kinge came at that tyme to recreate himselfe with hunting.

¶ And for this treason, Alured was sore amoued against them, and in as secrete maner as he might, he assembled a chosen companie of knightes, and Souldiours, and as Guydo sayth, fell vpon them sodeynlye and distressed a great number of them, and left them not til he had chased them vnto Chester, or as some say to Exceter, and there kept the Danes so short, that he constreyned them to geue to him pledges to kepe the peace, and to dwell no lenger there then they could prouide shipping to sayle into Denmarke. The Danes distressed.

¶ After the which agreement, the king returned to Mertia, or middle England. And for that he heard that Colwolphus was dead, to whome the Danes had taken that Lordship to keepe, he therefore seased that Kingdome and ioyned it to his awne. By reason whereof the kingdome of Mertia surceased, which had continued from their first king named Penda vntill ỳ time. Penda.

¶ And in the fift yere of the reigne of Alured, the Danes (as affirmeth *Polichronicon*) sayled from Werham toward Excetor, in the which iourney they lost. C. x. of theyr small shippes by a tempest on the Sea: But some of them remayned and occupyed the kinges towne of Chipnam, and the countrey thereabout, and chased the Anglis and put them to flight, or made them as subiectes vnto them. And so sore their power encreased, that the Anglis lost and decayed dayly and they preuayled the more a great deale, by reason of the landing of a Prince of the Danes, called Gytrus, which was named king of Denmarke. Gytrus.

¶ King Alured beyng thus ouercome with a multitude of enemies, did lead an vncerteyne, troublesome and vnquiet lyfe, and hauing very fewe folkes about him would walke about in the Wood Countrye of Sommersetshire, and had skant to liue withall, but lyued of suche as he and his people could get by hunting and fishing. A poore lyfe of a king.

¶ How be it, at the length he was well comforted, and shewed him selfe more at large, so that dayly resorted to him men of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Hampshire, vntill that he was well and strongly furnished. Then as sayth a wryter called William of Malmesburye *de Regibus*, the king put himselfe in a great ieoperdie: for he put on him the garment of a Minstrell, and with his Instrument of Musicke he entered the tentes and Pauilions of the Danes, and in shewing to them his pastime, with ieastes and songes, he espied all their slouth and idlenesse, and also heard much of their counsayle, and after returned againe vnto his company, and tolde to them all the maner of the Danes. A straunge enterprice of a king.

¶ Then the king with a chosen companie fell vpon them by night, and distressed, and slue of them a great multitude, & chased them from that coast. And when he had thus chased the Danes, by counsayle of his Knightes, he buylded there a Tower, and named it Edeling, that is to say, a Tower of noble men: Out of the which Tower he and his souldiours made many assaultes vpon their enemies and did to them much griefe and domage, and at the last clerely aduoyded the Countrie of them betwene that and Selwoodes. Edelyng.

¶ This Edeling standeth in a greene Maresse or Moore, so that men can not come at

it:

it without Ship, or Boate, and it conteyneth no great ground, but yet therin is Venison & other wilde beastes, and foule, & fish great plenty.

¶ Thus king Alured dayly pursued his enemies, by the helpe of God and his Subiectes, who heering of his victories and manfull deedes, drewe to him continually out of all Coastes: By whose power & strength he helde the Danes so short, that he wanne from them Winchester, and many other good Townes, and compelled them at the last to sue for peace, the which was concluded vpon certeyne conditions, whereof one and the Principall was, that theyr king named as before is sayde, Gytrus, shoulde be Christened, and a certeyne of his Dukes with him. And for that the king would haue the Danes banished out of the West partes of Englande, he graunted to him East Anglia, to abide and dwell in.

Peace taken with the Danes.

The Danes christened.

¶ Then this Prince of Danes, according to the couenauntes, was christened at Winchester, (or as Mathew of Westminster sayth, at a place called Alre, not farre from Edeling aforesayde) and. xxx. of the greatest of his Dukes with him. And to the Danish Prince, king Alurede was Godfather at the Font stone, & named him Athelstane. And after he had a season feasted the sayd Danes, he according to his promes gaue vnto their king the Countrie of East Anglia, which then conteyned, Norffolke and Suffolke, and a part of Cambridgeshire. And also, as sayth *Polichronicon*, he graunted to the Danes that where christened, the Countrey of Northumberlande. And the other that would not be christened departed the land, and sayled into France, where they rested them with their cosyns and kinsmen, and at those dayes they wasted and spoyled the Country of Fraunce in most despitefull maner.

Athelstane.

¶ When this Danishe king Athelstane, had the possession of the Countries aboue mencioned, then were all such Anglis, as inhabited there vnder his obedience. And albeit that he helde the sayde Prouynce as in fee of the king, and promised to dwell there as his liege man, yet that promise notwithstanding, he continued lyke a Tyraunt, by the terme of. xj. yeres full, and in the. xij. yere he dyed.

¶ About the. xv. yere of the reigne of Alured, the Danes which before as ye haue heard, sayled into Fraunce, returned nowe againe into England, and landed in Kent, and at the last came to Rochester, and besieged that Citie, and lay there so long, that they builded a Tower of Tymber, and not of Stone, against the gates of the Citie. But by the strength of the Citezens that tower was destroyed, and the Citie defended vntill king Alured reskewed them. The which had made such purueyaunce for the distressing of them by water, and land, that they were so nere trapped, that for feare they left their Horses behinde them, and fled to their Shippes by night. But when the king was thereof ware, he sent after them, and tooke. xvj. of their Shippes, and slue many of the sayde Danes. After this iourney the king returned to London and repayred certeyn places of the same, which the Danes had hurt & febled.

¶ And in the. xxj. yere of the reigne of this king, the Danes landed in foure places of this Realme, that is to say, in the East England, & the North, and in the West in two places. But by reason the king before their landing had warning of the death of Athelstone the Danishe king of East England, and of other complaintes of the Danes, he therefore went thether himselfe, and in the tyme of his there beyng, the aforesayd newes came to him.

Athelstane dead.

¶ And so soone as heard thereof, and that some of the Danes were landed in that coast, and knewe well that the further that they drewe into those partes, the more they shoulde be ayded and strengthened: he therfore sent messengers in all hast vnto Etheldred Erle or Duke of Mertia and the borderers thereabout, to make resistaunce against the Danes which landed in the west. And that done, the king sped him towarde his enemies and set on them so egerly and sharpely, that in the ende he droue them out of East Anglia. And then they landed in Kent, whether also the king and his people folowed, and likewise draue them from thence. Howbeit, of anye speciall fight or battaile, authours make no mention.

Ethelred.

mention. After this againe the Danes tooke shipping and sayled into Northwales, and there robbed and spoyled the Britons, and from thence returned by Sea into Est England, and there rested them, for so much as the king was then gone westwarde.

¶ In this meane tyme, the aforesayd Danes had wonne the Towne of Chester, but the Countries adioinyng therevnto, came so sore and so thicke vpon them, that the Danes were compelled to keepe them within the sayde Towne or Citie, and to defende themselues therein as well as they coulde. But their holding and keeping of that Towne continued so long, that they were compelled to eate their Horsses for hunger. And at the last by apointment they gaue ouer the Towne, and went thence to Northumberland.

¶ And in the while that the king with his hoste sped him thetherward, they leauing their strong holdes & Castels garnished with men and victuall, tooke againe shipping, and fet their course in such wise that they landed in Sussex, and so came to the Towne of Lewes, and from thence toward London and they builded a Tower or Castell nere vnto the Ryuer of Lewes. But the Londoners hearing of their doings, made out a certaine number of men of armes, who hauing the ayde of the Countrie, put the Danes from that Tower, and afterward did beate it downe to the grounde. Londiners.

¶ And shortly after, the king came downe thether, and for that he thought that the sayde Ryuer would be a meane to bring enemies eftsones into that Countrie, therefore he commaunded the streame to be deuyded into dyuers streames, so that by reason thereof, where a Ship might haue sayled in tyme passed, then a little Boate might scantly rowe. And now by reason of the presence of the king, the Danes were enforced to flie and to auoyde that Countrie, and from thence tooke againe their way toward Wales, and kept along the Ryuer of Seuerne, and vpon the border thereof they builded them a Castell nere vnto Wales, and so rested them there for a time. And three yeres after this land was vexed with three maner of plagues, the one was warre with the Danes, the other was death and pestilence of men, and the thirde Moreyn of Cattell. The which troubles & aduersities notwithstanding, the king honourably and valiauntly resisted his enimies, and gaue God hartye thankes whatseouer came, and susteyned it with great humilitie & pacience. Three great plagues, warre, pestilence moreyn of Cattell.

¶ And finally, this martiall Prince continuing in all prowes and vertue, at the last dyed, when he had ruled this lande. xxviij. yeres, and first was buried at Wilton, and after certaine yeres remoued and caryed vnto Winchester, leauing after him a sonne named Edward the Elder, for the other brother called Egelward dyed before his father.

EThus reigned in Scotlande two yeres, he was so swift that in running, he coulde ouertake a Harte or Greyhounde. 876 — 5

GRegour reigned in Scotland. xviij. yeres. This was a sage, wise, and puyssaunt Prince, and a man of great prowes. He recouered Fiffe and Louthian, & the countries that were taken from the Scottes, by the Danes and other enimies, he also droue the Danes out of Northumberland (as affirmeth the Scottish history) and made that Prouince tributarie to him: he tooke from the Briteyns Chumber and westmerlande, and vanquished and subdued the Irishmen. 878 — 7

DOnald the. vj. reigned in Scotland. xj. yeres. He made a lawe, that all men that did forsweare themselues, or spake of the Deuill, should be burned in the lips with a hoate Iron. 894 — 23

EDward surnamed the Elder, the sonne of Alured began after his father to gouerne the Realme of England. This man was not so well learned as was his father, but in honour, fame, and martiall prowes, he was nothing inferiour. Howbeit, Wylliam of Malmesbury in the. xiij. Chapter and second booke of the story of Kinges, affirmeth that he was excelently learned, and folowing the diligence of his father king Alphrede, caused his base sonne called Ethelstane, who afterwards succeded him, to be well instructed in the Latyn tongue. He was also very profitable to the common weale in building and repayring many 901 — 1 This was Edward the Martir.

Castels, Townes, and Cities, which were rased and broken by the Danes, he adioyned to his Lordship all this lande, sauing only Northumberland, which was possessed of the Danes. By his first wyfe he had a sonne named Ethelstane the which was king after him. But the Authour of the flowers of Histories sayth, that he begat Ethelstane of a Concubine named Egwine. By his second wyfe he had two sonnes, Edredus, and Edwynus, and vij. daughters. And of the thirde wife, he receyued two sonnes, Edmond, and Edred, and two daughters, Edburga, and Edgina.

Ethelstanesonne of king Edward.

Edredus. Edwynus.

¶ The first of these three wyues was called Edwyna, the second Edgina, and the thirde Ethleswida. Of the aforenamed seuen daughters, which he had by his second wife, one named Alunda, was maryed to the first Otto the Emperor, and another named Algina, was maried to Charles the Simple, king of west France, & the yongest of his daughters as sayth Reynulph, he wedded vnto Lewes king of Guyan, but hereof speaketh nothing the Frenche Chronicle. He set his sonnes to schoole, and his daughters to wooll worke, taking example of Charles the Conquerour.

Alunda. Algina. Charles the simple king of west France. Lewes king of Guyan.

¶ But because there is diuersitie among writers touching the names of his wiues and children, and also of the number of them, he that findeth fault with the Author whom I folow, may read Mathew of Westminster in the lyfe of Edward the sonne of Alphred, and Reynulph in his sixt booke, and fourth Chapter, and there he shall see howe, and wherein they disagree, and so try out what is most probable and lykely to be true: But yet that the reader may haue some present tryall hereof, I will shewe what the Aucthour called Mathew of Westminster, which compiled his story at the commaundement of Richard the seconde, wryteth hereof, whose wordes are these.

¶ King Edward sayth he, of his first wife named Egwina, begat his eldest or first borne sonne Ethelstane: of his wife Edgina he begat Edredus, Edwinus, and sixe daughters, of the which he maried one vnto the Emperor Otho, another to Charles, king of the west French men, & the third vnto Schitericus, Duke of Northumberland. Of his thirde wife named Ethelwitha, he begat Edmond and Eldred, which reigned both after Ethelstane. He begat also by the sayd thirde wife, two daughters, that is to say Edburga, which was professed a Nonne, and lyeth buried at Winchester, and Edgina the fayre, which maryed with Lewes king of Aquitane. But Polidore agreeth not herewith, but sayth much otherwise.

¶ In the fift yere of his reigne, Clito Ethelwoldus a neere kinsman of his (for he was Cosyn germaine vnto him on the fathers syde, but as Polidore sayth his brother) rebelled against him, and occupied the towne of Winborne besydes Bathe, and tooke thence by force a Nonne thinking to marry her, and went thence vnto the Danes dwelling in Northumberland, and prouoked them to ryse against king Edwarde. But the king pursued him so sharpely, that he constrayned him to leaue that Countrie, and so he sayled into Fraunce, and left the Nonne behynde him, the which the king caused to be restored againe to the house that she was taken from.

Clito Ethelwoldus.

Winborne beside Bathe.

The next yere folowing, the sayd Clito with his companie landed in East England, and gathered to him the Danes of that Countrye, and with theyr ayd destroyed and pilled the Countrie about Crekinford, and Crickland. And then he passed the ryuer of Thames, and spoyled the land vnto Bradenestoke or rather Basingstoke, and so from thence returned againe into East Anglia aforesayde. But where myne Authour hath here Crekynfoord, and Cricklande, Reynulph hath Crecanefoorde otherwise called Kreklade, whome I do rather alowe.

Clito with his company landed in England. Crekinford. Crickland. Badenestok. Basingstoke.

¶ Now the king folowed still his enemies, and spoyled their landes which they helde by composition of him from the Ryuer of Owse, to the border of Saint Edmondes lande, commaunding the knightes of his hoste, that none should drag or tary after his armye, for feare least the enemies should snatch them vp. But the Kentish men trusting to much in their awne strength, came not away as the king commaunded: Wherefore the Danes wayting

ing theyr praye, fell vpon them by bushments, and slue a great number of them, wherewith the king was sore discontented.

¶ Sone after, both the Armies met, where after long and cruell fight, Clyto with a great number of the Danes were slaine, and the residue constreyned to flie, and to crie and seeke for peace, the which was graunted vnto them vpon certeyne condicions, namely, that they shoulde keepe them within the boundes to them limitted, and besydes that to pay yerely a certeine summe of money in way of Tribute. After which peace so stablished with them, the king repayred Cities, Townes, and Castels, that by the sayde Danes were battered and broken.

Clito slaine.

Peace vpon condicions.

¶ And in the. viij. yere of his reigne, king Edward repayred the walles and also the Citie of Chester. To the which were great helpers, Etheldredus Duke of Mertia, and Elfleda his wife, daughter of Alured, as before is shewed, and sister of this king Edwarde. And after the king builded a strong Castle at Hereforde in the edge of Wales. And he enlarged so greatly the Walles of Chester, that the Castell which before time was without the wall, is now within, and the sayde Citie of Chester is at thys day much more bewtified and enlarged.

Chester repayred.

Hereford Castle.

¶ In the. xij. yere of his reigne the Danes repentyng them of theyr couenantes before made, and mynding the breach of the same, assembled an hoste and met with the king in Staffordshire at a place called Toten hall, and soone after at Wodnes field: At which two places the king slue two kinges, two Earles, and many thousandes of the Danes that then occupyed the coūtrye of Northumberland. And soone after, dyed the noble man Etheldredus, Duke or Earle of Martia or middle England, after whose death, the king forsomuch as he had often proued her wisedome, tooke the rule of that countrie to his wife Elfleda (London onely excepted) the which he tooke vnder his awne rule.

Totten Hall.

Wodnes field.

Etheldredus. duke of Mertia. dead.

Elfled ruled Mertia.

¶ In the. xiij. yere of this king, a great nauie of Danes which in the time of Alured were driuen into fraunce nowe returned againe, and sayled about the west countrye, and landed in dyuerse places, and tooke prayes, and went to their Shippes againe. And at one tyme among other, they robbed and spoyled at a place called Irchinfielde, and tooke a Britishe Bishop, and caryed him to their shippes, and finally raunsomed him at. xl. pound. But assoone as king Edward had knowledge of their beyng in that place, he assembled his people and made towardes them by lande, and sent another armie by water to encounter with the Danes Shippes vpon the Sea: whereof the sayd Danes hauing knowledge, fled to Irelande, and by that meanes both escaped the king by land, and his nauie by Sea.

Danes sore vexed Briteyne.

Irchinfield.

¶ Then the king for the strengthening of that country made a Castell at the mouth of the water of Auene, and another Castle at Bokingham, and the thirde nere therevnto, that is to say, on eyther side of the Ryuer of Owse one. And after this he returned into Northampton shire, and Bedfordshire, and fought there with the Danes of those Countries, and at the length subdued them and their leader or Duke called Turketillus.

Auene water. Bokyngh̄ Castle.

¶ In the. xvij. yere of this king, Elfleda Lady of Mertia, gathered together her knightes: And where the Britons or Welshmen brake into the land about Brekenocke, she with her people withstoode them, and among other prisoners and prayes, tooke there the Queene of Welshmen.

¶ And the yere folowing, King Edward builded or newely reedefyed the Townes of Tocester, and Wigmore, and destroyed the Castell that the Danes had made at Temes foord. And the sayde yere the noble Ladye Elfleda wanne the Towne of Darby from the Danes, where they put her in suche aduenture, that foure knightes which were called the Gardians of her body were slaine fast by her.

Tocester. Wigmore. Temesfoord.

¶ And in the. xviij. yere of his reigne dyed that noble Princes Elfleda, in the Moneth of Iune, and was buryed in the Monasterye of Saint Peter, which her Lorde and shee before tyme had buylded within the Towne of Gloucester, which Monasterie was after throwne downe by the Danes.

¶ When Elfleda was dead, her daughter named Elswyna helde the Lordship of Mertia

for a season: But for that the king considered it to be a thing ouer chargeable for her gouernement, he therefore discharged her thereof, and ioyned it to his kingdome, but not all without some strife. For dyuerse Townes she kept of the king for a tyme, as Notyngham, Tomworth, Derby, and other, he supposing that the daughter would haue defended them, as the mother by her lyfe had done, but at the last they came all to the kinges subiection.

¶ When king Edward had reconciled the aforesayde Townes, he then builded a new Towne, right against the olde Towne of Nottingham, on the South syde of the Ryuer of Trent, and made a Bridge ouer the sayd Riuer betwene the sayde Townes. And as sayth Reynulph, the yere folowing in the sayd Citie or Towne of Nottingham, there were two kinges, that is to say of Scotland and Wales, that yelded themselues vnto king Edward. And sundry Aucthours, as Marian the Scot, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntington, and other, doth shew that this king Edward subdued the kings of Scotland, and of Combris, about the. ix. yere of his reigne. And of the sayde Authours it is also witnessed, that about the. xx. yere of the sayde Edwardes reigne, the sayd kinges of Scotlande and Combrys, chose king Edward for their chiefe Lorde and Patrone, which should be aboute the season before expressed.

King Edward possessed all Scotland.

¶ Then this noble Prince, after all thinges were set in order as aforesayde, he builded on the North parte and in the ende of Mertia, a Citie or Towne, and named it Thilwall, and strengthened it with knightes. And after he repayred the Citie of Manchester, which was sore defaced with the warres of the Danes. After which notable deedes by this puyssant prince finished, with the mariage of his children, and many other thinges which I passe ouer for length, this noble Prince sickened, and dyed when he had victoriously reigned ouer the greatest part of this lande. xxiiij. yeres, and was buried at Faringdon, leauyng after him dyuers sonnes, as is before rehersed, of the which Ethelstane was the eldest.

¶ Marion the Scot in hys Chronicle doth wryte that thys Edwarde subdued Constantine king of Scottes, which reigned in his tyme, and that he helde the Realme of Scotland vnder the obedience of the aforesayde king Edward, the space of. xxiij. yeres.

904 4 COnstantine the thirde of that name was ordeyned king of Scottes, and reigned. xl. yeres.

925 1 AThelstane, or Adelstane, the sonne of Edward the elder, after the death of his father tooke vpon him the gouernement of this Realme. He was a worthy Prince, valiant, and politique in all his actes and doinges.

¶ In the seconde yere of his reigne, for an vnitie and peace to be had betwene the king and the Danes of Northumberland, he maryed his sister to Sithricus their king, vpon promes that he would be Christened, the which he performed, but shortly after he put away his wyfe, and returned to Paganisme, and finally dyed miserably.

¶ And when he had thus accorded with the Danes of Northumberland, soone after he made subiect to him Constantine king of Scottes, and the whole Realme of Scotland at Broningfielde, where also he discomfited the Danes, & slue Malcolme Deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots, with. xx. thousand Scottes, in the which battayle the Scottes confesse to haue lost more people than were remembred in any age before. And this Athelstane folowed this his good lucke throughout all Scotland, and wholly subdued it, and beyng in possession of it, gaue land there lyng in Annandale by his dede, the Copie wherof foloweth. *I King Athelstane, geues vnto Paulan, Oddam and Roddam, as good and as fayre, as euer they mine were, and thereto witnesse Mawde my wife.* By which course wordes, not onely appereth the plaine simplicitie of mennes doyngs in those dayes, but also proue fullye that he was then seazed of the whole Realme of Scotland.

Constantine Kynge of Scottes.

Scotlande conquered.

¶ And

¶ And after this conquest, the sayde Constantine so humbled himselfe vnto the King, that he restored him to his former dignitie. Wherefore, the sayde Constantine sayde in the prayse of a king, *that it was more honour to make a king than to be a king.* The right honour of a King.

¶ It is also witnessed by Reynulph, and other, that this Athelstane, or Adelstane, should marry one of his sisters named Edith vnto Otho the first of that name Emperour of Almaine, and (as some wryte) receyued from him many precious Iewelles: But of this speaketh nothing the Chronicles of the Romaynes. Howbeit, it is shewed there, that the aforesayde Otho had a wyfe named Alunda, which as before is sayde in the story of King Edward the elder, might be the daughter of the sayd Edward, & of Edgina his second wife, and sister vnto this king Athelstane. But Vincencius sayth, that Henry Duke of Saxony, which was father vnto the first Otho, sent vnto Athelstane, requiring of him his sister to marry vnto his sonne Otto: By which reason it maye be truely sayde that Otho or Otto maryed the eldest sister of Athelstane, but not Edith. Otho Emperour of Almaine.

Of the aforesayd Iewels sent by Otto, one was a precious vessell of stone called Onychites, which was of such cleerenesse and also so finely and artificially wrought, that it appered to mans sight that grene corne had growne within it, and moued and waued as corne doth standing in the field: Moreouer in it appered Vynes burging and bearing of fruite, and men also to fight, mouing and stirring. He also receiued the great Constantines swoord, wherein was grauen in great letters of Golde the name of the owner: and the hiltes thereof were couered with great plates of Golde, and one of the Nayles was fastened to the Crosse of the sayde sword, that crucified and nayled Christ to the Crosse. *Fabian.* But Reynulph sayth otherwise. He also receyued the Speare of Charles the great, which after the opinion of some Wryters, was the Speare wherewith Longeus opened Christes side. And the Baner of Saint Morice, with a part of the holye Crosse, and a parte of the Crowne of Thorne that our Sauiour Christ was crowned with. Of the which Iewels, king Ethelstane gaue part vnto S. Swithines of Winchester, and some he gaue vnto the Abbey of Malmesbury. And some write that this Athelstane was the first annointed king at his coronation. *Fabian.* Onychytes a precious stone, of great value. Athelstane ye first annoynted king of Briteyn.

¶ Now it followeth in the Historie, how Constantyne king of Scottes, for all his humilitie, and for all the princely fauour that he had shewed vnto him by king Athelstane, forgetting altogither both fayth and loyaltie, as the maner and custome of the Scottes is, reuolted and brake couenaunt wyth the king. Wherefore king Athelstane assembled his knights and power, and made towarde Scotlande, and in his waye he turned to the Towne named Saint Iohns of Beuerley and offered there his knyfe vpon the Altare saiyng, that if he returned with victorie, he wouldé redeeme his knyfe with a noble price, and that being done, he marched forward on his iourney, and in conclusion, discomfited the Scottes, and brought them againe into due subiectiō. And after according to the promise before made, he returned to Yorke, and so to Beuerley, where he redeemed his knife worthily as before he had promised by endowment and great priuileges graunted vnto that towne.

¶ And Reynulph in the vj. Booke, and vj. Chapter, sayeth that king Athelstane after he had subdued the Scottes being then with his Lordes and familiers, neere vnto the Castle of Dunbarre, prayed to God that in that Countrie he might leaue some remembrance or token, that those that were then liuyng, and also such as should come after, might know that the Scots by right should be subiects to Englishmen. And forthwith he toke his sword in hande and smote vpon a great stone standing neere vnto the sayde Castel, with which stroke the stone did cleaue an Elle in length, which in the tyme of Edward the third was there to be seene, as Fabian sayeth. Ye may beléeue this if ye will.

¶ Ye haue heard before, that King Athelstane, after the death of Sithericus king of Northumberland, seased that lande or Prouynce into his awne hande, and put out his sonne: which after allyed himselfe with Constantine king of the Scottes and maryed his daughter. By whose prouocation and stirring, he gathered a company of Danes, Scottes, and

and other, and entered the mouth of Humber with a strong Nauye. Whereof king Athelstane when he had knowledge, did in all goodly haste prepare his armie, and at length met with him and his people, at a place called Brimford, where Athelstane obteyned a great and notable victorie. For after the king by the helpe of God had defended the subtile assault made vpon him by night by his enemies, he in the morning by the helpe of his brother Edmond, and Oddo the Archbishop chased his sayd enemies, and slue there Constantine king of Scottes, and fiue petye, or vnder kinges, and. xij. Dukes, with the greatest part of all the straungers that were there gathered at that time: The which battaile should be done by the meaning of the sayd Reynulph, about ỹ last yere of his reigne.

Constantine kinge of Scottes slain.

¶ It is also written of dyuerse Aucthours, that the king after this victorye, subdued also the North Briteynes that dwelled at Hereford, and there about, and compelled them to pay him yerely three hundred pound of Siluer. xxv.C. head of Neate, and. xx. pound in Golde. But Guido sayth, that the king caused at Hereford Citie, to come before him all the rulers of the North Briteyn, and there had with them such communication, that he forced them to graunt vnto him as a yerely tribute, xx. pound of Golde, three hundred pound of Siluer, and. xxv.C. heade of Neate, with Dogges, and Hawkes to a certeyne number. After which victories, he went vnto Exeter, and repayred it and the walles thereof sufficiently.

Tribute.

Iohn Lydgate.

¶ Ihon Lidgate a Monke sometyme of Saint Edmondes bury, made a goodly treatise of this King Athelstane: shewing that he was in so great persecution of the Danes, that he was constrayned to call at Winchester a great counsayle of his Lordes. Where, after long debating of the matter, and dyuerse Ambassades and messages sent about by the king, and the Danes: It was firmely concluded, that the king should prouide him a Champion to fight with Colybrond or Colbrond, a Gyaunt and Dane, which the Danes had appoynted for theyr Chiefteyne. Wherefore the king in searching through his landes for such a knight, and none could finde, was in great daunger and distresse of heauinesse. And forsomuch as he well perceyued, that mannes power fayled, he by the aduice of his Lordes Spirituall, and Temporall, fell to fasting and prayer, and continued therein by a certeyne of tyme wyth perfect and charitable deuotion.

Colbrond a Giant which was a Dane.

¶ In the tyme of which sayd abstinence, a vision was shewed vnto Athelstane, comforting him, and also commaunding him, that earely vpon the next morning, he should stande at the North gate of the Citie of Winchester, and there he should finde amongest the number of the poore people, a man clothed in Palmers wede whome he should choose for his Champion.

This man was Guy of Warwike.

¶ After which vision thus to him shewed, he did according, and founde a man of goodly stature, & somedeale striken in age, and apparelled as he was tolde in the vision. Wherof the king first gaue vnto God his heartie thankes, and after made request to this man, that he would take vpon him this Combate for the defence of the lande: And the man layd for himselfe many causes and considerations, as well for his age as otherwise, that he ought to be hold excused to take vpon him such an enterprice. Howbeit, after much discoursing at the last he graunted the king to fulfill his request and commaundcment.

¶ And at the day assigned and appoynted, he met in the fielde with the aforenamed Gyant, named Colbrond without the Gate of the Citie in a Medowe, called Hide Mede, where betweene them two was foughten a long and cruell fight, so that the king was in great feare of his Champion. But finally by the helpe of God, the man wonne the honour of that fight, and slue that Gyant that was of exceding stature, & also of great and passing strength.

Hide Mede beside Winchester. Colbrand the Giaunt slain by Guy of Warwike.

¶ Which victorie by the man thus obteyned, with the helpe and fauour of God: the king then with his Baronny fet the Man into the Citie of Winchester with solempne Procession, & conueyed him vnto the Cathedrall Church of the same, where he thanked God

God with great deuotion, and offered there the Axe with the which he had slaine the Danes Champion. After which oblation with due reuerence, and other obseruaunces by him and other finished: The king caused him to be conueyed vnto his Court, where he taryed that night with much entreatye. And in the morning earely he made such meanes that he would needes depart, and that in the same apparell that he came thether. When the king was aduertised that this man would so hastely depart, whome he entended to haue holden with him in his Court, and to haue endowed him with riche possessions: He commaunded him to be brought vnto his presence. Guy of Warwicks Axe.

¶ And when he sawe that he could not cause him to tary, he requyred him to shew vnto him his name: wherof also he besought the king to pardon him. Wherfore the king considering his hasty departing, with many other thinges in him to be considered, was then the more desyrous to haue of him some knowledge. And therfore the king was earnest in his desyre and request, and would haue no nay, but that he should declare his name: Then the man perceiuyng that without the kinges displeasure he could not depart without disclosing of his name, sayde, he might not discouer his name within the walles of the Citie, without the offence of his conscience.

¶ Wherfore, the king graunted to go with him vntill he were in the brode fieldes: Vpon which graunt thus made, the king commaunded dyuerse great giftes to be to him presented, which all he vtterly refused. Shortly to conclude, the king with a certeyne of his Lordes conueyed this sayde man vnto the Townes ende: And when he was thether come, he there requyred him of the performance of his promes. And then the man kneling on his knee, besought the king of his especiall grace, that he woulde put apart his Lordes and other, so that he might shewe his name vnto him onely.

¶ Which beyng done, he besought him that he would kepe his name secret for the space of. xxiiij. houres: the which the king graunted vnto him, and then he sayd, that he was his naturall liege man, and subiect, and that his name was Guy of Warwike. Of which tidynges the king was very ioyous, and offered him then of newe, many riche rewardes and giftes: But all was in vaine, for he would receyue nothing, so that the king and he lastly departed with weping eyen. And after the sayd Guy of Warwicke purchased in a Wildernesse a lodging in an Hermitage, where, by the terme of two yeres and more, he dwelled and kept an hard life. And he heering that Dame Felice his awne wife fed dayly. xiij. poore men for Christes sake, he went thether sondry tymes, and fet there his Almose, his sayde wife then liyng at the Castell of Warwike, not knowyng of any man what he was, vntill at the last, he was visited with sore sicknesse, and that he knewe well he should dye: Wherefore he sent his wedding ring vnto his wife, requyring her in all the haste to come and speake with him, which shee obeyed in humble wise, and sped her vnto the sayde Hermitage with all womanly diligence, and founde him dead at her comming, whome shee besprent with many a salt teare. And as shee was enformed of the Messenger, at the tyme when he dyed, he determined to be buryed in the same place, and euen there she did bury him. And moreouer, as sayth the aforesayde Aucthour, he admonished his sayd wyfe, by the sayd messenger, that she should prouide, for she should die within. xv. dayes next after: which shee also obeyed, and made such prouision that shee was buried in the same place. All which matter the sayd Ihon Lydgate affirmeth, that he tooke out of a certeine booke of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, otherwise called *Siluester Giraldus*, which rote many thinges of the Princes of Englande, as Reynulph also and others doe witnesse. Guy of Warwick. Guy of Warwike dead.

¶ All which sayd treatise is shewed at length in meter of. viij. staues, by the diligent labour of the sayde Jhon Lidgate, the which I haue here omitted for breuitie sake. This Athelstane by the recorde of sundrie wryters, brought againe this land into one Monarchy, and reigned as king thereof. xvj. yeres, and was buried at the Monastery of Malmesbury, leauyng after him no childe, & therefore the rule of this land fell vnto Edmond his brother.

940 EDmond the brother of Athelstane and sonne of Edwarde the Elder, reigned next after his brother.

Danes rebelled. ¶ In the first yere of his reigne, the Danes of Northumberlande rebelled against him: And for to make their partie the stronger, they sent for a Prince of the Danes named Aulaffe, then being in Irelande, the which brought with him another prince or ruler of ỹ Danes named Reignald, with a great hoste of Danes and other straung Nations, and entered the foresayd Countrie, and warred vpon the next borders, in wasting and spoilyng the inhabitaunts of the same.

Reignald a Captaine of the Danes.

¶ When king Edmond had knowledge hereof, anone he assembled hys people, and sped him towarde the Countrie, and at the last fought with the sayde two Princes of the Danes, and chased them from Towne to Towne, vntill he forced them with all their company of straunge Nations to forsake vtterly that Prouince, and further he did beate downe the Countrie of Comberlande, that had much fauoured and ayded the sayde enimies against him, and tooke therein great prayes, and deuyded the spoyle amongst his knights. And that done, eyther for the good seruice that Malcolyne king of Scotlande had in his voyage done vnto the king, or for the truth & allegeance that he in tyme following should beare vnto him, or for both, the king gaue there to the sayde Malcolyn the Countrie of Comberland, and seased the residue of the Lordship of Northumberlande, and ioyned it vnto his awne kingdome. But yet the Danes returned againe in the time of Edred the next king, as after shall be shewed, so that as yet the ende of his kingdome, is not to be accompted. But Polidore alloweth not them that ascribe the vanquishing of the Northumbers vnto this Edmond, affirming that to haue beene Athelstanes deede, who also subdued the Scottes: and so as it seemeth is of opinion that the kingdome of the Northumbers, ended in the sayde Athelstanes tyme.

Malcolyne king of the Scottes had for his seruice done to King Edmond, geuen vnto him the Countrie of Comberland.

¶ This king Edmond had a noble woman to his wyfe named Elgina, of whome he receyued two sonnes, named Edwyn and Edgar.

Elgina the wife of king Edmond.

¶ This king Edmond, as sayeth Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon, had warre oftentymes with the Danes, who held many good Townes in middle England, as Lyncoln, Nottyngham, Darby, Stafford, and Leyceter, the which by his knightly manhood, he wanne from them, and he also amended many things within the Realme that had beene long time out of frame, by meane of the Danes: and as Polydore sayth, established many good lawes very profitable for the common wealth. Of the ende and death of this Edmond, there are diuers opinions, for Marianus the Scot sayeth, that while this king Edmond endeuoured himselfe to saue his Sewer from his enemy, that would haue slain him in a towne or place called Pulkre Church, the king in parting of the Fray, was wounded to death, and dyed shortly after.

King Edmond slain.

¶ But Wyliam of Malmesbury *de Regibus* sayth, that the king being at a Feast at the foresayde Towne or place, vpon the day of Saint Augustine, espyed a Felon, sitting in the Hall named Leof, which he before tyme for his Felony had exiled, and therefore he lept ouer the table and plucked that theefe by the heare of the head to the ground. In which doing the sayde Felon, with a knife wounded the king to death, and also with the same knife wounded many other of the kings seruaunts, and at length was himselfe all to hewen in peeces. *Fabian.* If this be true, it should seeme that kings at those dayes were neyther so honourably garded nor accompanyed, not yet kept so princely estate, as they now vse.

A straunge tale of the death of a king.

¶ But which of these two meanes was vsed in the kings death, it appereth not certainely, but all wryters agree that he dyed when he had reigned. vj. yeres and more, and was buried at Glascenbury, the which before he had sumpteously repayred, and left after him two yong sonnes, as before is remembred Edwyn, and Edgar, but for that they were to yong to rule the land, therefore the rule thereof was committed to Edredus their Vncle, and brother to their father.

Edwyn. Edgar.

MAcolme the first and the sonne of Constantine reigned King of Scottes xv. yeres, and a tthe last was slaine by conspiracy of certaine Traytors. 944 5

ELdred or Edred the brother of Edmond and sonne of Edward the elder, was made king, for ỹ the children of king Edmond were thought to yong to gouerne. 946 1

This Eldred was annointed king of Oddo or Otho Archbishop of Cantorburie, in the Towne of Kingstone vpon Tamys, and soone after, he warred vpon the Danes that then were entered into Northumberland (or after some writers, that then were there dwelling vnder tribute of the king) subdued before of Edmond his brother, and bet them downe, and caused them to holde and obey vnto their former couenaunts. And the Scottes then also began to varie, but he brought them vnto due obedience. Rebellio of the Danes.

¶ After a certaine terme, the Danes of Northumberlande, which euer continued full of guyle and doublenesse, not being content to holde and keepe the couenaunts before made and promised vnto Edred the king, called vnto them their olde accessaryes and helpers, and bereued from the kings subiects the Citie of Yorke and other strong Townes and Castels, to the great hurte and anoyance of the Countrie, and vtter displeasure of the king. Yorke taken by ỹ Danes.

¶ Wherefore, he being therof aduertised, in goodly and conuenient haste, assembled his people, and sped him thether, and destroyed much of the land. And in that furie brent the Abbay of Rypon, which the Danes kept for a Fortresse and strength, and wanne from them muche of their strengthes which they before had wonne, and brought them again vnder his subiection. Rypon Abbey brent.

¶ When this king Edred had thus sped his iourney and was returning into England, nothing suspecting the sayde Danes, a company of them by the exciting of Hircus a king or prince of the Danes, then folowed the kings hoste, and before he came at Yorke set vpon the kings rereward, and destroyed and slue many a man. For the which doing the king was sore amooued, and turned his people againe, entending to haue destroyed the Countrie vtterly. Danes hauing to their Capitaine one named Hircus did again rebell.

¶ Wherof the Danes beyng ware, so lowly meked themselues vnto him, and presented vnto him such giftes, that the king refrayned of that great yre that he purposed to them. But amongest other Articles that he bound them vnto, one was, that they should banish and vtterly refuse their foresaid Duke or king called Hercus: which thing with dyuers and many other they graunted and firmely bound themselues to keepe, as well by hostages taken, as by other surety, and the king returned into England, and ioyned this kingdome to his other. So that here is reconed the ende of this kingdome, which endured iiij. C. ix. yeres. Danes that inhabited Northumberland were againe ouercome and put from gouernment for euer.

¶ In the same yere that the king had thus subdued the Danes, a strong sicknesse tooke him, so that he dyed, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, in the xxviij. yere of his age, & when he had reigned. x. yeres.

¶ Polidore sayth, that when he had quieted the Realme, and vanquished his enemies, he became a great benefactor vnto religious houses, but specially vnto the Abbey of Abindon, who thinking to please God therby, & to gratefy Ethelnoldus then Abbot there accompted for a very holy man, and at the request of his mother Edgina, repayred the same Abbey, first founded by king Iua, as before is said, and at that season sore decaied, and in maner destroyed.

EDwyn the eldest sonne of Edmond, brother of Athelstane, tooke on him the gouernement of this Realme. 955 4

¶ This Edwyn was crowned at Kingstone beside London of the Archebishop of Cantorbury: The which selfe daye of his Coronacion, brake sodeynly from his Lordes, and entered into a secrete Chamber, and there occupyed himselfe sinfully, and rauished another mannes wife, beyng his nere kinswoman, whose husband as one Aucthour doth testifie, the king had caused to be slaine before, for that he would haue the vnlawfull vse of her bewtie, and not considering the allyaunce of affinite & kyndred betwene them. Some Kingstone or kings towne.

write that he committed the sayd Act in maner openly lyke a brute Beast, and Gaydo sayth that Edwyn contrary to the lawes of the Churche, helde a woman as his Concubine. Wherefore Dunstone who a little before was was made Abbot of Clastonbury, first monished him of his fault, and afterwardes accused him vnto Oddo Archebishop of Cantorbury, by whose power the kinge was caused to refuse and forsake the company of the woman. For the which Edwyn bare great malice vnto Dunstone, and at length by his extort power, he banyshed him the lande, and forced him for a season to kepe himselfe in Flaunders. And for the malice that he bare towarde him, he did much displeasure to all the Monkes of England, by banishment, and otherwise. Insomuch, that at Malmesbury he put out the Monkes, and set in secular priestes in their steede. *Fabian.*

Dunstone banished.

¶ But Mathew of Westminster wryteth, that Edwyn had to his Paramoure, the daughter of a noble woman of the Realme, and the mother also at his commaundement. And that on the day of his Coronation, he arose sodeynly from the Table, as he was feasting with his Lordes and Nobles, and departed vnto his preuy Chamber, where those two gentlewomen were, to the entent he might dally with them, and satisfie the sensuall appetite and beastlye pleasure of the body. The which fact of his, sore displeased all his sayde Nobles: and therefore they sent incontinent Dunstone vnto him, to perswade with him to returne againe, and to be mery with them at the table, who as he was by them commaunded, taking his kynsman Bishop Cynesius with him, entered into the kings Chamber where they found the Crowne of the Realme, all of glystering Golde very riche and bewtifull, plucked off his head and hurled after a retchelesse sorte on the ground a prety way from him: And the king himselfe tumbling in the dust betwixt the mother and the daughter, vnto whom the sayd Dunstone sayd on this wyse. My liege Lord, your Princes and Nobles haue sent vs vnto you, to besech you to returne againe vnto your Hall, where is a meete seate for your Royall person and estate, and there to solace your selfe, and to make mery with them, and then blamed the lewdenesse and folly of the Women: and perceyuing the King so vnwilling to aryse, he caught him by the hande, and so brought him backe againe with him vnto the feast Royall, storming and chafing like a mad man. After this one of the Harlotets called Algina rose vp in a great chafe and fume saiyng, how he was a rashe and a sawcie Messenger, that thus would presume to enter into the kinges preuie Chamber, not beyng called. And so from thence foorth, the same woman neuer ceassed to persecute Dunstone, till she had brought him into the kinges deadly hatered, and highe displeasure: And it foloweth in the same Writer, howe by the consent of King Edwyn after she had spoyled his Abbey of all his mouables, shee caused him at length to be banished out of the Realme by the kinges commaundement. After the which banishment, he was faine to flie into Fraunce for his saufegard, during the tyme of his sayde exile. And howe there were certeyn tormentors sent beyond the Seas to haue put out his eyes, if they could haue met with hym.

¶ It is read of him, that he tooke such precious Jewels as Athelstane had receyued before from Otho the Emperour, geuen vnto Winchester and Malmesbury, and gaue them vnto alyauntes and straungers. And thus was he not onely vnkinde to Monkes, but also vsed such tyrannie, and other vnlawfull meanes to his subiectes, that lastly they abhorring his wicked lyfe, and detestable maners, rebelled against him, and specially the inhabitantes of the Countrye of Mertia, or middle Englande, and also the Northumbers and put him clerely from all kingly honour and dignitie, the which deposition greued him so much that he died for sorow, when he had reigned foure yeres, and was buried at winchester, leauing none heyre of his body, and therefore the rule of the land fell vnto Edgar his yonger brother.

King Edwyn deposed.

959 EDgar, the seconde sonne of Edmond, and brother of Edwyn the last king, beyng of the Age of. xv. yeres, tooke vpon him the rule of this Realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he called home Dunstone that before was exiled of king Edwyn. Then he made

1 Dunstone

Dunstone that was Abbot of Glascenbury, Bishop of Worceter, and he ioyned and vnited together all the Prouinces and Lordships of England, and made them one Monarchie, and one Kingdome. King Edgar vnited all the prouinces of this realme into one kingdome, where before they were deuided into seuen kingdomes.

¶ In many places he put away Clerkes and Priestes that liued viciously, or as some wryte that had wyues, and set there for them Monkes. And as sayth Guydo, Reynulph and other, he buylded and repayred to the number of. xl. houses of Religion, whereof Abyndon, Peterborough, Thorney, Ramsey, & Wilton were perceil of them. And at Winchester, he put in Monkes, where before were maryed Priestes.

¶ The cause wherfore (as sayth Fabian) was, for so much as the Priestes were negligent in the deuyne seruice, and set Vicars in their places, while they liued at theyr pleasure in other places, and spent the Patrimonie of the Church after their sensuall will.

¶ Then king Edgar gaue to the Vicars the lande that before longed to the Prebendaryes, trusting thereby that they would do their duetyes: But it was not long after, but that the sayd Vicars were as negligent as the other, wherfore the king aduoyded the Priestes and placed there Monkes, though some of his Prelates were not contented therewith.

¶ This Edgar kept such iustice and did so sharpe execution vpon Malefactors, that neuer before his dayes were vsed lesse felonyes or robberyes then was in his tyme. And to the entent that he would haue the rauenous beastes destroyed throughout his lande, he caused Ludallus Prince of Wales, to yelde to him yerely by way of Tribute three hundred Wolues. By meane whereof within foure yeres after, in Englande and Wales myght skantly be found one Wolfe alyue. Execution of iustice hath worthy commendation. The destruction of Wolues.

¶ Polidore here noteth that the Welshmen, which could neuer willingly abyde to be gouerned of the Englishe Nation, founde the meanes at the length to make themselues a Prince of their awne Nation, as in this kinges tyme they had to theyr Prin[illegible]nd gouernour Ludallus, and long tyme after dyuerse other in dyuerse kinges dayes, w[illegible]ere tributaries vnto the kinges of England: But when they first obteyned this benefi[illegible] sayde kinges, the sayde Polidore confesseth that he hath not found in any auncient Chronicle or autentike Wryter.

¶ It is written of sundrie Authours, that Kynadus king of Scottes despised Edgar, for that he was little of stature, whereof king Edgar beyng warned desyred the sayde Kynadus to dynner, and made to him good countenance. After which dyner ended, he tooke the sayde Kynadus by the arme, and so with him helde company vntill they came to the Fields: where being disseuered from their seruauntes: Edgar drewe from vnder his garment two swordes, and desyred Kynadus to take the choyce of them, and sayde vnto him, nowe thou hast good leasure to saye thy strength with mine, which before tyme thou hast so much despised: Nowe let vs proue which is more worthy to be subiect to other: It is not fitting for a Knight to make great boast at the boorde, and to doe little in the field. Kynadus king of Scottes. A chalenge made by Edgar vnto Kynadus the Scottishe King.

¶ When the Scottish king heard the king thus chalenge him, he remembred well his wordes before spoken, and perceyued that they were disclosed vnto Edgar, whereof being somewhat abashed, he answered so humbly and behaued him selfe so lowly and gently, and gaue vnto the king such pleasaunt wordes, that he forgaue the trespasse.

¶ This Edgar among other of his Politique deedes, vsed in the Somer tyme, to scoure the Sea with certaine Shippes of warre, and had a great number alwayes in a readynesse. And against the Winter, he prouided to lay vp the sayde Shippes in sure Hauens, and had readie in his awne seruice and in his Lordes, a certaine number of Souldiours that were alway ready to man the same, when the king had neede of them. And his Shipmasters were in wages with him throughout the yere, who euer attended vppon the Shippes, to see that nothing lacked that was necessarie. By meane wherof he kept his lande in great quiet from outward enimies. And in the Wynter he vsed to ryde ouer the lande, and to vnderstande how his officers intreated the people. And if any were ac- Edgar in Somer scoured the Sea with his shippes, and in Winter laid them vp.

cused of extorcion or other crymes, and that duely proued against them, he did vpon all such, sharpe correction.

¶ And for so much as in his dayes, great multitude of Danes dwelled in dyuers places of England, which vsed many vices, and specially great drinking, whereof ensued dronkennesse and many other vices, to the euill examples and hurtes of his commons and subiects: He therefore ordeyned certaine Cuppes with pinnes or nayles set in them, and ordeyned and made a law, that whatsoeuer person dranke past the marke at one draught, shoulde forfeyt a certaine payne: wherof the one halfe should fall to the accuser, and that other halfe to the ruler of the Borough or Towne that the offence was done in, where the same should be examyned and tryed.

A pollecie for the stay of Dronkards.

A good president for the making of penall lawes, and bestowing of the forfeytures.

¶ It is tolde of this Edgar by dyuers Authours, that he vpon a season being at Chester, entred the ryuer of Dee, and there sitting in a Boate, tooke the rule of the sterne, and caused. vij. Kinges, which Guydo calleth *Reguli*, that is small or vnder kings, and commaunded them to rowe him vp and downe the Ryuer, vnto Saint Ihons Church, which lately was an Abbey of black Monkes, and from thence to his awne Palace, in token, that he was Lorde and king of so many Prouynces.

King Edgar had vnder him seuen kings within this Realme.

¶ This Noble Edgar had two Wyues: By the first that was called Egelfleda the whyte, he had a sonne that was named Edward, who was after king, and slaine by treason as afterwards shall be shewed. And vpon his second Wyfe Elfrida or as the English Chronicle calleth her Estrild, he begat a sonne named Egelredus or Ethelredus, and after the Englishe Chronicle Eldred, which was king next after Edward the Martir, and of Wilfride, which of some is called a Nonne, he had a daughter named Edith, but shee was base and not in Wedlock. For as Guydo sayeth, this Wilfride, knowing that the king cast to her vnlawfull loue, put vpon her the habite of a Nonne, thinking thereby to withdrawe the kinges [illegible]e: But that notwithstanding, she was brought to the kings bed. For which dee[illegible] was greatly blamed of the Bishop Dunstane, and by him enioyned to doe there[illegible]n yeres penance. And the aforenamed Wilfride, after the childe borne, lyued [illegible]sly, as sayeth Fabian. Of her daughter Edith, it is read that at lawfull age she was at Wilton shorne a Nonne.

Ethelfleda the mother of Edward, and wyfe of Edgar.

Edith the daughter of Wilfride, which Wilfride was a Nonne and Concubyne to kinge Edgar.

¶ Edgar, thus ruling the lande after the death of his first wyfe Egelfleda, worde was brought to him of the bewtie of a yong Damsell named Elfrida, or Estrild, daughter of Orgarus Erle of Deuonshire: wherefore he sent a Knight of his Courte named Ethelwold, to espie whether the Mayde were of such bewtie, as shee was reported of, or not, charging him, if shee were so bewtifull, that then he should aske her to wyfe for him.

¶ But this Knight hauing sight of this Mayden, was so wounded with the darte of blinde Cupide, that he forgate his truth and allegeance, which he did owe to his Master and souereigne, and returned, shewing to the King, that shee was nothing of the bewtie as she was reported to be, but of meane fayrenesse as other women are. Wherfore he besought the king, considering she was her fathers Heyre and a good mariage, that he woulde be so good Lorde vnto him, as to write vnto her father, that he might haue her vnto Wyfe. The which the King graunted, and at the last he obteyned her and maryed her.

Ethelwold vsed dissimulation with the king hys Master.

¶ In processe of tyme the fame of this woman sprang so wyde, that at the last it came to the vnderstanding of king Edgar,: wherewith the king notwithstanding, he were in his minde discontented with Ethelwold, which had so deceyued him, yet kept he good countenance and made semblance as though he had nothing forced of that matter at all.

Deepe dissimulation.

¶ And vpon a tyme, as it were in game, warned this Ethelwold that then was an Erle by reason of his wyfe, or otherwise, that he woulde one night come and lodge in his house, and appointed the tyme when it should be. The Erle being nothing contented with this monition, ranne home almost dead for feare, and prayed his wyfe of helpe in that tyme of neede, and that shee would in all that she might make her selfe as foule and as vnseemely as shee could, and shewed to her all the residue of the matter. Then the

woman

woman cast in her minde, the great displeasure that might ensue towardes her against God, to make that foule, which he had made goodly and fayre, and also to her Lorde and husbande against the king, thinking that he should cause her thus to do, to the entent to mocke and deceyue him. Wherefore, in consideration of the premisses, shee trimmed and decked her selfe in most costly and shewing apparell. And ouer that, if Dame Nature had any thing forgotten or misprinted in her, she left not what might be done by womans help to haue it amended and reformed, and at the kings comming receyued him with all ioye and gladnesse. By which meanes, this yong amorous king was soone caught in the Deuils snare, so that he set reason aparte and folowed his awne sensualitie. And for to bring his purpose the better about, he kept forth a cõtenaunce as he had bene well contented with all thing, and desyred the Erle, that he would ryde with him on hunting, into the wood of Weluerley, that now is called Horsewood, where he awayting his tyme, strake the Erle thorow the body with his shaft, so that he dyed soone after. And then he maried this Elfrida or Estrild shortly, and had by her Egelredus. For the which deede sayth Reynulph, this Elfrida buylded a house of Nonnes at Warwell. But some write that it was for the slaiyng of her stepsonne Edward.

Ethelwold was fowly deceyued, for women are not trusty.

Ethelwold slaine and murdered.

¶ Then Edgar, was crowned king at the Citie of Bathe, or as some wryte at Kingstone of Dunstone Archebishop of Cantorbury, and Oswolde Archebishop of Yorke, when he had ruled this land. xij. yeres, but Polidore sayth, that Dunstone was not at his sayde Coronation, but remayned yet a banished man. The cause why it was so long or this Edgar was crowned, was sayth Guydo, for his vnlawfull leehery, and specially for the offence done with Wilfride. For the which deede he was enioyned. vij. yeres penaunce, during the which tyme of penance, he was kept from the sayd annoyntment.

Coronation.

The simplicitie of kings in those dayes.

¶ It is also reported of this king Edgar, that he beyng vpon a season at the Towne of Andouer besyde Sarisbury, and was enamoured of a Noble mannes daughter, which was of passing bewtye, made such meanes by force or otherwise, that the parentes were agreed that the king should haue his pleasure. But the mother beyng subtyll of wyt, bethought her of a wyle, and when night came, sent a seruaunt of hers, which was both comely and fayre, vnto the kinges bed. In the Morning, when the day began to waxe cleere, the woman began to styrre, and would haue departed from the king: But the king stayed her, and asked the cause of her so hastie departing: The woman aunswered, I must be at my worke with my felowes at mine houre, to kepe my taske. And when the king had questioned with her further, he learned that she was a bond woman, and she asked of the king freedome for that nightes seruice. The king at this had good game, and cherished that Damosell so after, that he made her Lady of Ladies. For these insolent and wanton deedes, it is sayd, that by the counsayle of Dunstone, he buylded and repayred so many Abbeyes and houses of religion as is before named. *Fabian.*

Women are wily.

The king deceyued.

¶ Thus this noble Edgar, passing his tyme in vertue, and sometymes medled with vice, at the last had knowledge of the rebellion of the Briteynes or Welshemen: wherefore he assembled his knightes and entered the land, and did them great harme and waste. And among other prayes, he spoyled the Countrey of Glamorgan and the Countrey of Ono: But the king dyed within ten dayes after, when he had reigned the full terme of. xvj. yeres, and was buryed at Glascenbury, leaning after him two sonnes, Edward the Martyr, and Egelredus by two sundry wyues. And here Fabian setteth foorth a story of a lewde and false Iudge, the which the Reader may there finde set out at large.

INdulph reigned in Scotlande. ix. yeres: He kept peace with the Englishe men, and vanquished the Danes that inuaded his Realme. 959

KIng Duffus reigned among the Scottes foure yeres, and was slaine by the treason of a noble man called Donewalde. After his death apered neither Sonne, Moone, nor Starre, the space of. vj. Monethes. 966

CVline a vicious and wicked Tiraunt reigned among the Scottes. He deflowred his awne 974

awne sisters, and rauished other mennes wyues, and daughters, wherefore he was slaine the fift yere of his reigne.

975 EDward the sonne of Edgar, reigned after his father: And here ye shal vnderstand, that after the death of Edgar, great strife arose among the Lordes, for the admission of their king. For Elfrida or Estreld, with Alphride Duke of Mertia, made diuerse friendes to haue her sonne Egelredus promoted vnto that dignitie, a childe of seuen yeres of age, that she and he might rule the land together. But Dunstone with the ayde of other Bishoppes, and of the Erle of East England, or Essex, so withstood that doyng, that he crowned this Edward king at the Towne of Kingstone, to the greeuous displeasure of the sayd mother Elfrida, and other of her affinitie.

Sicknesse, hunger, moreyn, and manye other plagues.

¶ In the tyme of this Edward apered a blasing starre, after the which ensued many inconueniences, aswell to men as to beastes, as sicknesse, hunger, moreyne, and other lyke calamities: But none of these thinges fell in the dayes of this Edward, but after his death. The aforenamed Alphride, Duke of Mertia, which in all thinges fauoured much the dedes of the Queene, put out the Monkes at Winchester, that king Edgar had there set in, and brought in for them wanton Clearkes, or as Reynulph sayth, Clerkes with Concubines (or rather that had lawfull wyues.) But Dunstone, and the Erle of Essex withstood that doyng, and helde against the Duke and such as fauoured his partie: For the which arose great strife betwene the Priestes, and the Monkes of England. For the Clerkes that were before tyme put out by Edgar, sayd that it were a wretched and curssed deede, that a newe common company vnknowen, shoulde put out olde landishe men from their places: and it shoulde not be pleasing to God that had graunted the place to the olde dwellers, neyther ought any good man to alowe such doyng, for the yll ensample that thereof might ensue. The Monkes sayde, that Christ allowed neyther the olde dweller, nor yet the person: But who so woulde take the crosse of penaunce vpon him, and folowe Christ in verteous liuyng he should be his disciple.

These I thinke were priestes with their wyues.

¶ For this matter was there holden a generall counsayle of Bishoppes, and all the Clergie of England, winchester, but for all this the strife ceased not. In so much that a newe assembly of the Clergie and other was apoynted after at a place called the strete of Calue, where the counsayle was kept in an vpper loft. In thys counsayle Dunstone was grieuously despised and rebuked of some vnskilfull men (as sayth Fabian.) And while they were there in this great deuision and argument, which way should be admitted and alowed, sodeynly the loystes of the loft fayled, and the people fell downe, so that many were slaine, and the people greatly hurt: But Dunstone with few other that tooke his part escaped vnhurt. This wonder and other caused silence among them that entended to mainteyne the aforesayd quarell, so that Dunstone had all his will.

Dunstone was sore against priests wyues.

Some write that this was done by a deceytfull practise, and after was taken for a miracle.

¶ But to returne to the tyme of the reigne of king Edward, he came vppon a tyme from hunting in the Forest, nere vnto the Castell of Corfe, in the West Countrie: where he losyng his companie and seruauntes, resorted vnto the Castle aforesayde, where at that tyme his Stepmother with her sonne Egelredus kept her houshold.

Corfe castel.

A traiterous deuice of a mother in law.

¶ When the Queene was warned of his comming, anone she called vnto a seruaunt of hers, whome she much trusted, and tolde to him all her counsayle, shewing to him further, how he should behaue himselfe in the accomplishing of her will and minde. And that done, she went towarde the King, and receyued him with all gladnesse, and desyred him to tarie with her that night: But he in curteous maner excused himselfe, and for speede, desyred to drinke vpon his horse sytting, the which was shortly brought.

A vile murther.

¶ And while the Cup was at his mouth, the seruaunt strake him to the heart with a sword, or long dagger sharpe on both sydes: After which stroke by the king receyued, he set spurres to the horse, and thought to ryde to the place from whence he came, or else such a way as he thought to mete with his companie. But he bled so sore, that for faintnesse he fell from his horse, hys one foote beyng fast in the Styrrop: By reason wherof, he was drawen

Kinge Edward murthered.

drawen of the horse ouer wayes and fieldes, vntill he came vnto a place then named Corisgate, where he was found dead. And for that the maner of his death was vnknowne, and also he for king not knowen, he was buryed vnworthely at the Towne of Warram, and there rested by the space of three yeres after. In which tyme and season, God shewed for him dyuerse myracles, as sight to the blinde, health to the sicke, and heering to the deafe, with diuerse other, as sayth *Fabian.* But Polydore wryteth, that his Stepmother Elfrida caused the dead corps to be caryed in, and buryed in a secret place, where it was after found by miracle.

¶ At the last the same Elfrida sore repenting her fact, entended to visite him by way of pilgrimage. But how or for what cause she entended inwardly I can not say, but the horse or beast that she rode vpō, might not come nigh the place by a certeyne space, for beating, nor for any other thing that might be done for him by man.

¶ But after this, by her meanes, or as Mathew of Westminster sayth, by Elforius duke of Mertia, or middle Englande, he was translated from thence to Septon, that now is called Shaftesbury, and there buryed with great honour. Septon now called Shaftesbury.

¶ And as it is sayd for a testimony of her great repentance, she founded two Monasteries of women, the one at Ambrisbury, and the other at Warwell. In the which place of Warwell in her latter dayes, she refusing the pompe of the worlde, helde there a solitary and streyt life, and ended her life with great penance and repentance, and was there buryed when she was dead. Ambrisbury. Warwell.

¶ Thus as ye haue heard, was this yong king Edward murdered, when he had reigned foure, or as some wryte three yeres, leauing behind him none issue, wherefore the rule of the lande fell to Egelredus his brother.

KEnneth reigned in Scotland. xxv. yeres. In his tyme, the Danes arriued in Angus with a great company, and wasted the Countrie very sore, with whom the Scottes met, and after sore fight and great slaughter, by the manhood of one Hay (an vplandishman, and his two sonnes) obteyned the victory. This Kenneth was slaine by meane of a lady called Fenella, because he had poysoned Malcolme Prince of Comber. 977 3 Kenneth king of Scottes.

EGeldred or Etheldred the sonne of Edgar, and Elfride his last Wyfe, after the death of Edward his brother reigned ouer this Realme. And in the beginning of this mans tyme, the grounde waxed barrein and all the miseries before signified by the appering of the blasing starre in the dayes of Edwarde, now began to take place and encrease vpon the earth. This king as his other progenitors before him were, was crowned at Kingstone, of Dunstane, and Oswald, Archebishops. To whome as it is written in the lyfe of Dunstane among his prophecies, Dunstane shoulde saye at the day of his coronation. Thou commest to this kingdom by the death of thy brother, in whose death Englishmen conspired with thy wicked mother, they shall not be without bloudshedding and sworde, vntill there come people of an vnknowne tongue, and bring them into thraldome. And this trespasse shal not be clensed without long vengeance. 978 Dunstones prophecies.

¶ This Egeldred was a man of goodly visage and tall of personage, but his nature was mixed with Lechery, cruelnie, and dyuers other vices. It is also read that when Dunstane should christen him, as he helde him ouer the Fonte, he fyled the same with his ordure, and that then Dunstane sware by God and by his mother, this Childe shall be vnkinde both to God and hys Churche. *Fabian.* Although myne Auethour wrote this as matter in that tyme whiche he thought to bee true, yet iudge nowe thereof as you thinke best. An angrie Bishop.

¶ In the second yere of his reigne, a cloude was seene in England in the morning tyme the which appered halfe lyke blood, and the other halfe lyke fyre, and chaunged after into sundrie colours, and at the last vanished away.

¶ In the thirde yere of his reigne, the Danes allured by his cowardise, and chiefly for that he was vnskilfull of armes, arriued in sundrie places of his lande, as in the Isle of Thanet beside Kent, also in Southampton, Cornewall and Sussex, and in those coastes much The Danes arriued in Kent, Cornewall, Sussex, and diuerse other places of this realme.

much harme: and afterwards, some of them came to London, but there they were put of: howbeit, they destroyed a great parte of Chester and Chestershire.

London a great parte thereof consumed by fire.

¶ And in the ende of the same yere, a great parte of the Citie of London was consumed with fyre, but how it began is not expressed. But ye shall vnderstande, that at this daye the Citie of London, had most housing and buylding from Ludgate toward Westmynster, and little or none where the chiefe or hart of the Citie is, at this day, except in dyuers places were housing, but they stood without order. So that many Townes and Cities, as Cauntorbury, Yorke, and other, diuers in England passed London in building at those dayes, as I haue sene and knowen by an olde booke in the Guildhall in London named Domes day. But after the conquest it increased, and shortly after it passed and excelled all the other. *Fabian.*

From the little conduit in Chep vnto Fleete bridge and Holborne bridge was the first and chiefest parte of the Citie of London.

¶ About the. viij. yere of his reigne, the king maried Erle Egbertus daughter, named Ethelgina or Elgina. Of the which he begat a sonne, and named him Edmond, which after was surnamed Ironside, and two other sonnes named Edwyn and Ethelstane, and a daughter named Edgina.

¶ In the. ix. yere of this king, for strife and displeasure that was betwene the Bishop of Rochester and him, he with his knightes besieged the sayde Citie: whereof Dunstane sent to the king, admonishing him, that he should refraine from that crueltie, and to suffer the Bishop and his Citie to be in peace. But this message abated nothing at all the kings courage. Then the sayd Dunstane sent vnto him an hundreth pounde in Golde, wylling him to refrayne of that enterprise, the which he receyued and brake vp his siege.

Golde was of more force than Dunstane.

Dunstane dead.

¶ About the. xj. yere of his reigne, Dunstane died, but it was not long after his death, before the Danes entred into many and sundrie places of the land, in such wise as the king was to seke to which coast he should go first to withstande his enimies. And in conclusion, for the aduoyding of more harme, he was compelled to quiet them with great summes of money: But when that money was spent, they fell to new robbing of the people. Then the king graunted more money: But for all that the Danes robbed and spoyled the Countrie of Northumberland and at the last besieged London. The which their outrage troubled the king very sore bicause he thought they would now haue beene quiet.

The Danes sore spoyled this realme.

Elfricus a Traytour.

¶ And for the encrease of the kinges sorrow, Elfricus that then was maister or admirall of the kings Nauie, fled as a false traytour vnto the Danes. And after that was reconciled: and fled yet againe the second time vnto them.

King Egeldred punished the sone of Elfricus in pulling out of his eyen for the offece of his father.

¶ Wherfore the king to be auenged on the father, commaunded the eyen of hys sonne Algarus to be plucked or done out of his head.

¶ But while this persecution thus contynued, by meanes of Elphegus Bishop of Winchester, a peace was concluded for a tyme betweene the king and the Danes. And the Prince or chiefe Capitaine of them named Aulaff, was so exhorted by the sayd Bishop, that he became a christen man, to whom the king was Godfather, so that shortly after, the sayde Aulaff returned to his awne Countrie, without doing of any more hurte, so that for a whyle the warres of the Danes seased. But while they rested, the bloudy Fluxe with brenning Feuers so vexed the people thorow the land, that many dyed therof.

Bloudy Fluxe, and brenning Feuers.

¶ And now againe the Danes assayled this land, and did in diuers places great harme, so that for lacke of a good head or gouernour many things in the lande perished. For the Lordes were at such dissension one with another, that when they were assembled to speake or treate of peace betwene that one Lorde and that other, and if any good thing were deuysed for the hurt of their enemies, anone the Danes were warned thereof by some of the same counsaile: whereof were suspected Elfricus and Edricus.

Division and dissension among the Lordes.

¶ And to this sorrow was ioyned hunger and penury, amongst the commons, that euery one of them was constreyned to plucke & steale from other, so that what by the pillage of the Danes, and inward theeues and bribours, this land was brought into great misery and mischiefe.

A miserable realme.

How one miserie begat another.

¶ The king being thus wrapped in miserie, left not to gather of his subiectes what he

might, as well by vnlawfull meanes as otherwise. For sayth Reynulph, he would for feyned or small causes disherite men of their possessions, & after cause them to redeeme their awne with great sūmes of money.

¶ And besides this, he gaue himselfe altogether to lechery, and to the filthy lust of the body: By which vngracious meanes, he brought this lande into such ruyne, that what he might not helpe by strength, he redemed with great summes of money. So that from the first entrie of the Danes, as witnesseth Reynulph in his. vj. booke and. xviij. Chapter, and Guydo and other Authors, and from the first tribute of ten thousand pound, he brought it at the last in processe of fiue or sixe yeres, to. xl. thousand pound. The which yeerely during his lyfe and after, to the comming of king Edward was leuied of his subiects, and named for the continuance therof *Dane Gelt*, which is to meane, money payde to the Danes, or Dane money.

Sinne and mischiefe come together.

A tribute called Dane Gelt.

¶ In the. xv. yere of his reigne dyed Oswald Archbishop of Cantorbury, and sone after dyed Ethelgina the Queene. And thus the land continued vnder the greuous Tribute of the Danes, and also the Englishe men susteyned of them great numbers of vilanies and iniuries, as partly hereafter shall appere. The king at this tyme by counsayle of his familiers, about the. xxj. yere of his reigne maryed Emma the daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy: The which Richard was the thirde duke of Normandy, and the first of that name, and also was surnamed Richard without feare, or Richard the hardy, by whome he had issue Edward the Confessor, which after was king of Englande.

A miserable Englād.

Emma the daughter of Richarde Duke of Normandy.

¶ By this mariage, Egeldred began to looke a loft, and thought much of himselfe, and toke vpon him with much more courage then before he had done. Wherefore he sent into all the good Boroughes, Townes, and Cities of his land, secret and streight commissions, charging all the rulers, that vpon a certeyne day, which was the day of S. Brice, at an houre assigned in euery place of this land, the Danes should be slaine, and so it was done. And as the common fame telleth, this murder began at a litle Towne in Hertfordshire, within. xxiiij. Myles of London called Welwen: For the which deede it tooke the first name, because that the weale of that countrie (as it was then thought) was there first wonne. But who that doth well consider the sequele of the Storye, shall finde little wynnyng or weale that ensued of thys deede.

The Danes murdered.

¶ But before I proceede further, I will here touche somewhat of the pryde and abusion of the Danes, which they exercised in Englande, as I haue sene in an olde Chronicle. The Danes by strength caused husbandmen to eare and sowe their land, and to do all other vile labour that belonged vnto husbandry, and the Dane helde his wyfe at pleasure, with daughter and seruaunt. And when the husband man came home, he should scantly haue of his awne as his seruauntes had, so that the Dane had all at his commaundement, and did eate and drinke his fill of the best, when the owner had scant his fill of the worst. And besydes this, the common people were so of them oppressed, that for feare and dreade, they called them in euery such house as they had rule of, Lord Dane: But in processe of tyme, after the Danes were voyded the lande, this worde Lord Dane, was in derision and dispite of the Danes turned by Englishe men into a name of opprobry called Lurdane, which yet is not forgotten, for if one Englishe man will rebuke another, he will for the most part say, thou art but a Lurdane.

The crueltie of the Danes.

Miserable hondage and villanie.

Lord Dane of the which sprang this worde Lurdane.

¶ But nowe to returne to our first matter: Truth it is when the Danes were thus murdered throughout Englande, tydinges thereof sprang into Denmarke: which kindled in them such a fury, that the king thereof named Swanus, assembled shortly a great hoste and nauie of Shippes. And within short tyme after, he with his Danes landed in Cornewall. And by treason of a Norman named Hughe, which by fauour of Queene Emma was made Earle of Deuonshire, the sayde Swanus tooke Exceter, and after bet downe the walles.

Swanus king of the Danes entered into England.

¶ Then he entered further into the land: In which season the king sent vnto Edrycus, charging him to assemble the west Saxons, and to withstand the further entry of the Danes: The which according to his commission assembled the west Saxons, and made

good countenance to withstand the sayd enemyes: But when the hostes should ioyne, were it for feare or for treason, he fayned himselfe sicke, and fled from his people. The which for lacke of an head were faine to geue backe to their great hurt, and to their enemies great aduauntage and comfort.

Swanus fled to his shippes.

Swanus lãded in Norffolke & spoiled that countrie.

¶ Wherefore the Danes, then resorted to Sherborne and Wylton, and anone spoyled both those townes, and there refreshed them: But Swanus had vnderstanding, that the king was comming towardes him with the power of his lande, he therefore departed thence, and returned with great pillage vnto his Shippes, and sayled about the land, and at the last landed in Norffolke: Where he wasting and spoilyng the Countrie, came to the Citie of Norwich, the which he robbed and destroyed, and after went to Thetford, and did lykewise to that Towne, and fyred it, and spoyled all the Countrye nere there about.

Vskatell a noble man of Norffolke, & named a duke gaue the Danes a foyle, & repulse, and Swanus fled into Denmark.

¶ But soone after, a noble man of that Countrie called Duke Vskatell, met with the host of Danes, and gaue vnto them a hard and sharpe battayle, and slue many of the enemies and put them backe. For this and for hunger that then assayled this land, Swanus returned to his Shippes, and departed againe into Denmarke, and taryed all the Winter folowing. In which season he made great prouision to recnter the land of England.

Swanus returned againe into England with a great power.

In the. xxv. yere of the reigne of the king, the aforesayde Swanus with a strong army landed at Sandwich, and spoiled all the country nere vnto the Sea syde, and rested him there, vntill he heard of an armie comming against him. And when he was ware thereof, he returned to his Shippes againe: and heering that the king was farre Westwarde, he landed in Sussex, and spoyled it wonderfull sore, and there also he was warned of the comming of the English men, and then anone he tooke shipping againe. So that when the Englishe men had thought to haue met with him in one coast, then would he flie and land in another. And when the king prouided to meete with them on the Sea, eyther they would fayne themselues to flie, or else they woulde with giftes blynde the admirall of the kinges Nauie.

Admirelles of the Sea were as it apereth blinded in this tyme.

¶ By which subtiltie and crafty meanes, they weryed and tyred the host of Englishe men. And where euer they went they slue, brent, and robbed, without all compassion and pitie.

¶ The king then beyng at Shrewesburie, & heering of the great sleight and crueltie of the Danes, called his counsayle to take aduice what were best to be done for the defence of his enemies. Where it was concluded, that the king to haue peace with the Danes, should pay vnto them. xxx. thousand pound. But while this was in doyng, the Danes destroyed a great part of Barkshire.

A great tribute payed to the Danes.

Swanus returned againe into Denmarke.

¶ But when this peace was thus made, Swanus with his company returned into Denmarke. And the yere folowing, the king made Edrycus aforenamed, Duke of Mertia. Thus Edricus beyng but of base birth was made riche, he was of tongue false, and subtile of wit, soft and eloquent of speeche, vntrustie, and inconstant of thought and promes, as of him somthing before is shewed, and after more shall apere.

Turkillus a Prince of the Danes lãded in Kent.

¶ In the. xxvij. yere of the King, a Prince of the Danes named Turkillus landed in Kent. The which so grieuously warred in that countrie, that the Kentishmen were faine to make their peace, and so he departed. But yet the persecution of the Danes seaced not: For in one countrie of England or other, they euer were robbing and pilling the English men. So that all the Countrye along the coast, from the North part of England, vnto the Isle of wight, was by them eyther vtterly destroyed, or greatly empayred. And when the king entended to make prouision for to withstande them, euer Edrycus would counsayle him to the contrary, shewyng him that he should spend his treasure, and trauayle his people in vaine. By meane whereof the Danes entered fiftie mile into England, and brent and destroyed diuerse Villages, and Townes. So that they encreased and waxed passing riche, and the English men, nedy, bare, and poore. Thus continuyng this misery, Swanus then being in Denmarke, and heeryng of the encrease of his people within

Edrycus a false traytor.

within England repented him of his former couenantes, and thought that the whole dominion of England should of right belong to him. For the which he prepared his armie and nauie in most defensable wise, and sped him into England, and to the ryuer of Humber, and landed in Northumberland, where the Earle and ruler of that Countrye with all the other rulers of the same, sware fealty vnto the sayde Swanus, and promised to kepe that Countrie vnto his vse. And when he had done his will in that Coast, he entred againe the water, and by the Ryuer of Trent, he passed to Gaynsburgh, and so by North Watling streete, and subdued the inhabitauntes of that Countrie, and forced them to geue him pledges. Which pledges, with also his nauie, he betooke vnto Canutus his sonne, while he went further into the land. And he and his people kept on theyr Iourney vntill they came vnto Mertia, killing and sleiyng the men of that prouince, and reserued the women to vncleane liuyng, aswell the religious as the other, and tooke by strength Winchester, and Oxford, or rather Exceter, and did in them what him liked.

Swanus againe entered England.

Canutus the sonne of Swanus.

¶ And after he had thus passed the lande, he drewe the next way toward London: But in passing the Ryuer of Thames he lost some parte of his people, eyther for lack of a Bridge or for ieoparding their passage vnaduisedly. And so in fine he came to London and besieged it, where at that tyme the king was. Wherefore Swanus left the Citie, and drewe into Essex, and againe by water passed into Kent, and so towarde the Citie of Cauntorbury without any let, welding the Countrie at his will, and lastly besieged that Citie. The which manfully defended themselues against their enimies by the space of xx. dayes, and then was the sayde Citie taken by the treason of a Deacon named Almaricus, the which before tyme Elphegus then Archbishop of that See had preserued from death. *Fabian.*

Cauntorbury besieged by Swanus king of the Danes.

Almaricus a Deacon, a Traytour.

¶ Polidore affirmeth that the Danes besieged the Citie of London, and the Londoners though they were somewhat dismayed at the first, by reason of the sodaine feare, yet they so manfully defended themselues, that at the length they were not afeard to set open the gates of the Citie, and to go out themselues in great multitudes and fight with their enemies: And so valiantly behaued they themselues against them, that they slue many of them, and in fyne compelled Swanus or Sweno their king to get him awaye with the residue of his armie with such hastie expedition, that he ceased not trauailyng day and night vntill he was two dayes iourney from London, and then went he to Bath and there taried, where he was so sore distressed for lack of victualles, that he was fayne to let Egeldred redeeme the tribute, the which he had a little before graunted and bounde himselfe to paye. And hauing receyued of him a great summe of money for the redemption thereof, he returned into Denmarke, minding ere it were long to repayre to this lande againe with a greater armie than euer he had before.

Tribute redemed.

¶ Mathew of Westmynster wryteth also that after the saide Swanus or Sweno was in dispaire to winne the Citie of London, both because of the losse of his Souldyours that through rashnesse & misaduenture were drowned in the Thamys, and also the manly resistance made by the Londoners in defending themselues, he gate him awaye with speede, and went first to Wallyngfoord and then to Bathe, exercising much crueltie all the waye as they went, and lefte nothing vndestroyed, and at Bathe rested him a space to refreshe his armie, whether Almarus then Erle of Deuonshire, with all the Nobilitie of the west Saxons together wyth their seruantes and retynue, fearing his tirannie, came vnto hym and delyuered hym hostages, praiyng withall that they might, be at peace with him. And afterwardes, when he saw that he might nowe do what he woulde, and that no man durst chalenge the Crowne and fight with him for the same, he caused himselfe to be proclaymed king of England. But the sayde wryter maketh mention neyther of the scarcitie of victualles that shoulde then be amongest the Souldiours, neyther of the redemption of the sayde tribute, nor yet of his sodeyn returne into Denmarke: But here to returne to mine Authour.

¶ Then the Danes first spoyled the Citie of Cauntorbury, and tooke the Archebishop

Monkes tithed.

and put him in a strong prison, and then set the Citie on fyre. And the Monkes of Saint Austynes Abbey they tythed, that is to saye, they kylled nyne, and the tenth they kept alyue, the which after were solde and set to all seruile labour. And as witnesseth Antonynus and Vyncent Historiographers, they slue and brought in seruage aboue the number of nyne hundred persons of religion. They slue of men, women, and children, in the Citie of Cauntorbury aboue eyght thousande, and that with much crueltie as is shewed in the. vij. Chapter, & xvj. Title, of the worke of the sayde Antoninus.

Antoninus. Vincent.

Elphegus ye Archebishop of Cãtorbury stoned to deth by the cruell Danes.

¶ And finally, for that this Bishop Elphegus, would not condescende to geue vnto them, as sayth Reynulph, three thousand pounde, or else as Polydore sayth, bicause by his preaching and godly lyfe, he went about to conuert these barbarous people vnto the fayth of Christ, after they had kept him in harde prison by the space af. vij. Monethes, vpon an Ester euen, they after many vilanyes vnto him done at Greenewich within three Myles of London, stoned him to death, where he laye in the fielde vnburied a certaine of tyme, and after was caryed to London, and buried reuerently in the Church of Saint Paule. But afterward in the tyme of Canutus, he was taken vp againe, and caried to his awne Church.

King Egeldred sent Emma ye Queene and her two sonnes Alphred & Edward ward vnto Richard the fourth Duke of Normãdy, which was brother vnto the sayde Emma.

¶ The king fearing the ende of this persecution, sent Emma the Quene, with her two sonnes Alphred and Edward vnto Richard the second of that name, then fourth Duke of Normandy, which was brother vnto the sayde Emma, with whome also he sent the Bishop of London.

¶ In the. xxxiiij. yere of the king, when the Danes had wonne a great parte of the Countrie of west Saxon, they returned againe to London warde: whereof hering the Londoners sent vnto them giftes and pledges.

¶ In all this season I finde no mention that euer the king gaue vnto the Danes any notable battayle, but kept him in holdes and places for his awne sauegarde, and to the small benefite or aduauntage of his Realme. And at the last he was chased vnto the Isle of Wight, where with a small company he kept himselfe secret a great part of the Winter, and finally without battaile or comfort, sayled ouer to his wyfe into Normandy, and there helde him a certeyne of tyme.

Swanus being certified that the King was fled, began to vse many exactions vpon the people of England.

¶ When Swanus was asserteyned of the departure of the king out of the land, he was enflamed with exceedyng pryde, so that he arrered excedyng impositions of the people & grieued them wonderfully. And among other of his Tirannyes he demaunded a great summe of money out of S. Edmondes landes, which the rulers denayed, for so much as they claymed to be free of all kinges Tribute. Wherefore he entered into that territory, and wasted and spoyled the Countrie, and besydes that, despised that holy martyr, and threatned the place of his Sepulchre: But the men of that countrie fearyng this Tyrant, gaue them to fasting and prayer, so that shortly after he was slaine or sticked in an Euening amongest his knightes, with the sworde or dagger of Saint Edmond in the Towne of Thetford, as sayth Guydo, but Reynulph and other, in the Towne of Gaynesborough, where he dyed yellyng and criyng the thirde day after: But *Saxo Grammaticus* sayth, that the sayd Swanus or Sweno, beyng conuerted vnto the Christen fayth dyed at the length very repentauntly and lyke a good christian man: And that he suffered Etheldred after that peaceably to reigne all his lyfe time as king of this lande by a composition betwene them.

Swanus the Danish Tyraunt slaine by Gods prouidence.

The miserable death of Swanus King of Denmarke.

S. Edmõds bury enclosed by Canutus Sonne of Swanus.

Kinges of this Realme were accustomed to offer their Crownes to Saint Edmondes shrine, and to edeme them againe with a great sũme.

¶ In feare whereof Canutus his sonne, after that he was king, closed in the lande of that holy Martir with a deepe diche, and graunted to the inhabitauntes thereof great fredome, and quit them of all kingly taske or Tribute. And after builded a Church ouer the place of his Sepulture, and ordeyned there a house of Monkes, and endued them with fayre possessions. And afterward it was vsed that kinges of England when they were crowned, sent for an offering their Crownes vnto S. Edmonds shrine, & redemed them again with a condigne price. *Fabian.* The which Polydore thinketh not to be true.

¶ Nowe when king Egeldred was certified of the death of Swanus, he by the procure-

ment of his friendes returned home againe to his awne: But the Nobles of the Realme condicioned with him, that he should reforme his olde maners. And for performance thereof, he sent his sonne Edward into Englande before him, and in the Lent folowing the king came himselfe, and with his people sped him toward Lyndsey, where Canutus was at that tyme resiant, not prouided for the kinges so hastie comming.

¶ Wherefore Canutus, beyng not pursueyed to withstande the king, fled to Sandwich in Kent. And for that he there proued such persons, as before tyme his father and he had taken pledges off, and finding them not firme in their promyses, he caused all theyr noses and handes to be cut off, and then sayled into Denmarke, and returned the next yere with a great Nauye, and sayled about the land, and tooke prayes in the South countrye, whereof the Kinges eldest sonne named Edmond, made prouysion with the ayde of Edrycus to go against him. Canutus the sonne of Swanus fled into Denmarke.

¶ But when he should haue met with Edrycus at a place assigned, and his hoste, he was of him deceyued, and therfore was compelled to geue place vnto his enemies. And as it was after knowne, the sayde Edrycus had promised his fauour and ayde vntò the sayde Canutus. By reason whereof Canutus entered the Countrie of West Saxons, and forced them to sweare to him fealtie, and to geue to him pledges. Edryens a false traytor.

¶ In this season, the king beyng at London, was taken with a greuous sicknesse and dyed, and was buryed in the Church of Saint Paule, where at this day in the North Isle behynde the Quyer, apereth a token in the wall of his Sepulture, he reigned. xxxvj. yeres, leauing after him two sonnes, Edmond, and Edward. The death of King Egeldred.

COnstantine the fourth, reigned among the Scottes thre yeres, by meane of him, and of Malcolme the sonne of Kenneth, the Realme of Scotland was miserably tormented with ciuile warre. 1000 / 23

GRime reigned in Scotlande. ix. yeres, and against him Malcolme made fierce warre for the Crowne, which was appeased by the counsayle of a Bishop called Fothadus. But the Scottes not contented to sustaine the Tirannie of their king Grime, rose vp against him, whereof ensued much trouble in Scotland. Malcolme vanquished and slue Grime, and tooke on him the Kingdome, and reigned. xxxj. yeres. To him the Lordes of Scotlande graunted first the wardes and mariages of their heyres, And not long after Olanus, and Onetus, two Capitaines of the Danes inuaded Scotland, and vanquished king Malcolme, and subdued Murrey: But not long after, Malcolme repayred his army, and discomfited the Danes, and slue Onetus. 1002 / 25 Grime king of Scottes. Wardes and mariages of the heyres first graũted to the king in Scotland.

¶ And shortly after, Camus another Capitaine of the Danes, inuaded Scotlande, and nere to Ferrey was discomfited and slaine, and the place to this day is called Camus stand. *Fabian.* Camus stand.

¶ Then Canutus by the commaundement of Swanus, brake into Scotland, with whom the Scottes fought a terrible battail, to the great damage, losse, & hurt of both partes: But after this battaile a peace was concluded.

EDmond Ironsyde, the sonne of Egeldred, or Etheldred, and also Canutus, the sonne of Swanus king of Denmarke, did by the consent of certeyne of their friendes on eyther syde, take vpon them the gouernement of this lande. The Londoners with the assistance of some Lordes of Englande fauoured Edmond: But the more part of the Lordes fauoured Canutus, and specially the spiritualtie that before tyme had sworne fealtie to his father. And he then beyng at Southampton swore vnto them, to be a true and good Iustice, and to entreate the people soberly and righteously. 1016 / 1

¶ Then Edmond beyng of the Archebishop of Yorke crowned at London and the solemnitie finished and ended, he sped him to West Saxon, and subdued that Country. In which time Canutus drewe with his people to London, and would there haue entered: But that was forbodden him of the Londoners. For the which he layde his ordinance about Canutus assaulted ye city of London.

the

the Citie, entendyng to haue entered perforce: But it was not long or he was faine to breake his siege and to depart thence.

¶ When Canutus was put off from London, he drewe Westwarde, and in short tyme after met with king Edmond in Dorsetshire, besyde Gyllingham, where betwene them was foughten a strong and cruell battaile: But in the ende Canutus was ouercome, and compelled to forsake the fielde.

A cruell fight. ¶ After this, they met againe in Worcester shire, or as Polydore sayth, at Andouer in Wiltshire where they fought a more strong and fierce battaile: For this was so strongly foughten on both partes, that men could not iudge which part had the better, nor which the worse: But as Reynulph sayth, eyther of them departed from other, eyther for werynesse of fight, or for lacke of the day.

Edrycus a vile traytor. ¶ But on the Morowe folowyng, both hostes met againe and fought egerly. The which fight continuyng, Edricus espiyng king Edmond to be at a vauntage of wynning of the fielde, sodeinly pight a dead mannes heade vpon the head of a Speare, and cryed to the hoste of English men, flye, flye, you English men and saue your selues, lo, here is the head of Edmond your king. But Edmond beyng thereof warned, sped him to that part of the field, and behaued himselfe so comfortably amongest his men, that by his knightly courage, his people recouered that which before they had lost, and continued the battaile vntill night, and caused Canutus to flye that Countrie, and to returne againe towarde London.

¶ Then king Edmond beyng aduertised that Canutus was returned toward London, he folowed him and passed the Ryuer of Thamys, and deliuered the Citie from the daunger of the Danes, and after encountered the Danes at a place called Brentford within seuen myles of London, where he had with them a cruell fight, and at length discomfited them. *Fabian.*

Brentford which we nowe call Brainford.

¶ But because the Aucthor whom I here folow leaueth many thinges vntouched worthy of remembrance, which were done after the sayde battaile foughten by Andouer, I haue here thought good to supplye his defect by Polydore, who wryteth hereof, as foloweth: When Canutus was this discomfited, he traueyled all night long to Winchester warde, and gate him to a place of safetie: But Edmond as some do write pursued him not, but turned to Sarisburie to rescue the Citizens there besieged of another company of Danes. Thether also shortly after came Canutus, where not farre from the same Towne they pitched a newe fielde, and as men hauing nowe gathered a new courage & refreshed themselues, fought very fiercely and egerly together, but with equall fortune tyll night came that parted them beyng weryed with long fighting. The next morning the Englishe men anone after the Sonne risyng, stoode ready aranged in battaile ray, awaytyng the comming of their enemies, vntill Canutus came and set vpon them. Then fought they together verie fiercely, but doubtfully withall, and in such wise that many went to wrecke and were slaine on both sydes. And when it drewe towardes the euening they gaue ouer on euen hande, neyther partie hauyng victory of other. On the next morowe both the hostes rested themselues, and tooke their repast, & gathered together the dead corpses of them that were slaine the day before, and burned them as the maner was then to do. And all this while they neuer vnarmed themselues. There were slaine at that time aboue. xx.M. on both parties. The night folowing Canutus dislodged as priuely as he could, & marched towards London: The which city his Fleete had now in a maner besieged by water. But assoone as this theyr fliyng was once discried by the day light, Edmond folowed him at the heeles, and with a little ado raysed the siege: Wherefore, he entered the Citie triumphauntly, with great ioy and solempne pompe. Canutus beyng thus disapoynted of his hope, hauing gotten great prayes and bootyes out of the Countries there about, departed thence to see his shippes which were newely entered into the Riuer of Rochester called in olde tyme Medeganara, and nowe Medway, where the sayde Canutus taryed a season, partly to encrease his armie, and partly to learne by espyals the secret purposes

London besieged.

of

of his enemies, the which he soone vnderstoode. For Edmond whose nature was not to sleepe hys matters, hauing assembled his power with incredible celeritie, lay in campe not farre from Canutus, & there made a long exhortation vnto his Souldiours, the effect whereof was, that they should call to minde the number of battayles that they had foughten with the Danes already, and remember withall that the time nowe serued if they would play the men, to represse their cruelty and violence: and therefore he moued them in most earnest maner, that they would not cease to pursue and vrge them, till they had with with one battaile cleane vanquished and conquered them, that an ende might once be made of their long and great trauayles. The Souldiours beyng incensed with this exhortation, and also wery of the intollarable pride and hautinesse of their enemyes which dayly molested and prouoked them, went with a fierce courage to set vpon them. In like maner Canutus, who had commaunded his Souldiours before, to be dayly and hourely in a redinesse against the comming of the English men, came into the field, and ioyned battail with them, where they fought more then foure houres together, but at the length the Danes began to geue backe. The which when Canutus perceyued, he commaunded his horsemen to rescue them in the foreward. But whiles it so chaunced that some of them gaue backe for feare, and some made no hast thether, the whole army brake aray, and then feare hauing the vpper hand of shame, they fled away. There were of the Danes slaine at that tyme three thousand and fiue hundred, of the which number many were Dukes, and Capitaynes of great birth: But of Englishe men. vj. C. at the most, and they all footemen. King Edmondes intent and purpose was to haue had the vse and fruition of that victory, that is to say, so narrowlye to haue pursued his enemies, that he woulde then haue cleane destroyed them, the which vndoubtedly had beene done, if fortune had not bene against him. For whiles after this great battayle he was in great consultation about the pursuyng of his sayde enemyes, he thought it would be greatly for his aduauntage, if he both rested himselfe the residue of the same day, and the night folowing, and permitted his Souldiours to do the lyke. And so this little time seemed sufficient vnto Canutus to saue himselfe, but not to Edmond. In like maner on the next morow, king Edmond assone as it was once day, mindyng to haue the spoyle of the fielde, brought his Souldiours out of the Campe, to the entent that they should afterwardes pursue their enemyes, and the rather because he had intelligence howe they that were the day before dispersed, were nowe gathered together againe, and had passed the ryuer of Thamys, marchyng as fast as they could towardes Norffolke, and Suffolke. Wherefore king Edmond hasted thether with all he myght, to ayde his people there against his sayde enemies. And so vpon a watchworde geuen he set vpon them. And albeit some layde vpon the hindmost, and some stroke in the middest, aswell on the right hand as on the left, yet the Danes for all that gaue not backe. Euery Captayne encouraged his awne Souldiours to sticke vnto it manfully: But specially king Edmond admonished his Captaines that they should cause their Souldiours to kepe aray, ceassyng not to say vnto them with a loude voyce that the same day if they woulde play the men a little while, they should confirme vnto them all their former trauayles & victories, or else should be the beginning of most greuous sorowes and miseries, if they gaue neuer so little backe. By the which words the Souldiours were sodeynly so animated to fight, that the Danes began a little to shrinke and geue backe. The which when Canutus perceyued, by and by he set vpon the left wing of Edmondes hoste, the which were likeliest to do most harme, and so releued his distressed Souldiours, and that did he with such violence and manly courage, that he felled and layde on the ground as many as were in his way: By reason whereof it came to passe, that a great number of the English men nowe weried with long fightyng, and heering the rumor of the great slaughter of their company on euery syde, sodeynly fled away for feare. The which when King Edmond perceyued, he gate before them, and stayed them for a whyle: But when at the length his whole armye was quite disordered and out of aray, it was not then possible for him to set them in araye, and bring them into the fielde againe

which

which they had once forsaken. Here the English men, when the streytes and passages, were all stopped by theyr enemyes, so that none of them had any minde to make resisttance, or hope to flye away and escape, were almost all slaine, specially such of them as were the best and worthyest Souldiours.

¶ Now king Edmond with a verie few with him, neuer ceassed iourneying Westward till he came to Gloucester, whome Canutus chased the space of two houres, but could not ouertake him.

¶ This losse and discomfiture, though it greatly weakened and dismayed the Englishmen, specially because London and manye other good townes and places were then for feare, rebelled vnto the Danes: yet king Edmond vsed neuerthelesse diligence in preparing a newe armie, and so did likewyse Canutus, which at length came vnto his enimie by long and great iourneys. For they knewe well that if they did fight againe, they should with one battaile trie who should haue all. And king Edmond was nowe vtterly determined at the next conflict to put himselfe in exstreme hasard, and eyther to wynne all or lose all. And therefore both the armies being nowe readie to fight, stood so nere together that the one might see the other, not farre from Seuerne side. At what tyme Edricus (as some reporte) began to perswade with the two kings, that they should common together before the beginning of the battaile, to see whether they coulde fall to any agreement betweene themselues, because he knewe right well that this thing should be as much for the commoditie of the Danes as of the Englishmen. For now he that before time was wont to be the chiefe worker of all trechery and mischiefe, beganne to counterfeyt honestie, in going about to set an vnitie and peace, betwixt the two sayde most redoubted and valiant princes. The which princes not mislyking with his counsayle, for that present season, refused not to follow it, albeit they thought it would be to small effect and purpose. And so they communed together a little while, not without the great expectation of the beholders what would be the ende and come of it. But where vpon they concluded among themselues it is altogether vncertaine. Some saye that peace was agreed vpō condition that Canutus should haue Mertia or middle England, and Edmond all the west part of the realme.

Emma sent her two sōnes Alphred and Edward vnto her brother Richard duke of Normandy.

¶ And in this time Emma the wyfe of Egeldred, fearing the fortune of warre, sent her two sonnes Alphred and Edward vnto her brother Richarde the second of that name and fourth Duke of Normandy.

Edricus by subtiltie obteyned the kings fauour.

¶ But Edricus, which as before is sayde was euer subtile of wyt, considering the good fortune of king Edmond and his knightly courage, thought that at length he should ouercome the Danes. Wherefore to saue his lande, and to bring about his malicious treason, he sought the wayes and meanes how he might stand in his grace and fauour, and at length obteyned his entent, and swore to him to be his true subiect.

The Danes discomfited at Otford in Kent.

¶ When king Edmond had a whyle stayed at London, he then made towarde the Danes that then were in Kent, and met with them at a place called Otford, and there discomfited them, and chased Canutus to the Isle of Shepey, and there he tooke shipping and sayled about the lande, and at the last entred into the Countrie of Mertia, and spoyled a parte thereof.

Edricus againe as a traytor reuolted to the Danes.

¶ Then the two hostes met soone after at a place called Ashedowne, where after a long fight Edricus with his retinue fled to the comfort of the Danes: By meane whereof king Edmond was put to the worsse, for many noble men were slaine vpon his party: among the which the Bishop of Lyncoln, and the Abbot of Ramsey were two, and were come thether to haue intreated a peace betweene the two princes. But when this was layde to the charge of Edricus, he by his vntrue meanes, so excused himselfe, that no man myght charge him with any default.

Edricus had a subtile wit.

¶ Thus this mortall warre continuing betwixt these two martiall princes, to the great desolation and mortalitie of the people, one of the Knightes of the partie of king Edmond, gate him to an high place, where he might be somewhat heard of the hoste, and

spake

spake in this wise: daylie we dye, and no man hath the victorie: For Edmond maye not be ouercome for his great strength, and Canutus maye not be ouercome for fauour of fortune. What shall then be the fruite of thys continuall strife? none other but when the Knightes bene all slaine on eyther partie, then the Dukes compelled by nede will accord, or else they must fight alone without Knights. Then seing thys must be the ende, why do they not one of these two? If they accord? why is not this kingdome sufficient for twaine, that sometyme suffised for. vij. If their couetcousnesse and greedie desire of Lordships be so great, that eyther hath indignation to take and part with other, or else the one to be vnder that other, then let them fight alone, that will be the Lordes alone, least if all men fight, all men be slaine, by meane whereof no men shall be left to be vnder the Lordship or leading of Dukes, nor yet to defend kings against their strong enimies or nations. *Fabian.* A good oration.

¶ Some sayth Polidore, whome it repenteth not me to follow, doe write that the matter was done after this maner. One of the Capitaines, whether it were Englishman or Dane, it is not knowne, hauing first lycence graunted him to saye his minde, spake in the presence of both the kings on thys wise.

¶ O most doubtie and valiant Emperours, you haue nowe fought long ynough one against another: There hath beene bloud ynough shed betwixt you both. Your valiantnesse and the manly courage also of your Souldiours is sufficiently tryed. And yet can neither of you awaye with good or euill fortune. For if it so chaunce that one of you haue the vpper hande of the other, he more fiercely pursueth his vanquished enimie: Agayne, if his fortune be to be ouercome, yet prepareth he a freshe battaile against his vanquisher. O what wilfulnesse is this of yours (noble Princes) that can not be ouercome and perswaded by reason? doe you more regard warre then peace? Whether rageth this your greedie desyre of Empire? If you fight for a kingdome, and that be your quarrell and the cause why ye thus warre one against another, deuide you then this most flourishing and wealthie Realme betwixt you, the which in times past was counted sufficient to maintaine. vij. kings: But if glorie doe pricke you to hasard the vncertaine chaunce of Empire or seruitude, deuise you some wayes by your selues whereby the matter maye be determined without any great slaughter or bloudshed which of you both shall haue the souereintie. Thus spake this Capitaine vnto them. But the latter sentence pleased king Edmond, and so did it Canutus also whome fortune fauoured. And so by his perswasions they accorded at length to trie the matter in their awne persons by dynt of sworde, hetherto Polydore.

¶ These wordes thus spoken, were right well allowed of both hostes, for at this time, a truce was made betweene both the princes for a certaine tyme, after which tyme ended, were it by the occasion of these wordes, or otherwise, the sayde two princes Edmond and Canutus, agreed to trie their quarels betwene them two onely. A truce taken.

¶ And for this was assigned by both their agrements, a little Isle then called Olney nere vnto Gloucester. In which place, at the daye and tyme appointed, the two Champions met without company or assistance within the sayde Isle, the hostes of both parties standing without the Isle, and there abyding the fortune of this combate. There eyther proued other, first with sharpe Speares, and after with kyne and cutting swordes. What shall I of this make any longer processe, when eyther had other well proued and assayed by receiuyng of harde and sore strokes, by the first motion of Canutus, as most Writers testefie, they at the last agreed and kissed togethers as louers, to the great comfort of both the hostes. A Combate betwene two Princes.

¶ And shortly after, by the aduise of both their counsayles they condiscended and agreed vpon a particion of the lande, which immediatly was done to both their contentations, and they loued after, as two brethren, during their naturall lyues. This realme was deuided betweene king Edmõd & Canutus.

¶ But the Serpent Idre, of enuy and false conspiracie which euer burned in the heart of Edricus, was kindeled so sore, that of pure force it must breake out into a light flame,

so that what he might not accõplish by his awne persone he fulfilled by his awne sonne, as testifie diuerse Authors. For as affirmeth Guydo, this sonne of Edrycus awaityng his time, espyed when the king was at a house of easement to purge nature, and with a Speare strake him into the fundament, and so into the body, whereof king Edmond shortly after dyed at Oxenford. Notwithstanding there is great diuersitie amongest wryters touching his death which for breuities sake I omit. For Marian sayth, that he dyed at London by naturall sicknesse.

Edricus his sonne slue king Edmõd with a speare as he sate in a house of easement.

¶ The king thus being slaine, anone Edrycus thinkyng thereby to be greatly exalted, sped him in all hast to Canutus, and saluted him as king, and shewed him of this treason, onely done for his loue.

¶ When Canutus had well considered the confession of this Edricus, he lyke a discrete and righteous Prince, sayde vnto him in this wise. Edrycus, for that thou hast for the loue thou bearest to me, slaine thy naturall Lorde, which I most loued, I will exalt thine head aboue all the Lordes of England. And forthwith commaunded him to be taken, and his head to be striken off, and pight vpon a Speares head, and after set vpon the highest gate in London. But the Aucthour of *Polichronicon* sheweth in the. xviij. Chapter of his sixt booke that Canutus after the death of Edmond gaue vnto Edrycus the Lordship of Martia or myddle Englande, and by his counsayle exiled Edwyn the brother of Edmond called the king of Chorles, and through his counsayle also executed many cruell deedes.

A iust rewarde for a Traytor.

¶ Finally, howsoeuer this noble Prince came to his death, it is agreed that he dyed, when he had reigned one yere, and somewhat more, and is buryed at Glascenbury, by his Grandfather Edgar, and left behynde him two sonnes, that is to say, Edmond, and Edward, as sayth *Fabian*.

1018

CAnutus or Knot, by the death of king Edmond had the whole gouernance of the Realme, and forthwith he assembled a counsayle at London, and then was consecrated and annoynted king, of Aluredе Archebishop of Cauntorbury, where among other thinges that were debated in that counsayle, a question was moued, whether in the composition made betwene Edmond, and Canutus, any speciall remembraunce was made for the children or brethren of Edmond for any porcion of any part of the land.

¶ Wherevnto, it was aunswered of the Lordes, naye, affirming furthermore with an othe (for the kinges pleasure) that they to the vttermost of powers would put off the blood of Edmond in all that they might. By reason of which aunswere and promes, they thought many of them to haue stand in the great grace and fauour of the King, but it turned all otherwise.

Flatterers.

¶ For many, or the more part of them, specially such as Canutus perceyued and knew, were sworne before to Edmond and his heyres, and also were natiue Englishmen, he mistrusted and disdeyned euer after. In so much, that some he exiled, and some were slaine, and some by Goddes punishment dyed sodeynly, and came to a miserable ende.

Dissemblers well rewarded.

¶ But shortly after by the counsayle of dyuerse of his Lordes, he outlawed Edwyne the brother of Edmond surnamed king of Chorles. But yet he was afterwarde reconciled to the kinges fauour, and lastlye was slaine by one of his awne seruauntes.

¶ Canutus also by the sayde counsayle, sent the two sonnes of Edmond, named as before is sayde Edmond and Edward, vnto his brother Swanus then king of Denmarke, to be slaine after the opinion of some wryters: But he abhorring that deede, sent them to Salamon then king of Hungary, as sayth Guydo and other. Where in processe of tyme Edmond dyed, and hys brother Edward maryed Agatha the daughter of Henry the fourth, then Emperour of Almaine.

Edmond and Edward the sonnes of king Edmond, were sent to Swanus king of Denmarke.

¶ Of the which Edward and Agatha, proceded Margaret that after was king of Scotland, and Christian that was a Nonne, and a sonne named Edgar, and surnamed Etheling: or as Polydore wryteth two sonnes, Edmond and Edgar.

¶ Canutus, after he had set certaine things in some order within ỹ realme, he then deuyded the same into foure partes. That is to say, the first and principall parte, which at those dayes was west Saxon, he held vnder his owne guyding. East England the which conteyned Norffolke and Suffolke, he betooke to the rule of the Erle Turkillus a Dane, or as Polydore calleth him Thrugillus. Mertia he betooke (as some write) to the subtile Erle Edricus. And the fourth part which was Northumberland, he betooke to a Dane named Hircius. But lyke as the man of Indee, can at no time chaunge his colour, so this Edricus neuer chaunged his false maners. And notwithstanding the great benefits that he daylie receyued of his princes, euen lyke as he had bene false and deceyueable to other princes before, euen so now he vsed himselfe toward Canutus.

Canutus deuideth the gouernement of this realme into foure partes.

¶ Wherefore he being accused and prooued faultie, was commaunded of the king to haue iudgement: The which was done immediatly, and his head for dyuers causes smitten off, and the same head with the body, for spite, cast into a foule and filthie place. But Reynulph Monke of Chester sayeth, that he was slaine by the kings agreement, within his palace at London, and his body with the head throwne after into the Towne Diche: Thus with shame he ended, that in falshood and dissimulation continued most of his life.

Edricus the false Traytour put to death.

¶ In the. xv. yere of his reigne, he called a Parliament at Oxenforde, where among other things, it was enacted, that Englishmen and Danes shoulde holde and firmely keepe the lawes of Edgar late king.

A Parliament.

¶ And in this tyme dyed Swanus, that was brother to Canutus king of Denmarke without issue, wherefore that land fell vnto Canutus. For the which cause, he with a strong armie sayled thether to take the possession, and to set the Countrie in an order, or after some writers, to appease and withstand the Vandales that then had pierced that lande, and done therein much harme. Wherein Goodwyn the Erle, whose daughter Edward the confessor after maryed with a certaine number of Englishmen, fell vpon the Vandales by night, and distressed them in suche wise that Canutus had of them his pleasure. For this deede the king had Erle Goodwyn euer after in good fauour and loued Englishe men more specially.

Swanus king of Denmarke dead and Canutus succeded him in the sayde kingdome.

Erle Goodwin.

¶ But Polydore reporteth this storye touchyng the kinges goyng into Denmarke farre otherwise, after this maner. When the Parliament (sayth he) was ended, he determined with himselfe to reforme many misorders in the common welth, and to bewtifie and furnishe the Realme with Nobilitie, and to do things that generally should redound to the great wealth and commoditie of all English men. But it so fell that he was sodeinly certified of the inuasion made by them of Norway into Denmarke, and desyred withall of his people there to come and ayde them with all speede. The which thing seemed vnto Canutus to be a matter of no small importance. For when Olanus king of Norway heard how the power of Canutus dayly encreased in such wise as he thought was daungerous for his estate, beyng afearde that he would make clayme vnto the sayd kingdome of Norway, which somtymes belonged vnto his auncestours, and therefore desyrous to cut off, and empeach his victoryes, he together with his brother Harolde, a right doughty knight, inuaded the Realme of Denmarke, destroiyng and wastyng the Countrie euery where as he went, dayly fighting and skirmishing with the Garrisons that lay in sundry places of that Countrie, in such wise that it was thought he would in short space winne all, if speedy resistance were not made to deliuer the Realme from such an iminent daunger. Wherefore Canutus mustered both Englishmen and Danes with a tryce, and hauing nowe all thinges redyly prepared for warre, tooke shipping and the winde seruyng him well, was soner arriued in Denmarke then a man would haue thought, where he found his enemies in armes, and the Countrey wasted and destroyed on euery syde. Then commaunded he his Banners and Pennons to be displayed, and his Standard to be aduaunced and the army to follow, where euery thing was done as soone as it could be spoken.

¶ And here nowe were the Englishe men specially desyrous to do some noble deedes of armes, as well thereby to winne honour and shewe their manly courage and prowesse, as to

purchase themselues the greater grace and fauour with their prince. Then met the two armies and fought so fiercelye together, that they filled the Elament with great cry and noyse that they made. Long it was or it apered to whether partie the victory should encline. At the length the English men so fiercely assayled the enemies that they ouercame them. On the Morow Canutus pursuyng his enemies, tooke his iourney towardes Norway. And when he was entred into the Countrye, there met him incontinent Ambassadors, which were sent vnto him to intreat of peace and submission, and to desyre him of a generall pardon, whome he heard very curteously, and after he had receyued Hostages of them, he pardoned them of all trespasses and offences whatsoeuer they had done against him: And so was the kingdome of Norway recouered againe. Olanus despeyring nowe of victory fled for succour vnto his father in lawe the Duke of the Easterlynges that he might lyue with him more safely in exile: The which Olanus whiles he went about to disturbe the quiet state of another mannes kingdome, lost his awne: yet to say the truth, the same Godly and innocent man lost nothing at all, in asmuch as in all these his aduersities and troubles, he behaued himselfe alwayes in most honest and verteous wise, and therefore was counted of all men a very holy man. And it foloweth a little after in the same wryter: In this battaile Canutus proued the Loyaltie and manly prowesse of the Englishe men, whome for that cause, he euer afterwardes loued out of measure, and rewarded them with great giftes accordingly. And when the king had thus taken order with his affayres in Denmarke, he returned shortly into England. And soone after he maried Emma the wife lately of Egelredus, of the which he had a sonne, & named him Hardycanotus, and after the English Chronicle, Hardyknought.

Canutus maried Emma ye late wife of Egelredus & had by her a sonne named Hardicanute

¶ But Polidore wryteth that this mariage was concluded on in the former Parliament. For Canutus hauing none issue, but onely two sonnes base borne, and begotten of a Concubine of his named Aluina, of the which two sonnes the one was called Harold, and the other Sweno: And desirous to haue such issue as might lawfully succede him, maryed Emma the wyfe of Etheldred, which with her sonnes Alfred and Edward were banished the realme & lyued in Normandy with Richard her brother Duke of that countrie, vnto the which Duke the sayde king maried also his sister Hestritha, at the same tyme.

Malcolme kinge of Scots ouerthrowne and brought to subiection to the king of England.

¶ In the. xvj. yere of his reigne, the Scots rebelled against him: wherfore he with a great armie entred Scotlande, and at length ouercame the king of that lande, named then Malcolme and brought them againe to hys subiection, as sayth Marian the Scot. By reason of which victorie, Canutus was then king of foure kingdomes, of England, of Scotland, of Denmarke, and of Norway.

Leofricus, Egelnotus.

¶ Then as sayth sundry Authours, after that he had betaken this land of England to the guyding of Leofricus, Egelnothus and other, he then returned into Denmarke. And from thence he went in pilgrimage to Rome in the. xvij. yere of his reigne, and redeemed the Schoole of Saxons free of all former Tribute graunted as before in the stories of Iew and Offa is somedeale touched: with redemption of Tribute (as sayeth Guydo) was called Rome Scot, as ye maye reade more in *Fabian.*

Rome scot redéemed.

Canutus king of foure kingdomes.

¶ After his returne from Rome, he beganne somewhat to swell with pride: But to say truth, he was a king of great magnificence, and he vsed such iustice mixed with temperance that in his daies, in the west partes of the worlde, there was no prince of renowne lyke to Canutus and besides that, he was greatly beloued and drad of all his subiects.

Canutus dead and left behinde him two sonnes.

¶ Thys king Canutus when he had reigned ouer this realme. xix. yeres, he dyed and was buried at Winchester, leauing after him two sonnes begotten vpon his wiues, the eldest named Harold, and the yongest Hardikanitus, the which while his father lyued, was made king of Denmarke. *Fabian.*

But Polydore sayeth that Canutus dyed in Normandy, and was buried at Roane, whose wordes are these: It was not long after, but Canutus was enforced to make great warre vpon Richard Duke of Normandy, because he hauing no feare nor regarde vnto the Lawes, had caused himselfe to be deuorced for a verie light and trifling matter from his wyfe Estritha

sister (as is aforesayde) of Canutus, who beyng desyrous to be reuenged vpon the sayde Duke for the same iniurie, prepared a great Nauie and sayled vnto Normandy. Nowe his armie was scarcely set a lande and encamped in the enemies Countrie when worde was brought him of the death of his sonne Sweno Lieutenaunt or Lorde Deputie of Norway, whome he speciallye loued, the which thing so wounded his hart with anguishe and sorrow, that he fell into an Ague, whereof he dyed shortly after. Then (as it foloweth in the same Authour) his funerall obsequy being finished at Roane: the Souldiours vpon safe conduyt and lycence graunted them to depart in safetie, returned home againe into England.

HArolde the base sonne of Canutus and of Elgina, or Algina after the death of his father reigned ouer England. This man for his nymblenesse and swiftnesse of foote, was surnamed Harefoote. In his beginning there was great strife among the Lordes, in a Parliament holden at Oxford, for that some were in doubt of his birth, and whether he were the kings sonne or not, and specially Erle Goodwyn which did the vttermost of his power to haue set him by, and to haue preferred his brother Hardikinitus the sonne of Etheldred and Emma, or anye of the sonnes of Etheldred and Emma that were in Normandy vnto that honor. But Leofricus whom Canutus so much loued and trusted, with the ayde of the Danes and Londoners, so stoutly withstoode Goodwyne and hys sonnes, that they fayled of their purpose. 1038 1 Harold harefoote.

¶ Assoone as this Harolde was crowned, he gate him in all haste to Winchester, and there tiraunically seased vpon all the goodes and treasure which Canutus had left vnto the sayd Emma, and then banished her the lande. The which Emma sayled then into Flaunders, and there of Baldwyn the Erle was reuerently and curteously receyued, and obteyned of him the Castell of Bruges, where she made her aboade during the lyfe of this Harolde. The cause why she went not into Normandy, was because William then Duke there was by reason of his tender yeres and minoritie, not able to gouerne of himselfe, but was vnder the tuition and gouernance of others. Emma the Stepmother of Harold is banished.

¶ This Harold continued his life and reigne with little fruite, and lesse profite to the land, nor yet of the Subiectes, so that of him, either for vice that was in him, which learned men thought not meete to put in memory, or else for the rudenesse of his lyfe, and spending vainely of his tyme, which was not worthy of memory, nothing at all is put in remembraunce, but that he dyed at London, or as some write, at Oxenford, and was buried at Westminster, when he had reigned three yeres and odde Monethes, leauyng after him none heyre, and therefore his brother Hardikinitus which was king of Denmarke, was king next after him. Harold dead.

DVlcane king of Scottes reigned at this time, seuen yeres, and was slaine by his brother Germayne Makebreth. 1040 3

Hardikinitus, or Hardiknot, the sonne of Canutus, and of Emma, was made king of Englande: This man after the death of his brother Harolde was sent for into Denmarke, or as some write into Flaunders, where he was with his mother Emma, and was most ioyously receyued and crowned at London of Ethelnotus, then Archebishop of Cauntorbury: But he was of such a cruelty, that he sent Alfricus then Archebishop of York, and Erle Goodwyn vnto Westminster, commaundyng them for the iniury by his brother Harolde done vnto his mother Emma, that they should drawe the Corps and dead body of the sayd Harolde out of the ground, or place where it was buried, and cause it to be throwne into the ryuer of Thamys, which was done according to his commaundement. The which Corps after, as sayth Guydo and other, was found by a Fisherman, and buried vnreuerently within the Churche yarde of Saint Clement standyng without the Temble barre of London. 1041 1 A cruell reuengemẽt.

¶ And

¶ And as Reynulph sayth, for a more cruelty, he caused first the dead hed of his sayde brother to bee smitten off from the bodye, and then throwen into the sayde Ryuer.

Dane Gelt. ¶ This king also leuyed the aforenamed Tribute named the Dane gelt, and spent it to the little profite of the Realme, but gaue the same vnto Mariners and Shipmen, and to sundry lewde persons, he gaue great and vnfitting fees and wages, and was of such Excesse of fare. prodigality, that his Boordes and Tables were couered foure tymes in the daye, and the people serued with great excesse both of meate and drinke.

¶ Nowe for the leuiyng of the aforesayde Tribute, the Commons greatly grudged, so that in Worcester two of his seruauntes, which were assigned to gather that money, were Murther & mischiefe. there slaine. For the which murder the king was so sore displeased, that he brent a great part of that Towne.

Erle Goodwyn a subtill man. ¶ Some Auctiours write that the king betooke all the rule of the lande vnto his mother Emma, and to the Erle Goodwyn, the which Goodwyn had maried the daughter of Canutus, gotten vpō his first wife Elgina: by whom many things were misordered, & specially by the subtilty of ỹ Erle Goodwin.

¶ This Erle had many sonnes, as sayth Reynulph, in his sixt booke, and. xxv. Chap. By his first wife that was king Canutus sister, & not his daughter, he had one sonne: A plague among Erle Goodwyns wyfe and children. The which with the stroke of a horse was throwne into the Ryuer of Thamys and drowned: and the mother was smitten with a blast of lightning, and so dyed. Of whome it is there remembred that she was so vngracious, and of so vile condicions, that she set yong women to whoredome, for to gather by that vnlawfull meane riches. After which wife so dead, he maryed the seconde, of whome he receyued sixe sonnes, that is to say, Swanus, Harold, Tostitus, Wilnotus, Sirthe, & Leofricus, & a daughter named Goditha, which after was maryed vnto Edward the Confessor.

Alphredus. Edward. ¶ The two sonnes of Egelredus, that is to say, Alphredus, and Edward, which as ye before haue heard were sent into Normandie by Emma theyr mother came in the time of the reigne of this king into England to visite and see theyr mother, and brought with them a great number of Normans. Then this Goodwyn imagined in his minde, howe he might preferre his daughter Godith to one of these brethren, and thought with himselfe that the eldest would disdaine that mariage, and therefore he thought to ioyne her to the A trayterly practice of Goodwyn. yonger, and to make him king, and her Queene, and to that purpose he compassed the death of the elder.

¶ And first Goodwyn practised with the Lordes of England, and sayd, it was a great ieopardie for the lande, to suffer so many straungers to enter the land without licence, wherefore it were necessary that they were restrayned in tyme. By which meanes he gate auctheritie to order the matter in such sort as to him should seeme best, and that of his awne power, because he was of most might next vnto the king: Wherefore he went and met with the sayd Normans, and slue of them the greatest number. For vpon Guyld Normans cruelly murdered by Goodwyn. downe, he slue alway. ix. and saued the tenth. And yet because he thought there was to many of them liuyng, he eftsoones tithed them againe, and slue euerye tenth knight of them, and that by most cruell death, as windyng theyr guttes out of their bodies (as sayth Alphred had his eyen put out and was sent to Ely, and there dyed. Reynulph) and among other, put out the eyen of the elder brother Alphred, and sent him to Ely, where he dyed in short tyme after: But Edward was conueied some other way, and was brought to his mother. But she fearing the treason of Goodwin, sent him sone ouer the Sea againe.

¶ When Goodwyn was after accused for this cruell deede, he excused him selfe, and sware depely that he was forced of the king so for to do.

¶ Then it foloweth, that this Hardikinitus beyng at a feast or mariage dinner at Lambeth besyde London, mery and iocund, while he stood drinkyng he fell downe sodeynly The death of king Hardikinitus. and dyed, or waxed dumbe, and lay vntill the. viij. day after, not without suspicion of poysoning as some wryte, when he had reigned two yeres and was buried at winchester, leauing after him none issue.

¶ Here

Here endeth the line or ofspring of Swanus, and all the other Danes that ruled in England, so that after this king, the blood of the Danes was cleerely extinct and put out from all kingly dignitie within this Realme of England. And also the persecution of them seased cleerely after this kinges death, the which had continued to reken from their first landing in the tyme of Brithricus king of west Saxon, and the. ix. yere of his reigne, by the terme of. CC. Lv. yeres.

EDwarde the sonne of Egeldred or Etheldred and of Emma his last wife, reigned ouer the realme of England next after the death of Hardikinitus: The which Edwarde, immediately after the death of his brother in lawe aforesaide, was sent for into Normandy, and pledges layde for him, that he without fraude should be made king. And then he came with a fewe straungers. But Marian the Scot sayth that some of the Lordes had sent for Edward the outlawe, sonne of Edmond Ironside for to be theyr king, but after the affirmance of the same Aucthour, when he knewe that Edward his nephew was in possession of the land, he would meddle no further. 1043

1 This was Edward the confessor.

¶ Then this Edward by the great aduice of Goodwyn Erle of west Saxon, and Leofricus Erle of Chester, was chosen king at London, and of Edsius, or Cadsius Archebishop of Cantorbury, and Alfricus Archebishop of Yorke on Easter Monday folowing consecrated at Winchester, and in processe of tyme after, he wedded Goditha the daughter of the Erle Goodwyn, which he had by his wyfe Thira, sister vnto Canutus the second, that of Guydo is called Editha, the which he entreated in such wise, that he put her not from his bed, nor yet had carnally with her to do. Whether it were for hate of her kinne, or for loue of Chastitie, the truth is not shewed: But all Wryters agree that he continued his life without the vse of Women.

King Edward maried Goditha the daughter of Erle Goodwyn.

¶ This king discharged Englishe men of the great Tribute called Dane gelt, the which before is often mencioned, so that after his time it was no more gathered. And also he subdued the Britons or Welshmen that made warres within the boundes of the lande or fronters: But soone after theyr Duke or leader called Griffin, or Griffith, with the ayde of the Irishe men entered the Ryuer of Seuerne, and tooke manye prayes, and departed againe without fight.

Dane Gelt discharged.

Griffyn a rebellion in Wales.

¶ In the tyme of the reigne of this Edward, Emma his mother was accused to be familier with Alwyn or Adwyne, Bishop of Winchester. Vpon which accusation, by counsayle of Erle Goodwyn, he tooke from her many of her Iewelles, and caused her to be kept very streightly in the Abbey of Warwell, and the Bishop he committed to the examination and correction of the Clergie: notwithstanding, Polidore saith, they were both committed to ward in Winchester. But his mother more sorowyng the defamation of Alwyne the Bishop, than her awne estate, wrote vnto diuerse Bishoppes, & besought them of iustice, affirming that she was ready to abyde all lawfull and most sharpest tryall.

Emma the mother of king Edward accused of incontencey with the Bishop of Winchester.

¶ Then dyuerse of the Byshoppes made labour to the king for her, and for the Bishop. But Robert then Archebishop of Cantorbury, beyng with their labour discontented, sayde vnto them in this maner. My brethren Byshoppes, sayde he, howe dare ye defende her, that is a wilde beast and not a woman? she hath defamed her awne sonne the king. *Fabian*, and called her lecherous Lemman the Bishop, Christ her God. *Polydore.*

A beastly Bishop.

¶ But be it so, that the woman would purge the Priest, who shall then purge the womā, that is accused to consent to the death of her sonne Alphred, and procured venome to the empoysonyng of her sonne Edward: But how so it be, that she be giltie or giltlesse, if she will go bare footed for her selfe ouer foure ploughe shares, and for the Bishop ouer fiue ploughe shares brennyng, and fire hote: then if she escape harmelesse, he shall be assoyled of thys chalenge, and she also.

A cruell penance.

¶ This was of her graunted, and the day of purgation assigned: At which day the king and a great part of his Lordes were present, but this Robert the Archbishop made default and was not there, were it for pitie or otherwise. This Robert was a Monke in an

It is most lyke that he durst not be there for shame that he awarded such a tryall to a kings mother.

an house in Normandy, and came ouer by the sending for of the king, and was first made Bishop of London, and after Archebishop of Cantorbury.

A great miracle if it were true.

¶ Then shee was blindfolde, and led vnto the place betweene two men, where the Irons lay glowyng hote, and passed the. ix. shares vnhurt. Then at the last she sayde, good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation. When they vncouered her eyes, and shee sawe that she was past the paine, she kneeled downe and thanked God. *Fabian.*

The Archebishop was glad he was gone.

¶ Then the king repented him, and restored vnto her, and the Byshop also, that which he before had taken from them, and asked them forgeuenesse: But the Archebishop of Cantorbury fled into Normandy.

¶ Polydore wryteth that king Edward was offended with his mother, for other causes aswell as for that she was suspected of the incontinent liuyng with the sayd Bishop: For it was layde vnto her charge that she was maried vnto Canutus beyng both a straunger and an enemy vnto the Realme: And that she succoured not her children in the tyme of theyr exile and banishment, and lastly because there went a brute that she should imagine their deathes.

¶ It was not long after, that king Edward gathered a strong nauie at Southampton, or to saye more truely at Sandwich, forsomuch as he was warned that Swanus king of Denmarke entended to make warre vpon hym. But Reynulph sayth that he gathered this Nauie to withstande Harold Harfagar, then king of Norway which entended to haue entered England. But he was letted by the aforesayde Swanus, that shortly after made warre vpon the sayde Harold and other.

¶ It is also reported of this king that being on a tyme in a certaine extasie of minde or high contemplation in the time of seruice, he fell sodeynly into a great laughter, contrarie to his wonted and accustomed maner. And when the standers by meruayled thereat, and asked of him what was the matter that he so did: he answered how the Danes and Norwayes were about by common consent to haue inuaded England with a great Nauie, and as they were in a readynesse to hoyse vp their sayles and to set forward, one brought foorth a Bolle full of Mede or Methe to drinke vpon a bone voyage: and after that came Bolle after Bolle, so that after drinke came dronkennesse, and after that iangeling, and then strife, and at the last fighting: in the which many were slaine, and the rest returned to their awne home, so that they are now dispersed and gone from their purpose, and I trust (sayth he) that in my tyme forrein Nations and straungers will neuer inuade and disquiet thys Realme againe.

Dronkennes causeth madnes and mischiefe.

¶ In the. x. yere of his reigne (as sayeth Reynulph) and in the Moneth of September, Eustace Erle of Boloygne came a lande at Douer, which Erle had wedded king Edwards sister. And it so came to passe, that when this Erle was landed he conueyed himselfe in so secret maner from his company that none of them could tell what was become of him, and they thought he had bene slaine in the towne: And in this search made for him, the hurly burly was such that a Citizen of the towne of Douer was slaine. By meane whereof the people arose, and in the questioning of this mans death, they ranne at length vpon the Erles company, and slue. xx. of his men, and wounded many mo: then the Erle appered and tooke his mens parte: But in the ende he was fayne to withdrawe himselfe with a fewe persons, and roade vnto the king then being at Gloucester, or as Polydore sayth, at Cauntorbury, and made vnto him a greeuous complaynt of the men of Douer.

How a folish act begat a great fray.

¶ But Mathew of Westmynster reporteth this storie otherwise, saiyng: About this time Eustachius Erle of Boloygne, who had maried king Edwardes sister named Goda, landed with his treyne at Douer, where hys Souldiours as they sought for lodging after a proude and vndiscret maner fortuned to kyll a Townes man. The which outrageous fact when another Burgesse of the same towne perceyued, he kylled him againe that had done the murther. By reason wherof the sayd Erle and his company were greatly moued, and

in

in their rage slue much people both men and women, besides children and olde folkes that were troden to death with men and horses. But when the straungers saw that the Burgesses came still mo and mo, flockyng on euery syde to rescue their neighbours, they toke their heeles like cowards and. xviij. of them beyng slaine in the flight, the rest fled to Gloucester where the king lay. Howbeit, Polydore sayth that this conflict was at Cauntorbury and not at Douer: But nowe to returne to the matter. After this ryot, Erle Goodwyn, forasmuch as to him was committed the rule of Kent, was charged to ryde thether, and to take wreche vpon the inhabitantes of that towne. But he withsayde that commaundement, and counsayled the king to send for the Wardeynes of the Castle of Douer, and the Rulers of the Towne, for to aunswere vnto such matters as should be layd against them, and if they were guiltye, to punish them, or else not.

Erle Goodwyn sent by the king to take order with the men of Douer for the death of y^ straungers.

¶ This Counsaile of Goodwyn pleased nothing the king, nor such as were about him, wherefore many mo Lordes were sent for. Among the which Leofricus Erle of Chester, & Seward Erle of Northumberland were two.

¶ After which assembly of the Lordes Erle Goodwyn had such monition of some of the counsayle, that he withdrewe himselfe from the Court, and gathered to him strength of knightes out of dyuerse shires, as west Saxon, and Kent, and houed at Beuerston vntill his sonnes came vnto him with mo people. Sone after, came vnto him his eldest sonne Swanus, and brought with him a faire companie, that he had arrered in Oxenfordshire, and Gloucestershire: And Harolde his other sonne with a felowship that he had assembled in East Englande and Huntingdonshire, so that of these people were made a great hoste.

¶ Then Goodwyn was accused to the king for gathering of so great an hoste: But he excused him and sayde, it was done to withstande the Welshe men, the which prooued contrary. Then he was commaunded to send away the people, and to come himselfe with a certeyne number vnto the Court: but that he refused.

Goodwin accused for vnlawfull assemblies.

¶ Then the king and his Counsayle beyng at London, Goodwyn and Harolde, was againe sent for, and charged to come to the Court with. xij. personnes to attend on them, and no mo, and to render into the kings handes all knightes fees that he and Harold his sonne had within England. To this by them was aunswered, that they might not come to the counsayle of Treachors & guilefull men, and that also with so fewe men in number they might not without perill or shame passe by the Country.

A lewde aunswere of a subiect.

¶ Nowe during this tyme, a part of Goodwynes knightes withdrewe them, and his power began to deminishe, and the king in this meane season had gathered a strong host. Then Proclamations were made that Goodwyn should come to the Court, as before is sayde, or else to auoyde the lande witnin fiue dayes. Wherefore, Goodwyn considering the ieopardie that he was in, tooke with him three of his sonnes, that is to say, Swanus, Tosty, and Gurth, or Biorno, and sayled into Flaunders, where he was receyued of the Erle Bladwyn, whose daughter Swanus his sonne had before maryed, named Iudith. And Harold and Leofricus, two of his other sonnes with a fewe shippes sayled out of Bristowe into Ireland. *Fabian.*

Goodwyn an obstinate rebell.

Swanus, Tosty, and Gurth, y^ thre sonnes of Goodwyn fled w^t their father into Flaunders.

¶ Of this foresayde variance betwene the king, Erle Goodwyn, and his sonnes, I finde much diuersitye among wryters: For Mathewe of Westminster somewhat dissenting from my Authour, wryteth hereof as foloweth. Erle Goodwyn beyng greatly moued for the sleiyng of his men at Douer, assembled a great power out of Kent, Sussex, and the West Saxons. And so did likewise his eldest sonne Swanus out of his Seignory or honour, that is to wete, out of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Sommersetshire, and Barkeshire, as did his sonne Harold also out of his honour of East England, Grantbridge, and Huntyngdon. When king Edward was informed hereof, he also assembled a great army, because he would be in a redinesse to fight with his enemies if neede were. Then came Goodwyn with hys army into Gloucestershire, and sent his messengers vnto the king to require him to deliuer Eustachius and his company vnto him,

and if he refused so to do, then to shewe him that he would proclayme open warre against him Vnto whome the king beyng now in a redinesse and well furnished of all things necessary for warre sent aunswere againe, that he would not sende him Eustachius, chargyng the sayd Goodwyn further, forsomuch as he had raysed an army against him, and without his leaue and licence disturbed the peace of his Realme, personally to apere at the Court at a day apoynted, and there to make aunswere to the sayde iniury, and misdemeanour before him and his Counsayle. But as Goodwyn durst not fight against the king, because hee thought himselfe to weake, so likewise would he not make his personall aperance as he was required. Wherefore, the sayd king by the decree and sentence of his Counsayle, banished him the Realme, with his fiue sonnes: who shortly vpon his banishement, with his wife Gina, and Tostius or Tostio his sonne, and his wife Iudith, the daughter of Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, and two other of his sonnes, that is to say, Swanus, and Gurth, taking wyth them great store of treasure, tooke shipping, and sayled streight into Flaunders vnto the sayde Erle. His other two sonnes Harolde, and Leofwinus, went vnto Bristowe, and from thence gate them into Irelande. After that the king put away Edith the Quene, onely of displeasure conceyued agaynst her father, and appoynted that she should be kept in safe custody in the Abbey of Redwell by the Abbesse there, without any honourable entertaynement, hauyng one gentlewoman only to wayt vpon her. Hetherto Mathew. &c.

Goodwyn outlawed by the aucthoritie of parliament and his three sonnes.

¶ When the king was asserteyned that the Erle Goodwyn with his fiue sonnes was in this maner departed out of his land, he shortly after called a Parliament, and by the aucthoritie of the same banished Goodwyn and his three sonnes that were gone with him. And that done the king put his awne wife which was the daughter of Goodwyn called Edithe, a Lady of singuler vertue and learning, into the Abbey of Warwell with one mayden to be safely kept, and tooke from her such Iewels as she had, as sayth Marian. And so Goodwyn and his said sonnes continued two yeres banished. In the which season

Goodwyn & his people became pirates and theeues.

he or his retinue tooke dyuerse tymes prayes in the marches of England and in the ende drew to him such strength, that he was purposed to haue entred the land with force, and to haue warred vpon the king. But by mediatours that fauoured Erle Goodwyn, a peace

Goodwyn againe restored to fauour.

was made betwene the king and him, so that in the ende he was receyued to grace with his sonnes, and his daughter the kinges wife restored to hir first and former honour. And for this peace to continued for Goodwynes part was deliuered for pledges, a sonne of his called Wilnotus, and a sonne of Swanus, named Hacum, or as Polydore writeth, two sonnes of Goodwyn, named Tosto, and Biorna. The which two pledges, king Edward sent to William Duke of Normandy to be kept. And Algarus the sonne of Leofricus Erle of Chester, to whome the king had geuen the Erledome of Harolde, & he ruled it discretly in the tyme of his absence, and at his returne, delyuered it to him againe, gladly and without grudge.

Wylliam Duke of Normandy came into England, to visite and see the king.

¶ During the tyme of this Banishment of Goodwyn, William Bastard, Duke of Normandy, came with a good company into this land, and and was honourably receyued, to whome the king made great cheere.

¶ And after he had taryed here a certeyne of time to his contentation, and pleasure, he returned to his awne with great giftes and rewardes. And Emma the kinges mother

Emma the kings mother dead.

dyed shortly after, and was buried at Winchester. And Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwyn went to Ierusalem, and from thence toward Licia, and dyed by the way of colde that he had taken in goyng barefoote. Then the Normanes that had geuen to the king euill counsaile against Englishe men, were by Goodwyn and his friendes exiled. Among which, Robert Archebishop of Cantorbury that had spoken sore against them was one, of whome Fabian speaketh.

The Scots rebelled.

¶ In the. xiij. yere of this king, the Scottes rebelled against him. Wherfore Seward Erle of Northumberland by the kinges commaundement gathered a great host, and entered that land, and behaued him so manfully, that in the ende he subdued the Scottes, and chased the king out of his Country, so that after king Edward gaue that kingdome vnto Malcoline,

Malcoline, sonne of the king of Cambris, or Cumberland, to be holden of him and his heyres kings, as chiefe Lordes of Scotland. How king Edward gaue ye kingdom of Scotland to Malcolyne, to hold the same Realme of him and his heyres, as chiefe Lords of Scotland.

¶ Vpon Easter Monday the sayd yere, Goodwyn sitiyng at the kinges Boorde, with other Lordes in the Castle of Windsore, or as some report, of Winchester, it happened one of the kings Cup bearers to stumble, and to recouer againe, so that he shed none of the drinke: whereat Goodwyn laughed and sayde, nowe that one brother, hath susteyned that other, whereby he meant, that the one foote or legge had stayed the other from falling. With which woordes, the king marked him and sayde. Right so my brother Alphred should haue holpen me, had not Goodwyn beene. The Erle then conceyued that the king suspected him of his brothers death, and sayde vnto the king in defending his vntruth: Sir, I perceyue well that it is tolde thee that I shoulde be the cause of thy brothers death. So mought I safely swalowe this morsell of bread that I heare holde in my hande, as I am giltlesse of the dede? But he had no soner spoken the word, and put the bread in his mouth, but he was choked. Then the king commaunded him to be drawen from the boord by the legges, & so was he conueied to Winchester, & there buried. *Fab.* A wise reply of a king. A notable plague and iust iudgement of God.

¶ Mathewe of Westminster sayth, that the king when he sawe him fall downe starke dead before him, spake vnto them that were present, saiyng: haue away this dogge and traytour, and burye him in some common highe way, for he is not worthy of Christian buriall. Then his sonnes that stoode by drewe him from the Table, and vnwares vnto the king, buried him in the olde Abbey of the same Citie.

¶ But Marian the Scot sayth, that as Erle Goodwyn sate at the kinges Table on Easter Monday, he was sodeynly taken with a Palsey, or some other sicknesse, and dyed the thirde day after: and his Lordshippes were geuen vnto Harolde his eldest sonne then liuyng, and Haroldes Erledome was geuen to Algarus the sonne of Leofricus, which was the Erledome of Oxforde after some wryters.

¶ It was not long after that king Edward sent vnto the fourth Henry then Emperour of Almaine, Aldredus Bishop of Worcester with other noble men, praiyng him that he would sende into England his Cosyn Edward the sonne of Edmond Ironside, for so much as he entended to make hym as Heyre. The which request was fulfilled, so that he came into England sone after, the which as ye haue heard before was named Edward the outlaw. But as sayth Guydo and other, the yere after he came into England, he dyed at London and was buried at Westmynster. Edward the sonne of Edmond Ironside, returned into Englād, and shortly after dyed.

¶ The yere following king Edward through euill counsaile exiled without gilt Algarus the sonne of Leofricus, the which did associate himselfe with Griffyn king or Duke of Wales, and destroyed the Countrie of Herforde, and did much harme to the Towne, and set the Mynster on fyre, and slue. vij. Chanons therof. Then the king sent Harold against him, the which chased the Welshmen into their awne boundes, and recouered the sayde Towne by appointment, holden by the sayde Algarus, and trenched it about and amended all hurtes before done by the Welshmen, and lastly reconciled the sayde Algarus and his company vnto the kings grace. Griffyn prince of Wales, rebelled. Algarus wyll againe reconciled to the kings grace.

¶ About the. xv. yere of king Edward dyed the Noble Duke Seward, ruler of Northumberlande of a Fluxe, of whome Guydo reherseth dyuers notable actes whiche I passe ouer. Of him it is read that when he sawe well he should dye, he caused his armour to be put vpon him, and so armed and sitting in a Chayre, sayde, thus it becommeth a knight or man of honour to dye, and not liyng in his bed as another meane man, and so he dyed and was buried at Yorke, or as Reynulph writeth died at Yorke and was buried in the Abbey of Galmahan which he himselfe had founded. And his Erledom was after geuen to Tosty sonne of Goodwyn. Seward ruler of Northumberland dyed with a valiant courage.

¶ In the. xvj. yere of this king dyed also the good Erle Leofricus Erle of Mertia and of Chester, & was buryed in the Abbay of Couentrie the which before he and his wyfe Godina had buylded. This man purchased manye great priuileges for the towne of Couentrye &

made it free from any maner of Tolle, Except onely of Horsse. For the which also to haue free, the common fame telleth, and after long request made to the king by his wyfe named Godina, he graunted her to haue it thereof freed, if that she woulde ride naked thorow the Towne, which she did, by meane whereof, it was freed.

Couentrie made free.

¶ But Gaufride sayth that this gentle and good Lady did not onely for the freeing of the said Citie and satisfying of her husbands pleasure, graunt vnto her sayde Husband to ryde as aforesayde: But also called in secret maner (by such as she put speciall trust in) all those that then were Magistrates and rulers of the sayde Citie of Couentrie, and vttered vnto them what good will she bare vnto the sayde Citie, and how shee had moued the Erle her husband to make the same free, the which vpon such condition as is afore mencioned, the sayde Erle graunted vnto her, which the sayde Lady was well contented to doe, requiring of them for the reuerence of womanhed, that at that day and tyme that she should ride (which was made certaine vnto them) that streight commaundement should be geuen throughout all the City, that euerie person should shut in their houses and Wyndowes, and none so hardy to looke out into the streetes, nor remayne in the stretes, vpon a great paine, so that when the tyme came of her out ryding none sawe her, but her husbande and such as were present with him, and she and her Gentlewoman to wayte vpon her galoped thorough the Towne, where the people might here the treading of their Horsse, but they saw her not, and so she returned to her Husbande to the place from whence she came, her honestie saued, her purpose obteyned, her wisedome much commended, and her husbands imagination vtterly disapointed. And shortly after her returne, when shee had arayed and apparelled her selfe in most comely and seemely maner, then shee shewed her selfe openly to the people of the Citie of Couentrie, to the great ioy and maruellous reioysing of all the Citizens and inhabitants of the same, who by her had receyued so great a benefite.

¶ Then Algarus his sonne was Erle after him. But Mathew of Westmynster wryteth that his wyfe Godina obteyned the sayde liberties of the Erle her husbande then Lorde of the sayde Towne.

Algarus againe accused and banished the realme.

¶ Harold the eldest sonne of Goodwyn was now in great authoritie, and ruled much of the kings armie. The yere folowing Algarus was accused by malice, and was banished the lande. Wherefore he fled againe to Griffyn Duke of Wales as he before had done, of whome he was ioyously receyued and mainteyned. The king being thereof informed, sent Harold into Wales to make warre vpon Griffyn, the which quit him in so knightly wise, that he chased the Welshmen, brent the sayde Griffyns palace at a place called Rutlane, and destroyed his nauie, and then returned into England about mydlent. But about the Rogation dayes the sayde Harold and his brother Tosty were sent thether againe with a strong armie: at which season they destroyed a great part of Wales, and in conclusion brought the Welshmen vnto due subiection, and forced them to geue pledges for the continuance of the same. And that done pursued so sore vpon Griffyn by the commaundement of the king, that in the ende, his awne people for to purchase their owne lyues slue him, and sent his head vnto Harold in the Moneth of August: so that after the death of this Griffyn, by the commaundement of the king, the Countrie of Wales was committed to the guyding of the two brethren of Griffyn, the which fauoured more the kings partie in the time of warre, than they did their brothers. And this warre in Wales thus brought to an ende, Harold by his pollecie reconciled againe Algarus Erle of Mertia to ỹ kings grace, so that he continued in his fauour during his lyfe after.

Griffyn prince of Wales slaine.

Algarus once againe reconciled to the kinges fauour.

¶ In the. xx. yere of the reigne of the king: Harold sayled toward Normandy to visite his brother Wilnotus and Hacun his Nephew, the which as ye before haue heard, were layd there for pledges for the peace to be holden vpon Erle Goodwynes side against the king. But he in his course of sayling was wether driuen by tempest into the Countrie or Prouynce of Pountith, where he was taken as a prisoner of the Duke there, and sent vnto Duke Wylliam of Normandy: The which forced hym to sweare that he in tyme folowing

Harold take and brought into ỹe keping of Wilyam Duke of Normandy.

should

should mary his daughter, and that after the death of king Edward, he should keepe the lande of England to his behoofe, according to the will and minde of king Edward as some writers affirme. And it is further written that Harold to be in the more fauour of Duke Wylliam, shewed him that king Edward had in the presence of his Barony of England, admitted the sayde Wylliam for his heyre, and couenaunted with him, that if he ouer lyued the king, he would in safe wise keepe the lande to his vse. For the which tydings and promise, the sayde Wylliam graunted him his daughter to wife, which then was vnder lawful yeres of mariage with a great dower.

¶ And for to cause Harold to be the more constant in his promes, he deliuered to him Hacum his Nephewe and sonne of his brother Swanus, the which he much desyred, and kept still Wilnotus the brother of the sayde Harolde. After which couenaunts, sufficiently stablished and enacted: Harold departed from Duke William with great and riche giftes, and shortly after landed in England. And at his comming to the kinges presence, he shewed to him all that he had done in the aforesayd matters, wherwith the King was well contented, as affirmeth Fabian mine auchour.

¶ Mathew of Westminster reporteth the matter thus. Tostius Erle of Northumberland, tooke his brother Harold by the heare as he was briagyng a Cup of wine vnto the king, and pulled him downe vnto the ground, all that stood by and behelde it mercylyng thereat. Then Harold againe desirous to be reuenged vpon him for that vilanye, tooke him in his armes, and floong him on the pauement: But by and by the kinges Garde ranne betwixt them, and parted them. After the which altercation, Tostius departed the Court in a great rage, and comming to the Citie of Herford, where Harolde had prepared a great feast agaynst the kinges commyng, slue all his brothers seruauntes that he found there, and mangled and cut them in peeces, and into euery vessell of Wine, Meethe, Ale, or any other kinde of drinke else, hee cast eyther a legge, an arme, or some other peece of the bodyes so mangled, sendyng the king woorde withall, that whensoeuer he came to his brothers house, he should be sure to finde powdred fleshe ynoughe to serue him, but if he would haue delicates, he must then be faine to prouide them himselfe. The which mocke of his when the king heard thereof, he commaunded him for his sayde detestable fact and lewdenesse to be banished the Realme. But as Polidore wryteth, he was offended with him, and sayd vnto him as foloweth: Tolde I not thee before that this mischiefe and inconuenience would ensue hereof vnto this Realme by thy meanes, if thou wentest to William of Normandy: But God eyther turne this harde desteny from vs, or else if it must needes come to passe, graunt that it chaunce not in our dayes.

¶ This cruell deede sprang wide, so that for it he was hated of all men, in somuch that his awne Tenantes, the men of Northumberland, of which prouince he then was Lorde of, arose against him, and in the ende chased him into Flaunders, with a fewe personnes then awayting vpon him.

¶ But the verteous king Edward not beyng contented with the commons doyng, consideryng it to be done without his aduice or commaundement, sent thether Harolde to do correction vpon the heades or Captaynes of the Northumbers: Wherof they beyng asserteyned, continued their strength and met with Harolde, and his people, and made them to vnderstand that they were freely borne, and freely norished, and that they might not suffer the cruelnesse of any Dukes. A stout speche of subiectes.

¶ When Harolde had receyued this message, and had well regarded the strength of the Northumbers, he perceyued that without great effusion of blood, he could not correct the misdoers: Wherefore it seemed to him better to fauour the Country, then to take heede of the singuler profite of his brother, so that he returned to the king with this aunswere, and purchased their pardon of him, and also so laboured the king, that he assigned them another Duke or Erle that was named Malcharus. And Tostius his brother with his wife and children remayned in Flaunders during the kinges life.

¶ This king also purged the olde and corrupt lawes, and picked out of them a certain, which The comm. lawes of this Realme.

which were most profitable for the commons. and those were called the common lawes of this Realme, for the institution whereof, there happened many commocions and much trouble.

¶ And nowe for an ende of this story, this king dyed the fourth day of Ianuary, when he had reigned. xxiij. yeres. vij. Monethes, and odde dayes, and was buried at Westminster, and left after him no childe, for he was accompted for a virgine when he dyed.

¶ It is written of him also that he was wont by touch of hand, to heale such as were diseased of the kinges euill, & that of him other kinges and princes of this Realme haue as it were by inheritance receyued the gift of healing that disease, by touch of hand and certeyne prayers, and ceremonies vsed withall, like as they receyued also the custome to halowe and consecrate Rynges on Good Friday, which were reputed good and auaylable against the Crampe.

1044 2 Mackbeth King of Scottes.

MAckbeth reigned among the Scottes. xvj. yeres, which at the beginning did many thinges to the profite of the Realme: but afterward he became a cruell Tyraut, and was vanquished and slaine by Malcolme, by the ayde of the Englishe men.

1061 19

IN this yere of our Lorde, Malcolme recouered the crowne of Scotland, and reigned. xxxv. yeres.

1066 1

HArolde the second sonne of Erle Goodwyn, and last king of Saxons. This man forgettyng his promes before made to William Duke of Normandy, tooke vpon him as king, and was crowned of Aldredus then Bishop of Yorke, or as some wryte, set the crowne on his awne heade without any consecration or ceremonies. Albeit, as Guydo affirmeth, some of the Lordes entended to haue made Edgar Adeling king, which Edgar as affirmeth the sayde aucthours, was sonne to Edwarde that was the sonne of Edmond Ironsyde, and named of some Edward the outlawe. But because this Edward was yong, and chiefly considering the strength and riches of Harolde, therefore Harolde obteyned the Crown. Howebeit Marian sayth, that king Edward before his death, ordeyned that Harolde shoulde be king after him.

¶ Soone after the king was crowned, he began to reuoke euill lawes, and customes, and established good lawes.

¶ In short tyme after that Harolde was made king, Tostie his brother which as aforesayde was chased into Flaunders, made him a Nauye of. lx. small sayles of Shippes, or as Mathew of Westminster saith, of. xl. and sayled about the Isle of Wight, and tooke prayes within the sayde Isle, and in diuerse places of Kent. And from thence he sayled into Lynsey, and did there much harme both with fire and sworde. But sone after he was chased thence by Edwyn, and Malcarus, Erles of Martia and Northumberlande: And then he sayled into Scotland, and finding little comfort there, he went from thence into Norway to desyre ayde of King Harolde, who there reigned at that tyme.

Tostius roued about the Realme, and did much hurt.

¶ When Tostius was thus with his robbers chased, then Harold Harfagar king of Norway moued therevnto by Tosto, with a great Nauie of thre hundreth shippes and mo, entered the mouth of the riuer of Tyne.

¶ When Harolde of England had knowledge of this great Nauie of the Norwayes, he sent vnto the aforenamed Erles of Mertia, and Northumberland, commaunding them to withstand their landing, while he gathered his strength. Then the aforesayde Erles sped them toward the Norwayes, and gaue vnto them a sharpe and a strong fight, but in the ende the Englishe men were put to the worse, and were faine to geue backe, so that the enemies entered further into the land. The king heering of the discomfiture of hys people, made the more hast towarde his enemies, so that within sixe dayes after he came to Semysford Bridge.

Semisford Bridge.

A cruell battaile.

Harold Harfager slaine.

¶ In this foresayde place both hostes ioyned and fought a most sharpe and cruell battaile, wherein was ouerthrowne manye a lustie knight vpon the Englishe partie, but many mo vpon the Norwayes, so that in the ende Harold their king was slaine, and that of the hande

hande of Harold king of England as saith Guydo, and Tostius was also slaine in the same fight. Olanus brother to the sayde Harold Harfager, with Paulus Duke of the Isles or Orkeies were there taken prisoners. The which ỹ king caused to be sworne vnto him that they should keepe all such promises as they there to him made, and tooke good pledges for the same, and after suffred them to returne from whence they came. *Fabian.*

Olanus the brother of Harold Harfager & Paulinus yᵉ duke of yᵉ Isles, taken prisoner.

¶ It is also specially remembred of the sayde Authour that one Knight stood vpon the aforesayde Bridge, and with his Axe defended the passage, Maugre the whole host of the Englishmen, and slue. xl. Englishmen or mo with his Axe, and might not be ouercome vntill an Englishman went vnder the Bridge with a Boate or Whyrry and sticked him vpward with his speare through an hole of the Bridge.

A valiaunt Knight.

¶ For this victory, Harold was highly enflamed with pride and also with couetousnesse, so that he deuyded not the prayes of his enimies among hys Knightes, but he kept them to himselfe, or gaue parte vnto such Knightes as he fauoured, and spared it from them that had well deserued, by reason whereof he lost the fauour of many of his Souldiours.

Harold inflamed with pride and couetousnesse.

¶ In this time the daughter of Duke Wylliam, the which Harold should haue maried, died within age, but not before Harold (sayth Polydore) was king, wherefore Harold thought himselfe the more discharged of his promes before made to her father. But William warned Harold of couenants broken, and mixed threates with prayers and peticions. Wherevnto Harold aunswered, that a nice foolishe couenant ought not to be holden, namelye the behest of other mennes right and kingdome, without the whole assent of the Senatours of the same lande. And furthermore, a lewde othe might and ought to be broken, and specially when it is compelled to be sworne for neede or for dreede.

Haroldes excuses to William duke of Normandy.

Vpon these aunsweres receyued by Duke William from king Harold, in the meane while that messengers went and came, Duke William gathered his Knightes, and prepared his nauie, and all other thinges necessary vnto the warre, and had the assent of the Lordes of his lande to ayde and assist him in his iourney. The like preparation also (sayth Polidore) was made by Harold to defende the realme from the inuasion of the Normans.

William duke of Normandy maketh his prouision to come into England.

¶ And moreouer he so informed the Bishop of Rome then named Alexander the second, that he confirmed him in taking of that voyage, and sent vnto him a Banner, the which he willed him to beare in the Ship that he himselfe should sayle in. And so hauing all thinges in a redinesse, he sped him to the sea syde, and tooke shipping in the Hauen of Saint Valery, where he taryed a long tyme before he could haue a meete and conuenient winde: for the which the Souldiours murmured and grudged, and sayd it was a madnesse and greatly displeasing vnto God, to desyre a nother mannes kingdome by strength, & namely when God withstandeth it by the working of his Elemẽt.

Alexander Bishop of Rome sendeth vnto William duke of Normandy a Baner to carry with him in his Ship against England.

¶ At the last the wind came about, and he tooke shipping, and helde his course towarde England vpon this ground and title folowing.

1 The first and principall was to chalenge his right, and to haue the dominion of the land that to him was geuen of king Edward his nephew.

The ground & chiefe cause of William duke of Normandies chalenge of the Realme of England.

2 The seconde was to be reuenged of the death and cruell murther of his Nephew Alphred, and brother of king Edward, which he ascribed wholy vnto king Harolde.

3 The thirde was, for to be reuenged on the wrong that was done vnto Robert, that was Archebishop of Caumtorbury, which as he was enformed was exiled by the meanes and labour of Harolde in the tyme of king Edward, as is aforesayde.

A reuẽgemẽt for the banishing of Robert Archbishop of Cantorbury.

¶ Duke William keping his course, at the last landed in Sussex, at place called Peuenessey nere vnto Hastings. And in his goyng out of his ship, & taking the land, his one foote slipped, & the other stack fast in the sand: the which one of his knightes sawe, & beyng nere vnto him, sayd: now Sir Duke thou holdest Englande, and thou shalt soone be turned from a Duke to a King.

The landing of William duke of Normandy.

¶ The Duke entering further into the lande, made his proclamations that no man should take

A good pollecy.

take any prayes, or do any force to the people: for he sayd that it was reasonable that he should spare that thing that should be his awn.

Harold was now in the North partes.

¶ At this time Harold was king in the North partes of England, and had knowledge of the landing of the Normanes, & he made all the haste towards them that he might, and gathered his strength out of the Countries as he came. But the Duke passed still forward, and at the last came to Kingstone, where he and his armie passed ouer the Thamys, and made such good speede that he came to London before the king, where he was holden out vntill he had put in good pledges, that he and his people should passe through the Citie without taryyng, the which he did, and so went through the Citie, and passed ouer London Bridge, and so returned againe into Sussex.

An vnskilful messenger.

¶ King Harold entending to know the strength of his enimies sent spies into the Dukes hoste, the which made report vnto the king, that all Duke Williams Souldiours were priestes: For they had their vpper lippes and cheekes shauen, and the Englishmen at those dayes vsed the heare of their vpper lippes shad and not shauen. But Harold vnto that aunswered and sayde, they be no priestes, but are stoute and valyaunt Knights.

Good counsail is not not alwayes regarded.

¶ Then Gurth or rather Biorno, one of the yongest brethren of Harold, counsayled him that he should stand a parte, and suffer him with other of his Lordes to fight with the Normanes, forsomuch as he was sworne vnto the Duke, and they were not, saiyng moreouer, that if they were slaine or ouerthrowne, that yet he might defende his quarell, and fight for his Country.

Thre offers made vnto king Harold by William duke of Normandy.

¶ In this meane time, Duke Wylliam sent a Monke vnto king Harold and made him three offers. The first that according to his othe he should render the land, or delyuer it vp vnto him as his awne proper possession, and that done, to take it againe of him, and to hold it of him as in Fee, and so to reigne vnder him for terme of his lyfe, and after hys death to returne it to hym againe, or to such a one of his sonnes as he would assigne it vnto.

¶ Secondly, to leaue the kingdome without any more strife.

¶ Or thirdly in exchewing of the shedding of Christian mens bloud, that he would defend his quarell in his awne person against the Duke, and they two onely to trie the matter by dent of sworde.

¶ But Harold refused these offers, and sayde he would trie his quarrell by dent of swordes, and not by one sworde, and that he and his Knightes and Souldiours would defende their Countrie against all straunge Nations, praiyng God to iudge the right betwene them twaine.

¶ When Duke Wylliam had receyued this aunswere from Harold, and saw well that there was no meane, but to abide fortune in battaile, he charged his people that might watch, to occupie themselues in prayer, and specially the Priestes and the religious people, where the Englishmen gaue themselues to drinking and surfeyting. *Fabian.*

Good counsayle if it were true.

¶ Then vpon the Morrow being Saturday, and the. xiiij. daye of October, both hostes assayled other in the place where stood the Abbay of Battaile in Sussex. In the beginning of this battaile a Norman called Thilfer splayed a Banner before the hoste of the Normans and slue an Englishman that came against him, and after that another, and so the thirde, and at the laste was slaine himselfe.

Battail Abbey in Sussex. Thilfer.

¶ Then the Holberds smote together with a great showt and cry, and they fought sore a long season. And the Englishmen defended themselues manfully, and the better for that they kept them whole & close together without scattering or spreding abrode. The which when Wylliam perceyued, he gaue a signe vnto his knightes, that they should geue back, and made a countenance as though they did flie. Then the Normans enbatteled their footemen, & set Horsemen for winges on euerie side. By the which, while the Englishmen were disseuered, and soone out of array, the Normans turned againe vpon the Englishmen, and slue them downe on euerie side.

¶ This battaile was sore foughten of the Englishmen, so that Duke Wylliam was thrise felled

felled that day, by reason that thre horses were slaine vnder him. Lastly Harold was wounded in the eye with an arrowe, and fell to the ground and was slaine, and his people scattered, so that well was he that might saue him selfe by flying. Then Duke William buryed his men that there were slaine, and suffered his enemyes to do the same. King Harold slaine and William the Conquerour had the victory.

¶ When the death of Harold was knowne to the Erles of Mertia and of Northūberland, the which for streightnesse of way could not bring their people to that field, or else for that they wilfully withdrew themselues from Harold, because he did none otherwise depart the prayes amongst them & their knightes at the former field of the Norwayes: then they drewe the next way to London, and tooke Agatha Haroldes wyfe, and sent her to Chester. And they and Aldredus Bishop of Yorke with the Londoners, were agreed and promised eyther to other that they would make Edgar Atheling king, and defend his right to the vttermost of their powers. But that promes notwithstanding, when they heard of the great strength that dayly fell to Duke William, and of his prouisions, they were faine to breake that apointment. And the sayde Erles submitted themselues, and gaue vnto him pledges, and became to him his liege men by homage and fealtie. Agatha, Haroldes wife committed to Chester.

¶ And thus when Harold had ruled the lande, from the fift day of Ianuary to the. xiiij. day of October, he was slaine, when he had reigned nine Monethes and odde dayes, and was buryed at the Monasterie of Waltham, which he before had founded.

¶ And here endeth the gouernement of the Saxons, the which continued from the first yere of the reigne of Hengest in the yere of our Lord. 475. vnto this conquest, which was the space of. 590. yeres. The ende of the gouernement of the Saxons.

NOwe for as much as it pleased Almightie God to suffer this duke to conquere so noble a land, and to be Lorde and souereigne ouer so many noble inhertours as then were, and nowe are within the same. I thinke it therefore conuenient to shew the dissent of the same Duke, and howe nere of blood he was vnto king Edward that last dyed.

¶ Rollo who was first an Heathen, and after christened and named Robert, who maried Silla the daughter of Charles the Simple, sometime king of Fraunce, and had for her dower the Duchy of Normandy, which he ruled xiiij. yeres, and the sayde Robert had by Silla a sonne named William, the which after was called *Longa Spata*, that is to say, William with the long Sworde. This William was Duke after his father. xxv. yeres, and left after him a sonne named Richard, which was named Richard the Hardy, and was the thirde Duke, and reigned. lij. yeres and had by his wife a sonne named Richard the good, and Emma that was wyfe to Egeldred and mother to the last Edward the king. After him the good Richard was Duke, and reigned. xxviij. yeres, and left after him two sonnes, Richard, and Robert. The first sonne after two yeres, was slaine by treason of his brother Robert, so that Robert was then Duke, and reigned. ix. yeres: The which Robert was father vnto this Duke William, and begat him of his concubine, called Arlet. And this William was the seuenth Duke of Normandy, and ruled it before he conquered England. xxx. yeres. And thus it may apere that Emma was Aunte to Duke Robert, father of William Conquerour, and Emma was mother vnto king Edward, and so this duke William and king Edward of England were by the fathers syde cosyn Germaynes remooued. The Pedegree of William Conquerour.

A SUMMARIE OF THE AFORESAID HYSTORIE.

Briteyn first inhabited by Brute. Conquered by the Romanes.

IN the former part of this Hystorye it maye appere vnto you (that after the opinion of most wryters) Brute did first inhabite this land, and called it then after his awne name Briteyn, in the. 2855. yere after the creation of the Worlde, and in the. 1108. yere before the birth of our sauiour Christ. And the same land of Briteyn was conquered by C. Iulius Cesar, and made tributarye to the Romaynes in the fiftie yere before Christes Incarnation, and it so continued. 483. yeres. And the Briteynes reigned without Tribute, and vnder Tribute, from Brute vntill the fourth yere of the reigne of King Cadwalader, which was in the yere of our Lorde. 686. And so the Briteynes had continuance of the Gouernement of this land the space of. 1794. yeres. And then was the kingdome of Briteyn deuided into seuen kingdomes. And Briteyn receyued the fayth of Christ in the

Briteynes receyued the faith of christ.

seuenth yere of the reigne of King Lucy, which was in the. C. lxxxvii. yere after the birth of Christ. And after the Britons, entered the Saxons in the third yere of Vortiger,

Conquered and ouercom by the Saxons.

and in the yere of our Lord. 450. and they gouerned vntill the last yere of King Athelstane, which was in the. 938. yere of Christ. And so the tyme of the Saxons first entraunce into this Realme, and the tyme of their Gouernement, was the space of. 487. yeres. But yet in the time of the Gouernement of the Saxons, that is to say, in the. ix. yere of the reigne of king Brithricus, which was in the yere of our lord. 787. The Danes entered into the Realme, and spoyled and persecuted the people therein most grieuously: And at the

Conquered & ouercome by the Danes.

last Sweno, or Swayn the Dane, obteyned the possession and kingdome of this Realme, in the yere of our Lord. 1012. and he reigned thrée yeres. And after him reigned Canutus his Sonne. xix. yeres. And after him Harold his sonne thrée yeres. And after him Hardikenitus the sonne of Canutus, who reigned thrée yeres, and was the last king of the Danes, for then the Danes were vtterly expulsed and dryuen out of the Realme, which was in the yere of our Lorde. 1042. And thus it may apere that the Danes reigned kinges of this Realme the space of. xxviii. yeres. And it maye also apere, that from the time of the first entery of the Danes into this Realme, vnto their last expulsion, was. CC. lv. yeres. And finally, the Normanes entered this lande, and made a Conquest of

Conquered & quietly possessed by the Normanes.

this Realme, as before is expressed, in the yere of our Lord. 1067. Which is sithen vnto this present yere of our Lorde. 1568. the number of fiue hundreth yeres.

[*Original Title.*]

THIS

SECONDE VOLUME,

BEGINNING AT

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROUR,

ENDETH WYTH

OUR MOSTE DREAD AND SOUERAIGNE LADY

QUEENE ELIZABETH.

SEENE AND ALOWED ACCORDING TO THE ORDER APOINTED.

CUM PRIUILEGIO REGIÆ MAIESTATIS.

Anno. 1568.

TO THE READER.

NOWE haue we passed the Historie of the Britons, Romaynes, Saxons and Danes that reigned ouer this noble Realme, in the which tyme by reason of the continual warres and manifold spoyles and conquestes, from time to time here practised, and long continued, the olde and auncient wryters of the said Hystoryes, and all their worthy and learned monuments were in maner wholy destroyed & defaced, and therfore but by the helpe of Gildas, Gaufride, Bede and a fewe other, the remembraunce of the Gouernement, and of all the noble actes of this land had like to haue bene buried with vtter obliuion: But nowe, as we are cõme vnto the time of more rest: so by Gods sufferance shall follow a more large and ample hystory, praiyng most hartely the gentle Reader to beare with my rude stile and lacke of learnyng and knowledge, which if it were as great as my good will is, the same should want no necessarye furniture: But he that performeth and freely offereth that which he hath, is (as you knowe) bound to no more; and thus much after this sort, for this tyme with your fauour, may suffice.

THE HISTORIE OF KING WILLIAM THE CONQUEROUR.

1067 WILLIAM the Conquerour, Duke of Normandie, and bastard sonne of Robert the sixt Duke of the same Dukedome, and nephew vnto Edward the Confessor late king of

of England as before is shewed, began his dominion ouer this Realme of England the. xv. day of October, in the yere of our Lord. M. lxvij. and was crowned king of the same at Westminster vpon Christmasse day next folowing of Aldredus Archebishop of Yorke: because at that time Stigandus Archebishop of Cauntorbury, was then absent, and durst not come in the presence of the king, vnto whome the king ought no great fauour, as hereafter shall apere. William Conquerour crowned.

Some write that the sayde Duke required the aforesayde Stigand to consecrate him, because the office of consecrating of kings had alwayes apperteyned vnto the Archebishops of Cauntorbury. But forasmuch as he had aspired vnto the crowne by violence and vnlawfull meanes, the sayd Stigand would not be present at his coronation, nor in any wise assent thervnto. Some againe say that the Duke refused to be crowned of him, because he was no lawfull Bishop, inasmuch as he receyued his Pall of Benet the tenth who was an vsurper of the Popedome, and not a lawfull Pope as they then tearmed him. And some againe make the cause of his reiection to be the corrupt life of the sayde Stigand. *Polidore* wryteth that immediatly vpon the ouerthrow of king Harold, duke William marched towards London, where Edwin Erle of middle England, and Marcarus or Marcatus Erle of Northumberland, earnestly mindyng the conseruation of their country, and to defende the libertie thereof, moued the nobilitie and commons to crowne Edgar Atheling, who onely was left aliue of the blood royall of the Realme. Vnto the which sentence although many did accorde, yet there were some of diuerse opinions concernyng this matter: But for all that, at the last they laid all their heades together and aduysed themselues howe and which way they might honestly submit them selues vnto the sayde Duke. But afterwardes, when he was come to the Citie, they made an ende of consultation, and euery man for feare submitted himselfe and receyued him as though they had bene right ioyous of his comming, deliuering him hostages, & praiyng him withall to receyue them to grace, and that they might be at peace with him: To whome the sayde Duke aunswered againe right curteously, making them many large and fayre promises, and that done, he was by them (although all were not like ioyfull at that solemnitie) crowned king vpon Christmasse day as aforesayde. But I finde written by one *William Thorne* Monke of Cauntorbury, among other things by him verie well noted and collected, of the beginning of the gouernance of william the Conquerour this story folowyng. After (sayth he) that the sayd Duke William had obteyned the victory, and had slaine king Harolde, and in like maner had taken the Citie of London, streight wayes he directed and bent his iourney towardes the Castell of Douer, to the entent he might conquere that also, with the other parts of Kent. The which beyng perfitely vnderstood: the Archebishop Stigand, and the Abbot Egelsyne, beyng then the chiefe potestates and gouernours of all Kent, vnderstanding all the Kingdome and Realme to be in an euill case, and that where as before the commyng of the sayde William there were no slaues or bondmen, now that all, aswell noble as meane men were brought vnder the perpetuall seruyle yoke of the Normanes, by their neighbours daungers, taking an occasion first of their countries safegard &. of their awne, gathered together at Cauntorbury the whole people and force of Kent, to whome they declared the daungers hangyng ouer theyr heades, the misery of their neighbors, the insolency of the Normanes, and the hardnesse of seruile condition: And the whole people rather desyring to ende their haplesse lyfe, then to beare the vnacustomed yoke of seruitude, with a cõmon consent decreed to mecte Duke William, & to fight with him for their auncient lawes and libertyes. The aforenamed Stigand the Archebishop, and Egelsyne the Abbot, chosyng rather death in warre, then to see the miseries of theyr Nation, beyng hartened by the examples of the Machabees, were made Capitaynes of the Armie, and at the day apoynted, all the Kentishemen met at Swanescome, beyng hidden in the woodes, and wayted the comming of the aforesayd Duke William. And because sufficient warinesse, and heed takyng in doubtfull cases doth no harme, they

Stigand Archebishop of Cantorbury preserued the liberties of Kent.

A wise and very good policye.

by their former talke were agreed among themselues, that when the Duke approched nere, all passages beyng shut vp, least any wayes he should escape, that euery seuerall person, aswell horsemen as footemen should carye a greene bough in his hand. The next day after, the Duke comming into the fieldes and territories nere vnto Swanescome, and seeyng all the country ready set to hedge him in, and marking also a moueable wood with moderate pace drawing nere toward him, not without astonishment of his mynde, much maruayled at it. And assoone as the Captaynes of the Kentishemen espied Duke William enclosed in the middest of their armie, they caused their Trumpets to be sounded, and their Banners to be displayed, and threwe downe their Boughes, and with their Bowes beyng bent, and their swordes drawen, and with their speares and other kinde of Armour, beyng set in a redinesse, shewed themselues ready to fight it out. At the which sight Duke william with his adherentes & complices, not without cause were much amased. And he that a little before perswaded himselfe to haue helde all England in his fist, now doubted much of his awne lyfe. The Archebishop Stigand therefore, and the Abbot Egelsyne were incontinently sent foorth to Duke William on the part and behalfe of the Kentishmen, who did their message vnto him after this sort. Sir Duke beholde here the people and inhabitants of Kent commeth foorth to meete thee, and to receyue thee as their liege Lorde and gouernour, requiryng peace at thy handes vnder this condicion, that all they and theyr posteritie may quietly and peaceably enioy their auncient libertyes, and that they may vse still their olde and accustomed lawes, otherwise they are nowe in a readinesse presentlye to bid thee battayle, beyng readyer here altogether to leaue their lyues, then to depart from their auncient lawes and customes, or to submit themselues vnto slauish seruitude, which they haue not yet bene acquainted with. The Duke perceyuing himselfe to be entrapped, and in a streight, debating a while this matter with his wise Capteynes, noting also wisely that if he should susteyne a repulse or any hinderance at these peoples handes, which were accompted the key of England, that then all the bottom of threde which he a little before had sponne, were vntwisted, and that all his hope and securitie were turned into daunger, did not so willingly as wisely graunt all that which the Kentishmen demaunded of him, and sure pledges therevpon geuen from eyther parte to other. And then the ioyfull Kentishe men did conduct the gladded Normanes, and yelded to them the Countie of Kent and noble Castell of Douer, and so the auncient liberties of Englishe men, and their Countries, lawes, and customes, which before the comming of William Duke of Normandy, were equally held through the whole realm of England, now was onely in the Countie of Kent, and that by the industry of Stigand Archebishop, and Egelsyne the Abbot of the Monastery of S. Austyns in Cauntorbury as aforesayd, and is vnto this day inuiolably obserued and kept, namely that tenure which at this day is called Gauell kynde. Thus farre William Thorne.

Bolde and wise messengers.

The names of the Gentlemen that came out of Normandy with William Duke of that prouynce when he conquered this noble Realme of England. The which I haue taken out of an auncient recorde that I had of Mayster Clarencius King at armes.

A

AVmarle
Aynecourt
Audeley
Angilliane
Argentoun
Arondell
Auenant
Abell
Auuerne
Aunwers
Angers
Angenoun
Archer
Annay
Asperuile
Abbeuile
Andeuile
Amouerduile
Areye
Akeney
Albenye
Aybenar
Amay
Aspermound
Amerenges

B

BErtram

Buttcourte

Buttcourte
Brehus
Byseg
Bardelf
Basset
Bygot
Bohim
Bailife
Bondeuile
Barsabon
Basteruyle
Bures
Bouilane
Boyes
Botteller
Bourcher
Brabayon
Berners
Breybuff
Brande
Brong
Burgh
Busshy
Banet
Breton
Bluet
Bayons
Browne
Beke
Bykard
Banaster
Baloun
Beauchamp
Braye
Bandy
Bracy
Boundes
Beseoun
Broylem
Broyleby
Burnell
Belet
Bawdewyn
Beaumont
Burton
Berteuilaye
Barre
Busseuyle
Blunt
Beauper
Beuyll

Bardnedor
Brett
Barett
Bonrett
Baynard
Berneuale
Bonett
Barry
Brian
Bodyn
Berteuyle
Berteyn
Berneuyle
Belewe
Beuery
Busshell
Boranuyle
Browe
Beleners
Buffard
Boteler
Bonneyer
Boteuyle
Beelyre
Bastard
Baynard
Braysard
Bethelme
Brayne
Brent
Braunch
Belesus
Blundell
Burdell
Bagot
Beaumyse
Belemys
Beyfyn
Bernon
Boels
Belefroun
Brutes
Barchampe

C

CAmoys
Caumyle
Chawent
Chauncy
Couderay
Coluyle
Chambulayne

Chamburnoun
Comyn
Columber
Cribett
Crenquer
Corbyne
Corbet
Chaundos
Chaworth
Cleremawes.
Clarell
Chopys
Chaunduyt
Chantelowe
Chamberay
Cressy
Courtenay
Cunstable
Cholmeley
Campeney
Chawnos
Comyuyle
Champayne
Careuyle
Carbonell
Charles
Chereberge
Chawnes
Chaumont
Caperoun
Cheyne
Cursen
Conyll
Cheyters
Cheynes
Caterey
Cherecourt
Cammyle
Clerenay
Curlye
Cuylye
Clynels
Courteney
Clifforde

D

DEnauile
Dercy
Dine
Dispencer
Denyce
Diuell

Denans
Dauers
Deningsels
Darell
Delabere
Delapoole
Delalynde
Delahill
Delaware
Delawach
Dakeney
Dauntrye
Desney
Dabernoune
Dauncy
Dauoros
Dauonge
Duylby
Durange
Delaroune
Delauoyre
Delaboyd
Delee
Delawnde
Delawarde
Delaplanche
Damnot
Danwaye
Dehuyse
Deuyle
Disard
Doynell
Durant
Drury
Dabitott
Dunsternyle
Dunchampe
Dambelton

E

EStraunge
Estuteuyle
Estriels
Esturney

F

FErerers
Foluyle
Fitzwater
Fitznarmaduke
Fleuez
Filberd
Fitz Roger

Fitz Robert
Fauecourt
Ferrers
Fitz Philip
Filiott
Furnyneus
Furninance
Fitz Otes
Fitz William
Fitz Roand
Fitz Payne
Fitz Anger
Fitz Aleyn
Fitz Raufe
Fitz Browne
Foke
Freuyle
Frount de Boef
Facombirge
Forte
Frisell
Fitz Fouke
Filioll
Fitz Thomas
Fitz Morice
Fitz Hugh
Fitz Henry
Fitz Wareyn
Fitz Raynold
Flamuyle
Foemay
Fitz Eustache
Fitz Lawrence
Formiband
Frison
Fyuer
Furniuale
Fitz Geofrey
Fitz Herbert
Fits Peres
Fichet
Fitz Resewys
Fitz Fitz
Fitz Iohn
Fleschampe

G

GVrney
Gressy
Graunson
Gracy
Georges
Gower
Gangy
Goband
Gray
Gaunson
Golofre
Gobion
Grensy
Graunt
Greyle
Greuet
Gursly
Gurley
Grammory
Gernoun
Grendon
Gurdon
Gynes
Grynell
Greneuyle
Glateuyle
Gurney
Giffarde
Gonerges
Gamagez

H

HAuntenay
Hansard
Hastyngs
Hanlay
Hurell
Husse
Hercy
Heryoun
Herne
Harecourt
Henour
Honell
Hamlyn
Herewell
Hardell
Haket
Hamond
Harecord

I

IArden
Iay
Ihenyels
Iarconuyse
Ianuile
Iasparuyle

K

KAnut
Karre
Karrow
Koyne
Kyrmaron
Kiriell
Kancey
Kenelre

L

LOneny
Lacy
Lynneby
Latomer
Loueda
Loucll
Lemare
Leuetotte
Lucy
Luny
Logeuile
Longespes
Louerace
Longchamp
Lastales
Lonan
Ledet
Luse
Lotterell
Loruge
Longuale
Loy
Lorancourt
Loyons
Lymers
Longepay
Lamnall
Lane
Louatote

M

MOhant
Mowne
Maundeuile
Marmylon
Moribray
Moruyle
Miriell
Manlaye
Malebraunche
Malemayn
Musse
Marteyn
Mountbother
Mountsoler
Maleuyle
Malett
Mounteney
Mountfichet
Maleherbe
Mare
Musegros
Musard
Moyne
Mautrauers
Merke
Murres
Mountagu
Mountfort
Mantelet
Manduct
Mawle
Meuels
Mortmale
Monchenesey
Mallory
Maruy
Monhermon
Muset
Meneuile
Manfe
Manteuenat
Menpyncoy
Mayne
Maynard
Morell
Maynell
Maleluse
Memorous
Murreys
Morley
Mauleuerer
Meyne
Mount Martyn
Myners
Mauclerck
Mountkenell
Monet
Mayntener
Meletake
Mortimer
Mortimayn

Mamuile

Mamuile
Mangisere
Maumasyn
Mountlouell
Mawreward
Mounthaut
Meller
Mountgomery
Manlaye
Manlard
Mendre
Martynast
Mare
Manwaryng
Mantell
Malemys
Maleeheyr
Moryn
Melum
Marceans
Mayel
Morton

N

NOers
Neuile
Newmarche
Norbet
Norice
Newbrough
Neyremet
Neell
Normauyle
Neosmarch
Nermitz
Nembrutz

O

OTenell
Olibef
Olifaunt
Oseuell
Oysell
Olifard
Ormall
Oriall

P

PYgot
Pery
Perepoynt
Pershale
Power
Panyell
Peche
Peuerell
Perot
Picard
Pynkeny
Pomeray
Pounsey
Panely
Payfrer
Plukenet
Pekeney
Paney
Phuars
Punchardon
Pinchard
Placy
Pugoy
Patefyne
Playce
Pampilion
Percelaye
Perere
Potterell
Penkeney
Peccell
Penell
Putrill
Pettyuoll
Preams
Pantolfe
Peyto
Penicorde

Q

QVincy
Quintine

R

ROs
Ridell
Ryuers
Ryuell
Rous
Russell
Raban
Rond
Rye
Rokell
Rastok
Rimuile
Ronger
Ract
Riper
Regny
Richemond
Rochford
Reymond

S

SOuche
Sheuile
Senchens
Senclere
Saint Quintine
Saint Omer
Saint Amond
Saint Legier
Someruyle
Syward
Saunsoner
Sanford
Sanctes
Sanay
Sanlay
Sules
Sorell
Somerey
Saint Iohn
Saint George
Seyntlesse
Sesse
Saluyn
Say
Solers
Sanlay
Saint Albyn
Saint Martyn
Somdemale
Segnyn
Saint Barbe
Saint wyle
Souremount
Soreglis
Sandeuyle
Sauncey
Syrewast
Saint Cheuerol
Saint More
S. Studemor

T

TOget
Tercy
Tuchet
Tracy
Trusbut
Traynell
Taket
Trussell
Talbot
Tonny
Trays
Tollemach
Tolous
Tanny
Touke
Tibtote
Turbeuyle
Turuile
Tomy
Trenscheuile
Trenchelyon
Tankeruile
Tryuet
Tolet
Trison
Trauers
Terdeue
Turberuyle
Tyrrell
Tynneuile
Torell
Tortechapell
Trusbote
Treuerell
Tenwys
Totelles
Tauerner

V

VEre
Verdon
Vesty
Vernam
Valance
Verder
Vauasour
Verdonell
Vendore
Verley
Venables
Venoure
Vilan
Verlaund
Veyrny
Vermels
Vercere
Valenges

Venycorde	Vschere		Wardebys	Wauuruyle
Vrnall	Veffay		Wate	Wateuile
Vnkot	Vanay		Wynell	Wafyr
Vrnafall	Vyan		Weyrney	Waspayle
Vernoys		W	Watelyn	Waren
Vancorde	WArde		Walanger	Wyuyle
Vaberoun	Wake		Walers	
Vasdorell	Wely			

King Willia aduaunced his awne country men.

Nowe when as king William had possessed the imperiall Crowne and Diademe of this Realme of England as aforesayde: He then as a conquerour altered and chaunged the whole state and gouernement thereof. And first by displacing of such as before had borne rule, he aduaunced the Lordes and people of his awne Nation vnto the highe and and principall offices and dignities thereof, insomuch that Reynolph sayth, that there was skant left in England a Lorde that was an English man, and that then it was a shame to be called an English man. *Polli. 7. Cap.* 4. And after he caused a Proclamation to be made, that all former grauntes, liberties, and priuileges geuen or graunted by any Prince or King of this Realme aforetyme, should be from thence forth vtterly voyde to all constructions and purposes, except suche as should be renued and confirmed by him, by reason whereof, all degrees of people in the Realme, namely all fraternities, corporations, and bodies politique, were forced to become newe suters to him, and compelled to make newe fines at his will and pleasure: And by this meanes he gathered into his possession the greatest part of all the ryches and treasure of the lande, as well of the Clergie, as of the Laytie. That done, he chaunged the lawes of the Realme, and made such newe lawes as were profitable to himselfe, and grieuous to the people, and he caused those lawes to be set forth in the Norman language to aduaunce his awne tongue as a worthy and famous speech, and condemning ours as vile & barbarous: The which lawes are yet wyth vs in the same tongue.

King Willia gathered great treasure.

Lawes altered.

A rebellion in Normãdy.

While king William was thus occupied as abouesayde, it so chaunced that the people of Normandie began to quarrell among them selues, and there was such parttakyng among them, that if it had not beene looked vnto in tyme, it had lyke to haue turned to the destruction and confusion of the whole Duchy. Wherefore king William for the pacifiyng therof was forced to gather an armie, and to leaue England for a while, and sayle into Normandie. And at his departure out of Englande, when he had set thinges in good order to his minde, he betooke the gouernement of the Realme to hys brother on the mothers syde named Odo, Bishop of Bayon, and in the Lent next folowyng he sayled into Normandy, & led with him the chiefe Lordes & rulers of England, for feare they should haue made any commocion or sturre in the tyme of his absence, with all those also that lay for hostages and pledges. Among the which number, were the Erles Marcarus, or Morcatus, and Edwyn aforesayde, Dukes of Northumberland, and Mertia, and also Stigandus Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and Edgar Ethelyng. To the which Stigandus, king william shewed great reuerence and countenaunce of much loue, and hartie fauour, but allproued great dissimulation, as after apperred by his deposyng, and emprisoning at Winchester a long tyme. And beyng arriued in Normandy, he passed through the countrie triumphauntly, and like a conquerour. But Polidore sayth that the cause of his goyng thether was, that for as much as he sawe how that from thencefoorth he should be altogether occupied about the affayres of this Realme, and settyng of orders in the same, he would first set such a stay in his Duchy of Normandie, that nothing might lightly happen afterwardes, by reason whereof he should be compelled to make his repayre thether againe.

King William sayled into Normandy.

Marcarus & Edwyn Erles of Northumberland and Mertia.

1068 The next yere when king William had sped his businesse in the sayde Countrie, he re-

turned into England with great pompe, and shortly after set a sore taxe vpon the Englishe men, yea, so grieuous was he vnto them, that he neuer ceased to burthen them with newe taxes and impositions. Of the nobles he made so little accompt, that he seemed thereby howe he minded nothing else but their vtter destruction. By reason whereof in some partes of the land was there rebellion against him, namely in Deuonshire, & in Northumberland, but at the last he compelled them by force to obedience, and delt very cruelly with them. Many both of the Nobilitie and Commons he depriued as well of goodes as of aucthoritie and rule, and conferred the same vnto the Normanes and that for very small and light causes. Taxes begat rebellion.

For these, and for other sterne and cruell deedes done by hym, the sayde Nobles were sore moued against him. And for that cause many of them fled the lande, some into Norway, and some into Denmarke, and some into one Countrie, and some into another. Marcarus, or Marcatus, Erle of Northumberland, and Edwyn Erle of middle England, with Edgar Athelyng, and dyuerse other, as Edgars mother, and his two sisters Margaret, and Christian fled into Scotland. But another Chronicle (sayth Fabian) wryteth that Edgar entending with Agatha his mother and his two sisters to haue sayled into high Almayne or Hungary where he was borne, was by tempest of the Sea, dryuen into Scotland: where of Malcolyne or Malcolme then the thirde Scottishe king of that name, they were ioyously receyued. And in processe of tyme, the sayde Malcolyne cast such loue vnto the said Margaret, that he tooke her to wife, as before is touched in the story of Canutus. Of the which Margaret the sayde Malcolyne receyued two daughters, and six sonnes, wherof three, that is to say, Edgar, Alexander, and Dauid, were kinges of Scotland one after an other next after their father. And Molde one of the sayde daughters, was afterwardes maried vnto Henry the first of that name king of England, and the other daughter Mary was maryed to Eustace Erle of Boloygne. Of Molde the first daughter, king Henry receyued two sonnes, named William, and Richard, the which both dyed before their father, as after shall apere. And he receyued also two daughters named Molde and Mary, which Molde or Mawde was maried to Henry the fourth of that name, Emperour of Almaine. After whose death she was againe maryed to Geoffrey Plantagenet Erle of Aungeow. Of whom discended Henry surnamed Shortmantell, afterwards king of England by the name of Henry the second. And the other daughter Mary, was maryed to the Erle of Bloys, of whome discended Mawde, or Mary that was wife vnto king Stephen. Edgar Atheling w^t^ other fled into Scotland. Molde the daughter of the aforesayd Margaret Queene of Scots was maryed to Henrie the first king of England of that name.

Nowe when king William had leuyed suche taskes vpon the Englishe men as is before sayde, and espied their grudgyng thereat, and also when he considered howe his Lordes were departed, he then had a neerer eye to the Lordes that remayned, and kept them a little strayter: But it was not long after, but that Marcarus was reconciled to the king, and yet after fayled and forsoke him againe. For this & other causes, king William highly aduaunced himselfe and his people with the possessions of this Realme, insomuch as they were greatly enriched, and the Englishe men in maner vtterly decayed. Then caused he foure Castels to be made, whereof two were set at Yorke, the thirde at Notingham, and the fourth at Lyncolne, and manned them all with Normanes, or as Polydore sayth one at Notingham, an other at Lyncolne, the thirde at Yorke, and the fourth at Hasting where he first landed. And this did he because that these foresayde places which were very commodius for the enemies, beyng thus manned and fortifyed might make all men afearde, & to beware how they went about to disturbe the state of the realme by any newe deuised treason. And to make the people more quiet, and lesse able to rebell, he caused all their weapons and armor to be taken from them, and ordeyned also that euery housekeper should be within his awne dores by eight of the clocke at night, and then to couer or rake vp his fyre, and go to bed. And because they should not passe that houre, he caused a Bell to be rong in euery towne and village iust at. viij. of the clocke, the which is vsed in most countries of England yet at this day, and is called in the Norman language, *Couer le fue*, which we now corruptly call Curfur. King Willi made foure Castles.

1069

About the thirde yere of his reigne: Harolde, and Canutus sonnes of Swanus king of Denmarke, came and sayled into the North part of Humber with a strong nauie of two hundred sayle and more, and in all haste drew them towardes Yorke. Whether Edgar Athelyng came vnto them bringgyng with him such English men as had before fled into Scotland, by whom his power was encreased. Then the Normanes which had the rule of the towne and Castelles aforesayde, fearing that the Englishe men would ayde the Danes, and with the houses of the Suburbes of the towne, haue filled the towne ditches, set the Suburbes a fyre: Whereof the flame was so big, and with the winde so strong, that it tooke into the Citie, and brent a parte thereof with the Minster of Saint Peter. In tyme of which fyre the Danes by fauour of some of the Citizens entred the Citie. *Fabian*, and slue more than three thousande of the Normanes.

3 Swanus king of Denmarke with his Danes landed in the North.

But Polidore reporteth the matter touching this inuasion of the Danes farre otherwise as followeth: Whiles these thinges were done in England, the Englishe Lordes that were fled into Denmarke, ceased not to moue Canutus the fourth then king of that Countrie, to warre vpon the Normanes, and to inuent newe causes whereby they might the soner incense him therevnto, saiyng how the crowne of England ought of right to apperteyne vnto the kinges of Denmarke, as vnto them vnto whome the possession thereof had beene in tymes past no lesse profitable than honourable: and for that cause it should not stande with his honour, to suffer the same to be vniustlye possessed of a newe Lorde that had no right or iust title therevnto, specially sith the time selfe serued so well for the purpose, in the which the Norman was so farre as yet from benefiting eyther the Englishe Nation, or such as bordred on them, that he nowe played the open tyraunt, and was hated of them all; And sayde further, that forsomuche as there was so great hope of victory and successe, specially if he would preuent his enemie, and take suche holdes and places as were very fit for his purpose, it behoued him not to stay or sleepe the matter. This done, Canutus beyng much moued with these and such lyke perswasions, determined with himselfe to make warre against the Normanes. And it foloweth in the same wryter: I am not ignoraunt howe it is reported in the Englishe Chronicle, that this warre against the Normanes was not made of Canutus, but of his brother Harold by his perswasion: The which thing *Saxo Grammaticus* a wryter of the Danish History doth not affirme, neyther is it likely to be true, because Harold was a quyet man of nature, and one that much desyred to eschew the trauayles of Martiall affayres and lyued not scarcely two yeres after he was made king, so that out of doubt it is, that he neuer durst be the auctheur of so great a warfare, neyther had he tyme or leysure therevnto. Hetherto Polidore. But to returne to the matter. It was not long after, but king William ouerthrewe them in battaile, and chased them to their shippes, and tooke so great displeasure with the inhabitants of that Prouince for reuolting to Canutus, that he destroyed the land liyng betweene Yorke and Durham in such wise, that ix. yeres after it lay vnlaboured and vntilled, except the land of Saint Iohns of Beuerley onely.

The Danes are chased to their shippes.

Yorke & the countrie rounde about vtterly destroyed.

Famyn.

And of the famyn that the people of that Countrie sustayned afterward, great wonders are reported: For it is written that they were for necessitie compelled to eate all kinde of Vermine, as Cattes, Rattes, Dogges, and such lyke, so harde and streit they were kept by the warre of the king. And in that yere also Molde, or Mawde the wife of king William was crowned Queene of England, of Aldredus Archbishop of Yorke, and was also delyuered of a fayre sonne named Henry, who was afterwardes king of England and called Henry the first of that name.

1070

4

In the fourth yere of the reigne of this king the Scottes with Malcolyne, or Malcolme their king entered Northumberland, and wasted and destroyd sore that Countrie, and slue therein much people, and many they toke prisoners, and helde them as bonde men.

After this, king William (whose greedy and couetous appetite and desyre of treasure beyng not yet quenched with the former great taskes or payments set vpon the people of this Realme) did by counsayle proceede further to enquire and search of all the Abbeyes in

in England, to vnderstand what ryches was in them, & after an Inuentary taken thereof, caused the same to be brought into his treasurie. And the same yere he caused the newe Forest to be made in the Countrey of Southamton, for the finishing whereof he was enforced to pull downe diuerse townes and Churches. xxx. myles of length, and stored the same with wilde beastes, and then made sharpe lawes for the maintenance and encrease of them, as the losse of eyen, and other lymmes. The building o the newe Forest

And soone after there was a sinode or counsaile holden at Winchester of the Clergie of England. At the which counsayle were present two Cardinalles, sent from the second Alexander then Bishop of Rome. In this counsayle, Stigandus Archbishop of Cantorbury aforesayd, was depriued from his dignitie, and that for three causes, as Fabian sayth. First for that he had holden wrongfully that Bishoprike, while Robert the Archebishop was liuyng. The second, because he receyued the Pall of Benet the. x. Byshop of Rome, who was compted an vsurper of the Papacie. The thirde, for that he occupied the sayde Pall, without the auctoritie of the Court of Rome. Polidore addeth a fourth cause, which was for that contrary vnto the Canons, he helde the Bishoprike of Winchester with the See of Cauntorbury. Stigand Archebishop depriued. Stigandus Archebishop of Cauntorbury.

And when Stigandus sawe himselfe brought into this thraldome, he then thought good to proue what the king who had before in the tyme of his prosperitie pretended so much frendship and good will towardes him, would do for him in this case. But where before he made him a louyng and friendly countenaunce, and did vnto him great reuerence, then he chaunged all his mildenesse into stoutnesse, and excused himselfe by the Bishop of Romes auctoritie, so that in the ende Stigandus was depriued of his dignitie, and afterwardes committed to perpetuall prison in Winchester, where he dyed shortly after his sayd deposition. Dissimulation.

It was reported of this Stigandus, that he was so couetous and sparing, that he woulde spende nothing more than he needes must, and vsed to sweare by All halowes, that he had not one pennie to blesse himselfe withall: But that othe was not found true, for after his death, there was found a little key about his necke, by reason whereof there was founde great treasure vnder the earth in mo places than one, as sayth Fabian.

In this counsayle also were put downe diuerse other Bishops, Abbots, and Priours, by the meanes of king William, and all to the entent that he might preferre Normanes to the rule of the Church, as he had preferred his knightes to the rule of the Temporaltie, and by that meane stand in the more suretie of his estate, and bring riches and treasure to his possession. Bishoppes depriued.

In this counsayle also, Wolstane that then was Bishop of Worcester, was an earnest suter vnto the King for certeyne possessions fallen into hys handes by the death of Aldredus last Archbishop of Yorke, which were withholden from his See by the sayd Aldredus: But the king would not seme to vnderstand his sute, for hurting the Church of Yorke. *Fabian.* Wolstane bishop of Worcester.

And shortly after the king gaue that Archebishopricke vnto Thomas a Chanon of Bayon, who was the first that buylded the Mynster of Yorke, and sent for Lanfranke then Abbot of Cane, and gaue vnto him the Archbishoprike of Cauntorbury. This Lanfranke was an Italian borne, and a very good deuine, and right expert withall in the gouernement both of Spirituall and Temporall thinges. And soone after that he was made Archebishop of Cauntorbury, Thomas that before was chosen Archbishop of Yorke came vnto him to be sacred of him as the auncient vsage and custome was. Of whom Lanfranke required an othe, and required his profession in writyng concerning his obedience vnto the See of Cauntorbury. Thomas answered and sayde, that he would neuer do that, except he might therof here sufficient auctoritie and skilfull reasons, by the which it might apere that he should so do without any empechement or preiudice of his Church of Yorke. Lanfranke.

Then the King callyng Lanfranke before him sayde, that the sayd Lanfranke trusted more in his cunning, than he did in good fayth or reason: But he aunswered so reason-

ably vnto the King, that in the ende, Thomas by the Kinges commaundement was faine to come againe to Lanfranke to be sacred, and wrote his profession with his awne hand, of his obedience, and read it, in the which was conteyned, that he shoulde be obedient in all that belongeth to the worship of God and all Christian faith, which done he was sacred, and so departed. And shortly after Lanfranke required the like othe and profession of all the Bishops of England.

1071 5

In the fift yere of this Kinges reigne, Edwyn and Marcarus or Morcatus, Erles of Mertia and Northumberland, beyng in feare and daunger of their liues, voyded the kinges Court secretly, and rebelled for a little time: But at length it turned to both their harmes. For Edwyn was slaine as he went toward Scotland, or as some write in Scotland of his awne company, and Erle Marcarus, with the Bishop of Duresme named Egelwinus, tooke the Isle of Ely for their sauegard. But the king helde them so short, that in processe of tyme they were faine to yelde and submit themselues to the kings grace and mercie. Then he sent the Bishop to the Abbey of Abingdon, to be kept there as prisoner, where he was so daintily fed, that at the length he dyed for hunger. But some writers report, that he was so high hearted and loftie of courage, that after he knewe that he should remaine there as Prisoner, he would neuer eate meate more, and Erle Marcarus was had to the Tower of London. But Polidore sayth he scaped out of the Isle in a ship, and fled into Scotland, which was the cause why the king warred anon after vpon the Scots. For in the sixt yere of his reigne, he went with a great armie against them, and subdued Malcolme their king, and compelled him to do him both homage and fealtie. He also disherited Gospatrik Erle of Couberland, and exiled him the land, and gaue all Comberland with the honour of Carlisle to Raufe Meschynes, and made him Erle thereof. Also aboute this tyme, king William made the newe Forest in the Countie of Southhampton: And for the enlarging of the same, he ouerthrewe Townes and Churches a great number by the space of. xxx. myles, and replenished the same with Deere, and then made sharpe lawes for the encrease and maintenaunce thereof.

Marcarus & the bishop of Duresme fled to the Isle of Ely.

Egelwinus Bishop of Duresme starued with hunger.

The newe Forest.

1073 7

In the seuenth yere of king William, Thomas Archebishop of Yorke, not beyng content to be vnder the rule and obedience of Lanfranke Archebishop of Cauntorbury, appealed to the Court of Rome, so that the sayde two Archebishoppes apered both in proper person before Alexander Bishop of Rome. In whose presence Lanfranke, was so well fauoured, that where Thomas aboue named, and Remigius Bishop of Dorchester, were for iust causes depriued of their Croyses and Ringes, he by his fauour and meanes (as sayth Fabian) restored them to their former dignitie. The cause of Thomas his depriuation was, for that he had holpen Duke William towarde his iourney into England: for the which the said Duke promised him a Bisshoprick if hee obtained victory. And the other was depriued for that he was proued a Priests sonne.

Lanfranke.

The primacye of Cauntorbury.

Then Thomas moued the cause of the Primacie of Cauntorburie, and of the subiection that to him should belong, and sayde that these two Sees were farre asonder, that is to say, Cauntorbury and Yorke, and that neyther of them by the constitution of Gregorie shoulde be subiect vnto another, but that the one is more worthie than the other, forsomuche as hee is of elder tyme. To this aunswered Lanfranke and sayde that the constitutions of Gregorie made no mencion of Cantorbury, but of Yorke and London. Then the Bishop of Rome remitted this matter to be determined before the king, and the Bishops of England; and he gaue the Pall to Lanfranke.

What a Pall is.

But because this worde or terme Pall is to many vnknowen, I will therefore here shew vnto you what thing it is. This Pall is an indowment that euerie Archbishop must haue, and he is not in full aucthoritie of an Archbishop (by the Bishop of Romes ordinance) vntill he haue receiued the Pall, and it is a thing of white Sylke, the bredth of a Stole that the Priest was wont to weare at his masse, but it is of another fashion. And that ye may the better knowe it, if ye looke vpon the armes of any Archebishop, there ye shall see it set out in white with a great many of blacke crosses vpon it.

Nowe

Nowe when Lanfranke had thus finished his businesse at Rome, he with the other two Bishoppes returned into England, where this matter hangyng in variaunce betweene the sayde two Archebishoppes was had in communication. For triall whereof Bedes History was brought foorth: wherein it appered, that from the first Augustines time, to Bedes last dayes, which was. C. xxxix. yeres, the Archbishop of Cauntorbury had the Primacie of all the Bishoppes in England. *Fabian.* 1074 8

When Thomas had heard all these allegations, he denyed all, and laid for him the Epistle, in the which Gregory Bishop of Rome demed that the Church of Yorke, and of London should be euen Peres, and neyther of them subiect to the other. The contention betweene the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and the Archbishop of York, which of the should be chiefe.

To this was aunswered by Lanfranke, that he was not Bishop of London, nor this question was not moued for the Church of London. But Thomas sayde that Gregorye had graunted to Augustyne power to haue vnder him all the Bishoppes of Englande, and that London at that day was the principall See of all England. Albeit that the Bishop of Romes minde was that betweene London and Yorke should be no diuersitie of honour, because they beyng Archebishoppes might lyue in an vnite to the good example of all other. And though Augustyne chaunged the See from London to Cauntorbury, yet Gregory would not that Augustynes successors should be aboue the Bishoppes of Yorke. For he woulde haue then set in his Epistle these wordes folowyng: *I graunt to thee Augustyne and to thy successors:* But for that he would there should no such power stretch to his successours, therefore he made no mention of them.

Lanfranke to this aunswered and said: If that auctiority were graunted to Augustine alone, and not to his successors, it was a simple gift that the Bishop of Rome gaue to Augustine that was so familier with him, & namely while Augustyne sacred no Bishop of Yorke while he lyued. For the See was full during his life, by reason whereof he put not his auctoritie in execution. But priuileges of Bishoppes of Rome confirmeth this dignitie to Augustines successors of Cauntorbury, and demeth that it is skill and good reason, that all the churches of England shoulde take light and knowledge at that place. 1075 9

By these reasons and other, Thomas was at length ouercome, & graunted gladly that the farther brinke of Humber should be the beginning of his Diocesse. And furthermore it was there demed, that in all thinges concernyng the worship of God and the fayth of holy Churche, the Archebishop of Yorke should be subiect to the Archebishop of Cauntorbury: So that if the Archebishop of Cauntorbury would call a counsaile in any part of England, the Archebishop of Yorke shoulde be thereat with all the Bishoppes of his Prouince, and be also obedient vnto his lawfull hestes. And at all seasons when the Archebishop of Cauntorbury should be sacred, the Archebishop of Yorke with the Bishops of his Prouince should come to Cauntorbury and consecrate him there. And if the Archbishop of Yorke should be stalled or sacred, then shall he come to Cauntorbury, or else where in Englande, where the Archebishop of Cauntorbury shall assigne him, and there to be sacred of him, and he shall make to him an othe, with profession of obedience. The Archbishop of Yorke iudged subiect to the Archebishop of Cãtorbury.

When Lanfranke heard this iudgement geuen, he reioysed inwardly. And to the entent it should remaine of recorde, that his successors should not neede to pleade that matter, he therefore caused it to be regestred in moste substanciall wise. And besides that sent a Pistle for that cause to Alexander the aforenamed Bishop of Rome of all this doyng, with the profession of Thomas the Archebishop aforesayd. Of this Lanfranke are by dyuerse writers many notable thinges written, sayth Fabian. Lanfrankes vaine glory.

In the. x. yere of this kinges reigne, Roger Erle of Hereford who had geuen his sister in mariage vnto Raufe Erle of Norffolke and Suffolke against the kinges minde. The sayde Roger together with the sayde Raufe conspired against the king, and caused Walrefe Duke of Northumberlande, and Erle of Huntyngdon, and Northamton, by their subtile perswasions to be agreeable to their vntruth. But at the last, when this Duke Walrefe had well vnderstand the purpose that they went aboute, he went to Lanfranke and shewed him all the matter: By whose counsayle he shortly after sayled vnto the king then beyng in Normandy, 1076 10 Treason will breake forth.

Normandy, and disclosed the same vnto him, and put himselfe wholy in his grace and mercy.

1077 11 When the king had heard these tidyngs, he made good semblance vnto the Duke Walrefe, and sped him the faster into England: But howsoeuer it came to passe, the two sayde Erles were warned of the disclosyng of thys matter, in such wise as they gathered to them such strength that ỹ king could not haue them at his pleasure, but as he was fayne by strong hande to chace and outlawe them. And for that he fayled of his purpose of them, he imprisoned Duke Walrefe at Winchester, and lastly caused him to be behedded, more of tyranny than of iustice.

Duke Walref an accusar of Traytors behedded.

1077 12 In the. xij. yere of his reigne was holden a great counsayle or Synode of the Clergie of the land in S. Paules Church of London, where amongest many thinges ordeyned for the rule of the Church of England, dyuerse Bishops Sees were translated from one place to another, as Selwy, to Chichester, Kyrton to Exeter, Welles to Bathe, Shereborne to Sarisburye, Dorchester to Lyncolne, and the See of Lichefield to Chester, which things thus ordered with many other for the Church, the said coũsail was desolued.

A Synode of the Clergie. Bishops sees translated.

1079 13 In the. xiij. yere of his reigne, after the death of Harman Bishop of Sarisbury, succeded Osmond, or Oswald the kinges Chauncelor, the which builded there a newe Church within the kinges Castell, and brought thether Clerkes that were garnished with vertue and cunning. And he himselfe wrote and bounde bookes, that were ordeyned and made for the more deuout and solemne settyng out of the deuine seruice of the Church, as the ordinall and other, and it was then called Sarisbury vse. And at this tyme the king gaue the Erledom of Northumberland to Walter Bishop of Durham, who afterward was slaine by the men of Northumberland.

Osmond or Oswold Bishop of Sarisbury.

Sarisburie vse.

1081 15 In the. xv. yere of his reigne, Robert the eldest sonne of King William the conquerour, because he might not haue the Duchy of Normandy, which his father had some time assigned & geuen vnto him, and after for his wildenesse did resume it againe: He with the ayde and fauour of the French king Philip, & Lewes his sonne, toke prayes in that Duchy, and put his father to much trouble. In so much that at length the father & the sonne met in plaine fielde with two great hostes, and eyther with other fought a cruell Battail.

Robert the eldest sonne of king William rebelled against his father.

It is read that during this battaile, king william was throwne from his horse, and in great ieopardie of his lyfe. Whereof his sonne Robert beyng ware, was so moued with pitie that he rescued his father, and deliuered him free from all the daunger of his enemies. But howe soeuer it fortuned with the king: The truth is, that many of his men were slaine, and his seconde sonne William Rufus sore hurt, so that in the ende king William was faine to refuse the fielde, and gat at that tyme none aduauntage of his sayde sonne. For the which dede and rebellion thus made by the sonne, the father accursed him after the opinion of some wryters.

1082 16 While king William was thus occupied in Normandy, the Northumbers rebelled, and slue in their rage Walter the Bishop of Durham, but the cause is not expressed, whose death Odo Bishop of Baion shortly after reuenged. After the aforesayde battaile in Normandy, king William returned into Englande, bringyng with him the sayde Robert his sonne, whome he incontinent vpon his returne sent with an armye against Malcolme king of Scottes, for that contrary to the league betwixt them, he had made in hys absence dyuerse roades into the borders of England. But when Robert vnderstood that the sayd Malcolme was retired into Scotland, he ceased to pursue him any further, and therefore retyred he vnto the water of Tyne, where he lay in campe a season, and there builded a forte, where as at thys day standeth newe Castell vpon Tyne: But the towne and wall was builded afterwardes by king Iohn, who gaue many great priuileges and liberties vnto the same, which was before but a small fisher towne without walles named Pandon.

New Castell vpon Tyne.

1083 17 In the. xvij. yere of king William, there fell an vnhappy strife betwene Thurston Abbot of Glascenbury a Norman, and his Monkes, the cause whereof (in part sayth Fabian) was,

was, that the Abbot despised and would haue set apart such song and offices as by Gregorie Bishop of Rome & Augustine his disciple, of olde tyme was to them assigned, and would haue compelled them to haue folowed the vse of William of Fescampe. And besyde that, this Thurstone wasted and inordinatly spent the goodes of that place, in lechery, and by other insolent meanes, and withdrewe from the Monkes, their olde and accustomed diet. For the which causes, first began great wordes wyth chyding, and after strokes and fightes, so that the Abbot gate vnto him armed men, and fell vpon the monkes, and slue two of them at the high altare, and wounded. xviij. of them, and the Monkes with Formes and Candlesticks defended themselues in such wise, that they hurt many of ỹ armed men. Thurstone Abbot of Glascenbury & his monks fought together.

After complaint was brought hereof before the king, by whose iudgement, Thurstone was againe returned into Cadonie, from whence he was brought, and the Monkes were spred abrode into dyuerse houses through England. But it is sayde that in the tyme of William Rufus, this Thurston obteyned the rule of the Abbey againe for the price of. D. pound.

In the. xix. yere of his reigne, king William raysed a newe maner of Taxe: For he caused to be gathered through England of euery hyde of land vj. shillinges. An hide of land conteyneth fiue Yardes, and euery Yard conteyneth foure Acres, and so an hide of land conteyneth xx. Acres, an Acre conteyneth. xl perches of length, and foure in bredth, and foure Acres make a Yarde, and fiue Yardes make an Hide, and. viij. Hides make a knightes fee. By the which reason a knightes fee should conteyne. C.lx. Acres, and that is accompted for a plough land for a yere. 1085 19 A new tax. An hide of land. A knightes fee in land.

And not long after he caused to be searched howe much lande eche of hys Barons helde, howe many knightes Fees, howe many townes, and what number of men and of beastes were within this land: whereof he commaunded a booke to be made, which also was done, and that afterward turned this land to sundry griefes and plagues, as after shall apere. A great and streygnt inquirie.

In the. xx. yere of his reigne, Canutus king of Denmarke, with the helpe of the Fleminges came with a great armie toward England: But by the prouision of the king, they were so feared, that they wer let of that iorney. 1086 20 Canutus a Dane with ye helpe of the Flemings landed in England.

Then king William gaue to thre of his Chapleynes thre Bishoprikes. To Morice he gaue London, to William he gaue Thetford, and to Robert he gaue Chester, which Robert was after remoued to Couentrie. Of this Robert reporteth Reynulph that he scraped from one Beame of his Church in Couentrie fiue hundreth marke, to fill the hande of king William. For Leofricus that was Duke of Mertia in the time of Edward the Confessor, had adourned that Church, with great riches of Golde, Siluer & Iewelles. Couentrie.

In this yere Edgar Atheling, which was reconciled to the kinges fauour, by lycence of the king, sayled into Apulia.

Now began the aforesayde plagues to spring: For great moreyne fell vpon brute beastes, and brenning Feuers among the people, and also great hunger and barennesse of the earth. Also in this yere great hurt was done in many places of the land by fyre, and specially in the City of London, whervpon the sixt day of Iuly the Church of Saint Paule in London was brent, and all that was therein, as in a table hangyng on the North syde of the Quyere may apere. And it was in the tyme that Morice was Bishop of London. And lykewyse was brent a great part of the Citie of London at the same tyme. Paules brent.

At this tyme king William beyng in Normandy prepared for warre against the French king: But shortly after he fell sicke, and kept his Chamber at Roan a long tyme, wherefore Philip the French king beyng merely disposed, sayde that william lay in Childebed, and norisshed his fat belly. The which wordes when they came to king Williams eares, he was much amoued therewith, and sayd, when I am churched I wyll offer vnto him a thousand Candelles light, with the which he shall holde himselfe smally contented. The

which promise, he after performed. For in the moneth of Iuly folowing, when corne, fruite, & grapes were most flourishyng, he entered into Fraunce with a great armie, and set on fyre many Cities and townes on the west syde of Fraunce, and at the last came vnto the Citie of Meaux, and fyred it, and brent a great part thereof, with the Church of our Lady, wherein he brent a woman beyng closed in the Wall of the sayde Church, as a recluse.

In this heate, or as some say by the leaping of a horse, king William tooke such a disease and sicknesse, that it was shortly after the cause of hys death. And when he felt himselfe thus grieued, he called his sonnes before him, and exhorted them in his best and most louyng maner, that they should charitably loue and fauour eyther other of them, and to holde together as louyng brethren, and so afterward made his testament and last will.

King Willia had fiue children, & what came of them.

He had fiue children. Robert the eldest, to whome he gaue the Dukedome of Normandy, Richard, the second, who died in his youth, William Rufus the thirde, to whome he gaue the kingdome of England, and Henry the fourth that also succeded him in the same Kingdome. And one daughter named Adela, who he gaue in mariage to Stephen Erle of Bloys or Bonony, who got on hir Stephen that after was king of England. But other write that king Henry the first maryed Molde the daughter of Margaret Quene of Scottes, and by her had issue two daughters, named Molde, and Mary. And Molde was first maryed to Henry the Emperor, and after to Geoffrey Plantagenet, by whome she had issue king Henry the second. And Mary was maryed to Eustace Erle of Bloys, by whome she had issue king Stephen. So that king Henry the seconde came of the elder sister, and Stephen of the yonger sister. The which Molde and Mary were the daughters of Margaret the wyfe of Malcolyne, or Malcolme king of Scottes, which was sister to Edgar Atheling, and of Edward the outlawe, which was the sonne of Edmond Ironsyde.

Charitie is most vsed in the extreeme pangues of death.

After that king William had aduertised his sonnes as aforesayd, and had made his last will and Testament, he then deliuered out of Prison his awne brother the Bishop of Bayon, Marcarus Erle of Northumberland, Wilnotus the sonne of Harold, or as some do write he was the sonne of Goodwyn, which was sent to William by Edward the Confessor to remain for a pledge for his sayd father Goodwyn. And shortlye after these thinges with other were done, he dyed the. viij. day of September, when he had reigned king of England. xx. yeres, x. Monethes, and. xxviij. dayes, and in the. lij. yere of his Duchye, and the. lix. yere of his lyfe, or as Polidore wryteth. lxxiiij. and in the yere of our Lorde. 1087.

The description of King William the Conquerour.

¶ After his death, men spake of him as they do of other Princes, and said that he was wise and gulleful, riche and couetous, and loued well to be magnifyed and praysed, a fayre speaker, and a deepe dissembler, a man of goodly stature, but something fatte in the belly, sterne in countenaunce, & strong in armes, and therewith couragious and bolde, and had greate pleasure in hunting and making of great feastes. But he passed all other in leuiyng of Taskes, which condicion his subiectes construed three maner of wayes, and sayde, that eyther it was to excell all other in ryches, or else to withstand and defend his enimyes, or to staunche the appetyte of his couetous mynde. He builded two Abbeyes in England, one at Battill in Sussex, where he wan the fielde against Harolde, the which was called vntill the suppression thereof the Abbey of Battaile. And the other he set in Southwarke besyde London, vpon the Southsyde of Thames, and named it Barmondsey. And he builded also one in Cane in Normandie where he was buried, and dedicated the same vnto Saint Steuen.

And when all ceremonies apperteyning vnto the Funerall were finished and done, and that he should nowe be layd in his tombe, there sodeinly stepped foorth one that resisted and woulde not suffer him to be buryed in that place, saiyng with a lowde voyce, how that the ground where they purposed to bury him, was percell of his auncient inheritance, which the Duke in his lyfe tyme had wrongfully taken from him perforce, and against his will for the buylding of that Abbey, and had neuer made him any recompence or amendes

for the same, and therfore would not to die for it assent ne suffer that he shoulde there be buryed, onelesse he were first recompenced and agreed with accordingly, wherevpon they were faine to see him recompenced before he could be enterred, so that maruell it was that so great and noble a conquerour as he was when he was aliue, could not after his death atteyne somuch ground as might receyue and couer his poore Carkas, without great adoo and businesse.

The sayde king had to Issue (sayth Polidore) by Mawde his wife, Robert vnto whome he bequethed the Dukedome of Normandy: Richard, who dyed very yong: William Rufus, and Henry which were afterwardes kinges of England one after another. Of this Henry he prophecyed before (as the fame went) that he should rule both England and Normandy together after his brethren, vnto whome he gaue by testament a great part of his treasure. He had also fiue daughters, that is to weete, Cicill which was made a Nonne, Constance whome Alley Dude of hether Briteyne maried, and Adela the wyfe of Stephen Erle of Bloys, mother to king Stephen, who reigned after the sayde king Henry: The names of the other two are not remembred of writers, which dyed ere they were mariageable, one of the which as is before mencioned should haue beene the wife of Harolde, if fortune had not beene against it.

It is also reported that when this king lay at the poynt of death, and should now depart the world, he much repented him of the cruell handelyng of the English men, specially because he had bene by them so much encreased as well in honour as Empire.

And although this king helde Englishe men in great subiection, and as is aforesayd suffered almost no Englishe man to gouerne or rule within the Realme: Yet it should appere he somedeale fauoured the Citie of London, for at the speciall sute and request of the right reuerend father in God William then Bishop of London, the sayde Conquerour in the first yere of his reigne graunted vnto the Citizens of London their first Charter and liberties, in as large forme as they enioyed the same in the tyme of Saint Edward the confessor that reigned before the Conquest. And the Citizens to shewe themselues thankefull vnto the sayde Bishop for his great loue and fauour, did not onely accompt him as a deere and speciall friend vnto them so long as he liued, but also after his death and buriall, beyng enterred in the middle Isle of the West ende of Paules Church, they fixed on his graue stone this Epitaph folowyng.

The Epitaphe of the reuerend father in God William Bishop of London, who of his great loue and charitie towarde the Citizens of the same, did first obteyne for them of William the Conquerour theyr Charter, liberties and priuileges, as by the inscription of the sayde stone may apéere, the contentes and effect whereof foloweth, first in Latine, and then in Englishe.

GVilielmo viro sapientia & vitę sanctitate claro, qui primũ diuo regi & cõfessori familiaris, nupèr in episcopũ Lõdinensis erectus, nec multo post apud inuictissimũ principem Guilielmum Angliæ regem eius nominis primum, ob prudentiam, fidem'que singularem in consilium abhibitus: amplissima huic Vrbi celeberrimæ priuilegia ab eodem impetrauit, Senatus populus'que Londinensis bene merenti posuit. Sedit Episcopus annos 16. decessit anno à Christo nato. 1067.

Hæc tibi, clare pater, posuerunt marmora Ciues:
Præmia, nòn meritis, æquiperanda tuis;
Hic sibi nam populus te Londinensis amicum
Sensit, & huic Vrbi nòn leue præsidium.
Reddita libertas ductè: donata'q; multis
Te duce res fuerat publica muneribus,
Diuitias, gemmas, formam, breuis opprimit hora
Hæc tua sed pietas, & benefacta manent.

The same in Englishe foldweth.

TO William a man famous in wisedome and holynesse of lyfe, who first wyth Saynt Edward King and Confessor beyng familiar, of late preferred to be byshop of London: and not long after, for his wisedome and sincere fidelitie admitted to be of Counsaile with the most victorious Prince William king of England of that name the first, who obteyned of the same great and large priuileges to this famous Citie. The Senate and Citizens of London to him hauing well deserued, haue made this. He continued Bishop. xvj. yeres, and dyed in the yere of Christ a thousand three score and seuen.

These Marble monumentes to thee thy Citizens assigne
Rewardes (O father) farre vnfit to those deserts of thine.
Thee vnto them, a faythfull friend, thy London people found,
And to this towne, of no small weight, a stay both sure and sound.
Their liberties restored to them, by meanes of thee haue bene,
Their publike weale by meanes of thee, large gifts haue felt and sene
Thy riches, stock and beuty braue one houre it hath opprest
Yet these thy vertues and good deedes, with vs for euer rest.

The aforesayde Charter is written in the Saxon tongue.

WILLIAM RVFVS.

1087 1 WIlliam Rufus, or William the Red, the thirde sonne of William the Conquerour, began to reigne ouer this realme next after his father, the. ix. of September, in the yere of our Lorde. M. lxxxvij. Who beyng in Normandy at hys fathers death, departed thence before his funerall obsequy was finished and done, and in all haste addressed him into England, where he was sooner arryued than he was looked for, and being come into the Realme, he by and by made Lanfranke then Archebishop of Cauntorbury (in whose friendship and faythfulnesse he had reposed no small trust and confidence) priuie to all his counsayle, praiyng him withall to put to his helping hand, that he might be crowned king as shortly as might be, according to his fathers Will and Testament: The whiche was at the last brought to passe by the importune laboure and sute of the sayde Lanfranke, who for his learning was highly esteemed, aswell with the Nobilitie as also of the Commons or the Realme, but yet not without much ado: For a great many bare better good will vnto his brother Robert than vnto him, because he was of a more mylde and gentle nature, and besyde that he was the elder brother, and therefore ought by lawe and conscience to haue beene preferred: But yet the matter was so wrought by the wisedome of Lanfranke, promisyng all thinges in his name, that might by any meanes purchase him credite or fauour with the people, that all in maner assented vnto his coronation, and so was he by him the sayde Lanfranke, with the assistance of diuerse other Bishoppes, whose names are all rehersed

by

by Mathewe of Westminster annoynted and crowned king at Westminster, the first day of October, the yere of our Lord abouesayd.

Reynulph Monke of Chester that wrote *Polichronicon* sayth, that Robert Curthose eldest sonne of William the Conquerour, was at the tyme of hys fathers death in Almaine, gatheryng of a great host against his father. And afterward heering that he was dead, and that he had preferred his yonger brother to the kingdome of England, was therefore greatly amoued, insomuch that he layde halfe his Dukedome to pledge vnto his brother Henry to mainteyne warre against king William. The which thing done, he gathered a great army, and shortly after landed at Hamton.

Robert Curthose the brother of Rufus entered England wᵗʰ a great power.

When William Rufus had vnderstanding thereof, he in all hast sent vnto him messengers, to whome he gaue in commission to say as foloweth. Thy brother William prayeth thee to take no griefe with that he hath done, for he calleth himselfe not king, but as vnder king to reigne vnder thee, and by helpe of thee that art greater than he, and his elder brother. And if thou consider it well, he hath nothing misvsed himselfe against thee, for he hath taken vpon him the gouernement of this Realme for a tyme because of thyne absence. But for that he is now in aucthority and crowned by thy sufferance, he prayeth that vnder thee he maye so continue, paiyng to thee yerely three thousand Markes, with condicion ỹ who soeuer ouerliueth other may enioy the Kingdome. When Robert had heard this message vnto the ende, he wagged his head, as he that conceyued some doublenesse in this report. But for that he was liberall, and alowed more honour than he did his profite, as in other things folowing of his deedes it shall apere, therefore he lightly assented to all that was desired, and returned shortlye after into Normandy with pleasant wordes and many fayre promises without profite.

Robert Curthose was soone dispatched with faire wordes.

1088

This yere in the beginning of Sommer, Odo Bishop of Bayon, which as before ye haue heard was deliuered out of Prison by William Conquerour, came into England, whom the king ioyfully receyued, and gaue vnto him shortly after the Erledome of Kent. But he tooke vpon him in processe of tyme to rule, in such wise as the king grudged at his doyng. And for this the king and his vncle fell at vnkindenesse, so that he withdrewe himselfe from the king, and alyed him with the bishop of Duresme, the Erles of Northumberland, Shrewesbury, and others. The which beyng confederate together, conspired against the king, and made his brother Robert Curthose against him, and wrought many thinges to his displeasure and hurt. And amongest all other damages by them done, Roger de Mount Gomorik, Erle of Shrewesbury, destroyed the Countrie and northwest parts of England toWorcester towne, by the ayde and helpe of the Welshemen: But in the ende, the Welshemen were so feeble and weake, that a fewe knightes discomfited a great armie of them.

2

Odo bishop of Bayon brother to king William conquerour.

The Lordes conspired against king Wyllyam Rufus. Rebellion

When king William perceyued that almost all the Normanes tooke part against him, he then beyng forced by necessitie, drewe to him the Englishe men, and fauoured them by giftes and easy lawes: So that by theyr strength he did in the ende reconcile the Erle of Shrewesbury and chased some other of his enemies, and shortly after occupyed the strong Castelles and holdes in Kent, belongyng to Bishop Odo his foresayd vncle, and in the ende compelled him to yelde himselfe and to forsweare England. And that done he besieged Rochester, wherein the Bishop of Duresme, the Erle of Northumberlande, and other noble men were gathered, and wan it at the last by yeldyng, so that his enemies were vnto him reconciled also, and in like maner was his brother Robert, who then again taking his leaue of the king returned into Normandy.

Robert Curthose was againe reconciled vnto his brother Rufus.

1089

In the thirde yere of his reigne dyed Lanfranke, when he had beene Archebishop of Cantorbury. xviij. yeres. By whose meanes the Monkes of England were brought to the vse of their Religion, which before liued like seculer priestes, and not like religious men. *Fabian.*

3

Lanfranke deade.

About this tyme Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy entendyng to take his voyage into the holy land, layed his Dukedome to pledge vnto hys brother William for ten thousand pound. For the leuiyng whereof, Kyng William set a taske vpon his commons and subiectes,

iectes, and raysed a farre exceeding summe, vnder colour of the same, so that Bishops melted their plate, and the temporall Lordes spoyled their Tenantes for the payment thereof. But as some wryte these thinges were done a good space after.

At this tyme also, the king of Scots brake the peace before made with William Conquerour, and wasted and tooke prayes in the Country of Northumberland. Then the king prouided a Nauie, and sayled thether in the Winter tyme: But by the tempest of the sea, halfe his Nauie or a great part thereof was drowned, and many of his knightes were lost for colde and hunger. But yet in the ende after diuerse skirmishes and bickerynges by mediation of friendes, a peace was concluded: So that Malcolyne or Malcolme then kyng of Scottes should be obedient to king William, vnder the same othe that he was before tyme sworne vnto his father, and king William should geue him yerely in the way of a fee. xij. Markes of Golde.

The homage of Malcolme kinge of Scots done to king William Rufus.

1090 4 In the fourth yere of his reigne, and the fift day of October, a passing great tempest chaunced in sundrye places of Englande, and specially in the towne of Winchecombe. For there by tempest of thunder and lightning a part of the steple of the Church was throwne downe. &c.

A great tempest.

Also this yere by force of the sayde tempest there was great hurte done at London, insomuch as Reynulph sayth, it blewe downe there. vj. hundreth houses, and other like mischiefes were done in sundry places by the sayd tempest. And the same tyme was the roofe of Bowe Church in London blowen downe which killed two personnes, as Fabian sayth.

1091 5 In the fift yere of his reigne, he went into Northumberland, and repayred such holdes and Castelles as the Scottes by their warres had eyther rased or else hurt and appayred, and caused a newe Castell to be made at Carlyll and repayred the same Towne which the Danes two hundreth yere passed had destroyed. In the same yere the maine roofe of the great Churche of Sarisbury was consumed and brent with lightnyng. And after the king returned vnto Gloucester, where he was grieuously vexed with sicknesse, so that he thought he should haue dyed. In the which tyme he tooke great repentaunce, and promised that if he might escape, he would amend his liuyng and become a new man: But after that he was restored to health, that promes was soone forgotten. In this yere also the king gaue to Anselme the Archebishoprike of Yorke. *Fabian.*

The roofe of Sarisburye church brent w' lightning.

Anselme made Archebishop of Yorke.

1092 6 In the. vj. yere of his reigne were exceedyng floodes, whereof the like had not in many yeres before beene seene. And after that ensued a wonderfull frost, which frose the great streames in such wise that Horsse and Cart passed ouer them. And in the ende when the Ise melted and brake, the payse and weight with the passage thereof brake many a strong bridge both of timber and stone.

About this tyme, the Welshmen with their king or Duke named Rees, brake out vpon the Englishe men in the border where standeth the Castell of Brekenoke, and there made masteryes for a while: but in the ende hys people were chased and slaine, and he wounded vnto death, so that he dyed the third day folowyng. This Rees is accompted to be ỹ last king of Wales, for after this day they were so quayled and brought to subiection, that they were vnder more stedfast obedience to the kings of England then they were before tyme: howbeit they rebelled full often as after shall appere.

Rees king or Prince of the Welshe men rebelled & was slaine.

And in the yere folowyng, king William to haue the Countrie in more quyet, hewed downe muche of the Wood, and builded in sundrie places of Wales strong Castelles and pyles, by meane whereof, they were plucked more and more to obedience and quyetnesse, and specially in the dayes of Edward the first, and Edward the thirde.

Wales brought to quietnesse.

At this time Malcoline, or Malcolme king of Scotland came vnto Gloucester, to commen with the king of dyuerse matters, and to make a finall agreement. But because king William would haue deemed him in his Court, therefore the same Malcolyne departed from the king in great displeasure, for ỹ which and for other causes the warre betweene England and Scotland was renyued, so that shortly after the sayd Scottish king with his retinue fought with an Erle named Robert Moubraye, which then was Erle of Northumberland,

Malcoline kinge of Scots again rebelled.

thumberland, and there was slaine with his eldest son Edward. How he was slaine Hector Boethius sheweth in the. xij. booke of the Story of Scotland on this wise: When they within the Castell were now ready to yelde and brought to extreeme necessitie, and in maner famished for lacke of victuailes, a certaine aduenturous and couragious Englishe knight beyng mounted on a very swift Gelding, hauyng a speare in his hande, at the ende whereof were fastened the keyes of the Castell, rode vp to the kinges campe, makyng semblant as though he had bene come to giue vp the Castell vnto the king. When the Scottes sawe this, they drewe together, and for ioye made a great showte and noyes, thinking their long trauayles and paynes had nowe bene at an ende, and then brought him where the king lay, who heering this noyes came out of his tent to knowe what the matter was. The Englishe knight when he sawe the king, helde downe his speare as though he woulde haue deliuered him the keyes: And whilest euery mannes eyes and mynde was fixed thereon, he in the meane time sodenly thurst his speare into the kinges left eye, and so wounded him therewith, that he there presently fell downe starke deade: and that done, he foorthwith dashed his spurres into his horse and fled into the next woodes, and so escaped. And it is sayde that when king Rufus heard of this aduenturous deed, he sent for the sayde knight, and gaue him certeyne of his landes and reuenewes in Northumberland, and commaunded him euer afterwardes to be called Perseye, because he had perced or bored out the kinges eye, of whome (sayth he) that familie tooke their beginning, which haue bene sence that tyme Erles of Northumberland. When the king was slaine, the Scottes departed and went euery man his way, and so the siege brake vp and ended. Edward the sayde Scotishe kinges sonne was slaine before in a skirmishe at the same siege. Hetherto Hector Boethius.

For sorowe whereof, Margaret Queene of Scotland, and sister vnto Edgar Atheling (as before in the story of William the Conquerour is shewed) died soone after. Then the Scottes made Donwalde or Dunkard the brother of Malcolyne their king, and put by his sonnes. But king William made Edgar the sonne of Malcolyne king of Scottes, and he did vnto him homage for the same kingdome.

Edgar the son of Malcolyne made Kinge of Scots who did homage for the same.

Polidore setteth out these warres and the causes therof, and such things as chaunced in Normandy betwixt king William and Duke Robert his brother, and the rebellion of the Welshemen that folowed shortly after on this wise: When the businesse of Scotland (sayth he) was thus quieted, Robert Duke of Normandie who alwayes bare a grudge to the king his brother, for that he was by him defeated of the Crowne, sent Ambassadors vnto the sayd king, & by the same charged him with periury for that he had not firmely kept and holden the cõditions of peace that were agreed vpon betwixt them, wherewith Rufus beyng highly displeased, reysed forthwith a great armie, and sayled into Normandy, purposyng so to trye the matter with him, that he would rather hazard his estate at once, then thus dayly be troubled and vnquieted by him. Howbeit his wrath beyng shortly after asswaged, he sought not to fight with him by and by: but after he had once or twice lightly ouerrunne the Countrie thereabout without any great damage or hurt doyng, he fell to a communication with him, where after long conference, they were at the length both contented by the intreatie of their friendes, to commit the effect of all matters in controuersie betwixt them, to the hearyng and arbiterment of certaine most graue and honourable personages, who (the causes and allegations of both the sayde parties, first deliberately heard and debated) gaue sentence for the Duke, awarding that the king should pay him a certeyne summe of money in the name of a mulcte or penaltie, for that he had thus contrary to the league betwixt them ouerrunne and wasted his Countrie. But when the king vnderstoode their awarde, he was by and by in a great chafe, and sayde that he would in no wyse stande vnto it: Therefore bothe the sayde partyes beyng greatlye mooued eyther with other gaue ouer talking and fell to fighting. The king toke perforce the Castell of Bure, and Robert by the aide of king Phillip of Fraunce, set vpon those Holdes and Castells which king William helde in Normandy, by vertue of the former composition betwixt them, and first

Robert duke of Normãdy chargeth king William his brother with periury.

A sentence geuẽ on the behalfe of duke Robert agaynst king William his brother.

Warres remued betweene king William and Duke Robert his brother.

of

Argenton Castell. of all he wanne by assault the Castell of Argenton, wherein he toke prisoner Roger Lieuetenant or deputie of Poiters, and with him. lxxx. men of armes, and with like succesſe also wan he the Castell of, Vlmes. Vlmes castle. At the length the king considering with himselfe howe there needed a greater force to subdue his aduersaryes, and spedily to finishe the warres that were comming vpon him, commaunded in all hast an armye of xx. thousand men or thereabout to be leuyed in Englande, and spedily to be conueyed ouer vnto him: nowe when all this multitude were assembled and come together at Hastinges in Sussex at the tyme appoynted, where the kinges Shippes lay at Anker to receyue them, and that they were nowe in readinesse and willyng to depart: The kinges Agent met them there also, geuyng intelligence vnto the Capitaines that they should signifie vnto the rest, howe the Princes pleasure was of a speciall desyre he had to spare hys people, and deliuer them from further paynes and trauayles of warrefare by them to be sustayned, that euery Souldiour there prest should pay ten shillynges, and therevpon to be discharged from that voyage, and to returne home againe, the which thing the more part of them was better willyng to do, then to commit themselues vnto the daungers of the sea, but the intent and purpose of the Prince was to fight against his brother, rather with a golden weapon, than with one of yron or steele, thinking vnder pretence of those warres to gether such a masse of money of his subiectes, as should both be sufficient to bye peace, and also to enrych him selfe. Therefore when both the armyes were nowe in a redinesse to fight, and that William had found the meanes so to pacify Phillip the French king with gifts & rewards, that he would no more ayde the sayde Duke, then by and by the whole staye and strength of his warres was quite fallen downe, and for wantyng the French kinges ayde, he was of necessitie compelled to sue vnto the king his brother for peace and at the length obteyned it.

Though Polidore write this, yet it semeth not to be true.

King Willia stayed the French king with riche giftes.

A peace concluded betweene king William and his brother Robert.

When king William had thus finished the warres of Normandy after his mynde, he foorthwith returned into Englande, where anon after chaunced vnto him greater businesse than he had before. For the Welshemen hearyng of the variaunce that begunne to growe betwixt him and his brother, armed themselues mindyng to rob and pill the Countryes adioynyng vnto them after their accustomed maner. And so entryng into the Marches, they burned houses and villages, draue away Cattell, tooke prisoners, and slue aswell Normanes as Englishe men: and finally rased townes and Castels where so euer they came. When the king was hereof enfourmed, he assembled a power in all haste to helpe his distressed people, and to kepe the countrie from vtter spoilyng and wastyng, and hauing vsed great speede in hys iourney, he set vpon them on a sodein: But for all that the Welshmen did not onely manfully abide the brunt of the assaultes, but also enforced the king to gene back & retyre, and that with no small losse and domage, wherefore being now three dayes iourney on his way, in his retyre he determined with himselfe to yelde vnto fortune for the tyme present, and so departed vnto London to prepare a stronger power. After whose departure, the Welshe men waxed so prowde and gathered such a courage vnto them, that they besieged the Castell of Mount Gomericke of all the fortes and Castelles in Wales the strongest, and afterward notwithstandyng it was for a whyle manfully defended by the kinges garison attempted to race it, and at length hauyng beaten downe the Walles thereof they toke it, and very cruelly slue all that they found therein: But the king being this while letted by treason newly sprong vp against him in his awne land, & determinyng first to suppresse that before he prepared any resistance against them, went into Northumberland where the Authours of this newe conspiracie put themselues in armes against him: For Robert Erle of that Countrie who had oftentymes before required the king to consider the good seruice he had done what tyme he beyng generall of the armie, the Scottish king was slaine in maner aforesayde, and perceyuyng the king not to be so redye to rewarde him for that worthie deede as he looked he should haue bene, was therewith so moued, that beyng sent for by the kinges letters, he openly refused to go vnto him. And in the meane season ceased not priuily to deuise howe and which

The Welshe men rebell.

Castell of mount Gomericke taken.

Robert Erle of Northumberland conspireth against yᵉ king.

way

way he might deprive him of the Crowne: But the conspiracie beyng by chaunce shortlye after disclosed, the king toke dyuerse of the Conspirators vpon a sodeine and put them to death: But Robert for that he knew himselfe guiltie, and therefore feared least he should be punished according to his deserts, fled away, whom the king pursued to the Castell called at this day the Castell of Banburghe, whether he was gotten for succor with his wife and children, which the king forthwith besieged, and because the same beyng most strongly defended aswell by nature as mans industrie and policie seemed impreguable, he began to close it with a wall of Plankes or Bordes, so that no man might enter in or issue out of it. But when Robert distrusting his state and case, or at the least wyse the fidelitie of his friendes, sawe the boorde worke begon, he priuely conueighed himselfe out in the dead of the night, but yet not so priuilye but the kinges scout perceyued it and pursued after, and beyng constreyned to go vnto Tinmouth, he there tooke sanctuary in the Churche of saint Oswine the martyr, out of the which he was by and by drawen by violence, and taken prisoner, and so brought vnto the King: Nowe when the rest that were within the Castell ceased not yet to make resistance and to defende themselues, the king to beate a greater terror and feare into them, caused Robert to be brought before the Castell gate that they within might see him, and made proclamation withall, that vnlesse the sayde Castell were yelded, foorthwith his eyes should out of hand be plucked out of his head, the which thing they beholding and fearing aswell their awne partes as the Erles, at the last yelded themselues and gaue vp the Castell, of whom part were banished, and some had their eares cut off, and other some one of their eyes put out to make the rest to beware by their example, and so sent home: but Robert was had to the Castell of Windsor, and there cast in prison: When this businesse was at an ende, king Rufus bent all his whole force against the Welshemen, who still continued in their outrage besides all measure, and adressyng himselfe wyth his armie with all hast to Wales warde, when he sawe that the Welshemen would at no hand geue him any oportunitie to fight with them, but hid themselues in woodes of purpose, he then began to waste and destroy the country next adioining, and attempted to passe through those places euen where most daungerous and hardest passage was, to the intent he might come where the enemies were, and fight with them. But contrarywise, the Welshemen kept either the mountaynes or woodes, who beyng sufficiently prepared and furnished for the tyme, set vpon the kinges armie, sometymes here, and sometimes there, euer as they espyed any aduantage, in such wise, that they either wounded or slue very many of them. The which was the cause that the king desirous to be aduenged on them, pursued them more feruently then circumspectly through mountaynes and marishes more to his losse and damage, than to the losse and anoyance of his enemies: who after he had lost many of his men and horses, and saw there was no hope for him to do any good there gaue ouer his purpose againe, and made an ende of those warres. Hetherto Polidore.

Banborough Castell.

Robert Erle of Northumberlād flieth.

In the. vij. yere of the reigne of king William, Anselme that was Archbishop of Yorke was remoued to Cauntorbury as affirmeth one Chronicle: But Reynulph and Guido say, that Hugh Lupus Erle of Chester beyng sick and diseased, in the vj. yere of the reigne of William Rufus, sent into Normandie for Anselme then Abbot of Berry or Becty for thre causes. The first, to visite and see him, and to be reconciled of him, as the man that he moste trusted. The second cause was that he should relieue some Abbeys of England, whom the king had vexed with grieuous tribute. And the third, that he should found an Abbey in Chester, which place he after buylded, and made one Richarde his Chapleyn first Abbot there, and soone after he was made Archebishop of Cauntorbury: whereby it appereth that the sayde See was voyde ouer the terme of three yeres. And at this tyme, England and Normandy were sore visited with the plague of pestilence, and the same was so great, as some write, that many lay vnburyed, and the tillyng of the ground was put off for that yere, and thereafter ensued great and extreme hunger.

1093 7

Pestilence. Tillage beyng left, famine doth folow.

This yere also the Scottes slue their king Edgar, and restored againe to the rule of the lande

1094 8

lande the aforenamed Donwald. And many straunge and wonderfull sightes were seene this present yere in the Skie, as hostes of men fightyng, and flames of fyre brennyng, and shotyng out of the Element, and other monstruous thinges, as sayth Fabian.

1096 — 10

In the. x. yere of this king, strife and dissention fell betwene hym and Anselme Archebishop of Cauntorbury, because Anselme might not be suffered to call his Sinodes, and correct his clergie but as the king would. The king also chalenged the inuestiture of Bishoppes, and tooke of the Spiritualtie and Temporalty great taskes and tributes, the which he spent vpon the walling of the Tower of London, and the making of Westminster Hall as some wryte. But Ihon Rastall sayth in his Chronicle that it is not lyke to be true that the great Hall of Westminster that is now, was buylded by this king, but rather in the tyme of king Richarde the second. For sayth he, the Armes that are there both on the timber and on the stone worke, which is the three Lyons quartered with the flower de luce, and the white Hart for his badge, were the armes of king Richard. For there was neuer king of England that gaue the flower de luce which was the armes of Fraunce before king Edward the thirde. And therefore it manifestly apereth that the great Hall which is nowe, was not builded by Rufus, except it were that he made the foundation thereof: But if Rufus made any Hall there, it was that which is aboue the stayers that we nowe call the white Hall. And besydes all this the kinges seruauntes grieued and pilled Englishe men vnreasonably. And to this miserie was ioyned the couetousnesse of Reynulph that was sometime Chapleyn vnto William Conquerour, the which at this day was the kinges procurator, and gathered his taskes ouer all England. He was so couetous and so euill disposed, that he would leuy three taskes for two: He pilled the riche, and bare downe the poore, and caused many men to lose their landes for small causes, and therefore the king did greatly fauour him. And by hys meanes, Bishoprikes were bought and solde as commonly as other marchandices. Also at this time priestes vsed bushed and breyded beades, long tayled gownes and blasyng clothes shinyng, and golden Girdelles, and road with guilt Spurres, with vsyng of dyuerse other enormities. All which vices Anselme would haue corrected, but he lacked assistance of his brethren the Bishops, for the which cause and other he departed the land: Wherewith the king beyng miscontented, sent after him suche personnes as robbed and spoyled him, and intreated him in most cruell maner. For the which deede, Raufe Bishop of Chichester blamed the king, and also rebuked all such Bishops as had refused the party of Anselme, & had fauoured the king in causes concernyng the aforesayde variaunce. And furthermore he withstoode the king and his officers in takyng of fynes of priestes for the cryme of fornication, for which causes the king with the sayd Raufe was sore amoued, and discontented, and obteyned such fauour that he suspended many Churches of his diocesse. But in the ende, Raufe demened him in suche wise that he had his awne will, and his Churches enlarged and freed that before were stopped with Thornes. And the king gaue vnto him the fynes of priestes within his Diocesse, and endued the See of Chichester with many great giftes.

Westminster Hall builded.

The behauiour of priests.

Fines for fornication.

And vpon a tyme as king William was ridyng towarde his disport of huntyng, sodeynly a messenger came vnto him, & sayde that the City of Cenemona or Constancia in Normandy was besieged of the French men: wherefore he without long tariyng or aduisement, tooke the streight way to the sea syde, and sent to his Lordes, charging them to folowe. When the sayde Lordes came to his presence, they aduysed him to tary vntill his people were assembled. But he would do nothing after their counsayle, but sayd such as him loued would surely folowe, and so went to Ship, setting aside all perils.

The desperate goyng into Normādy of William Rufus.

The mayster of the Ship was afrayde, and saw the weather so darke and clowdie, and the sea somewhat rough by reason of the south wind that then blewe, that he counsayled the king to tary vntill the wynde would blow more fauourably: But he commaunded him to make all the speede he coulde vpon paine of his lyfe, saiyng that he neuer heard that anye Kinge was drowned. And so he passed the sea and landed in Normandie a good while before there was any brute of his comming, and there gathered vnto hym his Knightes.

A noble courage of a kiug.

When

When the Captaine of the Siege (whose name was Helias) knewe of the kinges landyng, he feared, and anone began to breake the siege: But by treason he was taken and brought to the kinges presence. To whome the king shewed such pitie, that he suffered him to be at his libertie, which after the opinion of *William de Regibus*, was done more of pride than of compassion. Polidore wryteth that when the capteyn was brought vnto the kinges presence, he iested at him as one that had no courage nor mannes stomack. Then the sayde Capteyne turning him vnto the king sayde boldely againe. Sir king, thy fortune is nowe to take me prisoner, but if I were at libertie I would make thee to vnderstand that I were not a man so little to be passed on as thou makest me. And with that the king commaunded him to be set at libertie and then sayd vnto him, now go whether thou wilt, and do the worst thou canst against me: But (sayth he) it is not red that he euer attempted any thing against the king afterwardes.

In the. xj. yere of his reigne, at a towne called Finchester in the country of Barkeshire, a Well cast out blood as before it had done water. And after by the space of. xv. dayes great flames of fyre were seene in sundrie places, and at sundry tymes. This yere also the two Erles of Shrewesbury and of Chester who were both named Hugh, by the kinges commaundement entered with their knightes the Isle of Anglesay, which was the chiefe refuge of the Welshe men, and slue there a number of them, and shewed there such crueltie besydes, as the like had not bene heard of before, for vnto some they put out their eyes, to some they cut off their noses, handes, legges, or armes, and some againe they gelded, so that no kinde of cruelty was left vnpractised. 1097 11 A straunge thing.

Among the which a priest named Kynradus was drawen out of a Church and serued in the same maner, and had also his tongue cut out of his heade, and one of his eyes put out. In which season and tyme the King of Norway wanne the Isles then called Orcades, and nowe Orkeyes, and after came with his strength vnto the aforesayd Isle of Anglesay to rescue the people of the Isle, where at the same season were the sayde two Erles. Then betwene them was a mortall fight, in the which Hugh Erle of Shrewesbury was stryken with an arow in the eye, and dyed within. viij. dayes after. But as sayth Guydo, the Danes were chased, and the Englishe men had the victory, but as other do wryte there was no notable thing else there done besides the death of the sayde Erle. Hugh Erle of Shrewesbury slaine.

King William at this tyme was much in Normandy, because that Robert his brother was all this while in the holy land, of whose actes some mention shall be made in the story of Henry the first. And William had much paine to rule the Normanes, for they rebelled often against him.

Robert Losaunge that sometyme had bene Abbot of Ramsey, and then by the gift of a thousand pound to the King, was made Bishop of Thetforde, repented him after, and bewayled that vnskilfull deede, and tooke his way to Rome, and did for it his adioyned penance, and after returned into England, and turned his See from Thetford to Norwiche, and founded there a fayre Monastery of his awne goodes, and not of the patrimonie of Christes Churche: But therein resteth a doubt, for he was first Abbot and then Bishop, sayth Fabian. 1098 12

After that king William as before is sayde, was returned out of Normandie, many wonderfull prodigies and tokens were shewed in England, as the swellyng or risyng of the water of the Thamys, in suche wyse that it drowned many townes, and did much harme by out passyng of his boundes in dyuerse places about London and else where, with dyuerse other thinges whiche I passe ouer.

In the xiij. yere of his reigne and the beginnyng thereof the thirde day of August as sayth Reynulph, or as some other write vpon Lammas day, thys king William beyng at his disport on huntyng within the newe Forest, now called the Forest of Windsore, or rather as Reynulph sayth in the new Forest in Hamshire besydes Sarisbury by glaunsyng of an arrowe, which a knight named Sir Walter Tirell a Frenche man did shote at a Deere, and hit the king, and wounded him to death, so that he gaue but one grone and dyed 1099 13 Forest of Windeare. The death of king William Rufus.

dyed presently, when he had reigned. xij. yeres. xj. monethes lackyng. viij. dayes. And it is written by Ihon Hardyng, that king Rufus to enlarge the aforesayde Forest did pull downe foure Abbeyes, xvij. parishe Churches, and all the townes to them belongyng. Water Hennyngforde wryteth, that in the place where the king was slaine had beene a Church in olde tyme, the which Church with other in his fathers tyme was pulled downe, and destroyed for the enlargyng of his said Forest, and that in the same Forest by a like chaunce was slaine also a little before Richard the kinges nephew, sonne vnto Robert Duke of Normandy of a knight of his awne.

After this deede, the sayde Walter escaped and saued himselfe, for fewe they were that pursued after him. And so the king thus wounded was layde in a horse Litter, and conueyed to Winchester, and was there buryed in the Church of Peter and Paule.

Henry of Huntingden.

Of this William, reporteth Henry of Huntingdon and sayth that though this man were light in some things, yet he was stedfast and stable of his promise, so that what he promised good or euill it should be performed, & though he were named couetous, yet it should apere by this that foloweth, that he sometymes shewed himselfe liberall: For thus wryteth he of hym.

Vpon a certaine time, when the Abbot of an Abbey in England was dead, two Monkes of the same place, the which before had gathered money together, made their friendes to king William, and offered large offers either of them to be promoted to that dignitie. There was also a thirde Monke, the which of meekenesse and humblenesse folowed the other two, to the entent that vpon him that the king should admit for Abbot, he would haue geuen attendance, and as his Chapleyn to haue returned with him. The king called before him the two Monkes seuerally, and either out profered other: And at the length he cast his eye asyde, and espyed the thirde Monke, the which he supposed had come for the same cause. Then the king called him and asked him, if he would geue any more than his brethren had profered to be Abbot. But he aunswered to the king and sayde, that he would offer, neyther yet geue for it one penny, nor woulde haue so great a charge by any wrongfull meane. When the king had well considered of this thirde Monkes aunswere, he sayd that he was best worthie to be Abbot, and to haue the rule of so holy a charge: and so he gaue vnto him that promocion, without taking of hym one pennye.

Money bidden for Ecclesiasticall promocions.

This king William was variable and inconstant of his behauiour, very couetous, and therewithall cruell, and burdened the people with great taxes. Furthermore he neuer maryed but vsed concubines continually, wherefore he dyed without issue legittimate, when he had reigned as aforesayd fully. xij. yeres, and almost xj. monethes.

Of this king it is written that he was wastful and sumptuous in hys apparell, an example whereof is brought in by a certaine wryter to the great reproofe of excesse of apparell vsed in these our dayes. For when his Chamberleyn on a tyme brought him a newe payre of Hosen, he demaunded of him what they cost, who aunswered three shillings, wherat the king beyng somewhat moued, commaunded him to prepare him a paire of. xiij. shillinges. iiij. pence. Nowe if kinges were then thought to exceede that bestowed a Marke vpon a paire of hosen, what is to be thought of many meane men which in our tyme bestow so much of one payre as that king did vpon twentie.

HENRIE THE FIRST.

1100 1

HEnrie the first of that name and the fourth sonne of William Conquerour, which for his learnyng was surnamed Beauclercke, toke vpon him the first day of August the yere

yere of our Lorde M. C. the gouernement of this Realme of England, and was crowned king thereof very shortly after at Westminster, of Thomas Archebishop of Yorke, or as Polydore and some other say, of Mawrice Bishop of London. Coronation of king Henrie the first.

His elder brother Robert Duke of Normandie was at that season not yet returned from the warres of Siria, and therefore had he the better oportunitie to bring is purpose aboute. For manye there were both of the nobles and others which fauoured the sayde Duke, and woulde haue done their endeuour to haue crowned him king if he had bene present: And for this cause he found the meanes, what by geuyng of great rewardes, and what by fayre wordes and large promises to preuent him: But no one thing moued the whole Realme more to agree vpon him, then the faythfull promise he made to abholishe his fathers lawes, which were deemed of the people to be both against equitie and conscience. But first of all, so soone as he hearde of his brother Rufus death, he seazed vpon his goods and moueables, whereby he became the stronger, and better able to go thorowe with this enterprise.

This king in his youth had so well applied his study, that he was well sene in the seuen liberall sciences. And he at his entery reformed the ministers of the Church, and the dignitie of the same which had bene corrupted by his brother and he restored againe and vsed saint Edwardes lawes with the amendment of them, besydes the reformation and amendment of sundry and diuerse other abuses in the common welth.

He banished out of his Court nicenesse and wantonnesse, and committed Reynulph Bishop of Duresme, a man hated of all men for oppression, bribery, and diuerse other notable crymes, and a chiefe Counsaylour and perswader also of the king his brother in all his lewde and vngodly attemptes to the tower of London, the which before as you haue heard was so great with his brother William: and he sent for Anselme that was Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which before was fled for the feare and wrath of William Rufus, and gaue the Bishoprike of Winchester then miserablye spoyled vnto Gyfford, a right graue and learned man, and conferred also the rule and gouernement of such Abbeyes as had bene of long tyme vacant vnto Monkes. Furthermore he remitted all such taxes and paymentes as had bene by hys father and brother newely raysed vpon the people. Reynulph bishop of Duresme. Wantonnesse banished out of the kinges Court which betokened good gouernment.

This king corrected and reformed the olde and vntrue measures that were vsed in this Realme, and caused a yarde of the length of his awne arme to be made and vsed (and the same thing at this day is most metest to be reformed, for now almost no countrie kepeth eyther weight or measure one with the other to the great hurt of the Realme) and lykewise he reformed manye thinges that before his tyme had bene abused. Also he abhorred the excesse of meates and drinkes, and vsed to fight more with good counsaile than with the sworde. Measures made and reformed by king Henry the first. Henry the first a frugall man.

In the second yere of his reigne, Robert his brother that by all this time had bene occupied in warres vpon Christes enemies, hauing worde of the death of his brother William, and howe his brother Henry had taken vpon him as king, returned into Normandye, and there made preparation for to come into England. 1101 2 Robert the eldest sonne of William Conqueror once againe claymeth the Crowne.

In this time also Reynulph Bishop of Duresme brake out of the tower of London, and went to Robert Duke of Normandy, who stirred and pricked forwarde the same Duke Robert in all that he might to warre vpon his brother Henry, so that he assembled a strong armye of knightes and tooke shipping, and shortlye after landed at Portesmouth. But by mediation of friendes, a peace was made, and that in such condition, that he should haue yerely three thousande Markes payed vnto him as a tribute, as before was promised hym by William Rufus his brother, with condicions of succession and other thinges the which for length I passe ouer. Reynulph bishop of Duresme a lewde bishop.

Thus Robert beyng contented, contrary to the mindes of his Lordes, after a while that he had disported himselfe in England, he returned to Normandie, where of his Lordes he was for this and other vndiscrete dedes by him before done, as after shall be shewed, little, or lesse and lesse set by. For albeit by his fathers lyfe he had offended, and vtterly displeased him as before is touched, yet by his manhood and manfull deedes, he wanne the heartes of the Robert duke of Normady.

people, specially for the worthie actes he did at the winnyng of the Citie of Acon vpon the miscreantes and Turkes.

This Robert was wise in counsayle, strong in battaile, and also right liberall, and in hys returne from Hierusalem hee maryed the daughter of William, or as Polidore sayth, Roger de Auersana Lorde of Apulia, with whome he receyued great summes of money for his dower, the whiche by meane of his liberalitie was not long vnspent. Then fortune began to frowne vpon him, and set his awne Lordes against him, who sent vnto king Henry of England, and moued him to come into Normandy against his brother, and they would deliuer vnto him the countrie and Duchie of Normandie, and take him for their chiefe Lorde and gouernour: wherevnto as sayth the English Chronicle, king Henry soone consented.

Fortune frowneth many tymes vpon Princes.

But or euer this warre began betwene them, this king Henry had maryed the foresayde Molde or Mawde the daughter of Malcolyne or Malcolme king of Scotland, and of Margaret his wife daughter of Edward the outlaw as is expressed in the beginning of William Conquerour. Of the which Mawde, he receyued two sonnes, and two daughters, that is to say, William, and Richard, Mawde and Mary.

Polidore sayth, he begat of his first wyfe William, which was after drowned in the sea, and Mawde the Empresse. And a concubine a daughter named Mary, & a sonne called Richard, the which were likewyse drowned. And of a nother concubine Robert, whome he created Erle of Gloucester: But Hector Boethius wryteth, howe there was issue betwixt them these folowyng, William, Richard, Enfemia, and Mawde.

The Hospitall of Saint Bartholomewes first founded.

1102

About this tyme the Church and Hospitall of Saint Bartholomewe, in west Smithfielde of London was begon to be founded by one of the kinges Musitians named Rayer, and after performed by Rychard Whytyngdon Citezen & Alderman of London, a man of worthie fame. This place of Smithfield was at that tyme a laystow of all dong and filth, and the place where felons and other transgressors of the kinges lawes were put to execution.

3

1103

4 Robert duke of Normandie landeth in England.

After this Duke Robert of Normandie came into Englande to his brother, and he was here honourably entertayned, and in the ende at the request of his sister the wife of king Henry, or rather (as Polydore wryteth) beyng ouercome with the fayre wordes of his sayde brother, he released vnto hym the aforenamed tribute of three thousand Markes: but by euill tales, and couetousnesse of seignorie, this brotherly loue lasted not long, but such a varyaunce fell betweene them, that king Henry with a strong armie sayled into Normandie, and helde his brother with so sharpe warre, that he chased him from one country to another, and wanne from him the Citie of Roan, Cane, Valoys, and all the good townes of Normandy, and at the last constreyned him to seeke helpe of the French king, and after of the Erle of Flaunders, but he fayled of them both. Then sayth Polidore, when he considered with himselfe how vnable he was to match with the king his brother, and saw also how he was distressed on euery side, by reason wherof diuerse of his Lordes and Subiectes forsooke him, and tooke parte with his sayd brother, and that his enemyes dayly encreased, and his power decreased, and waxed lesse and lesse, he determined with himselfe no longer to trye the matter by battayle and force of armes, but to repose all hope of pacification in brotherly charity. And because he thought that it would little preuaile to send any Ambassadors for the matter, he beyng accõpanied with a few persons went himselfe into England, the said king then liyng at Northamton, where the Duke made humble sute vnto him, that he might be at peace with him, vsyng all the perswasions he could to induce him therevnto, and submitted himselfe and his Dukedome and all that he had besydes, wholy to his order, grace, and mercy, with the which request and humble submission of his, the king was nothing at all moued, insomuch that he turned from him in a fume, mutteryng with himselfe certaine threatning wordes against him. And this straunge countenaunce shewed he, eyther because of his brothers inconstancye, whereof he had had often experience, or else for that he was nowe fully bent and mynded to pursue him with most extreme cruelties, euen to death or vtter destruction. When Duke Robert saw this, he detesting

Vnnaturall warre.

testing the prowde and stately behauiour of his brother, departed the Court and returned into Normandy with all conuenient speede, fully determinyng, rather than to suffer his honour thus to be desteyned, to put him selfe in daunger either of death, or else of perpetuall seruitude. For he well perceyued, it booted not to put any longer hope or trust in brotherly loue. Therfore with such power as he could make, he gaue battaile vnto his brother Henry, who folowed him with a newe armie, in the which battaile he was taken prisoner and sent ouer into England, and put into the Castell of Cardiffe in Wales, where he remayned as prisoner so long as he liued, and when he was dead, he was buryed at Gloucester. Robert duke of Normandie taken prisoner.

Mathew of Westmynster wryteth that at the first he was not streightly kept as a prisoner, but was permitted by the kinges licence to hawke, hunt, and vse al other pastimes what he would for his disport & recreation, hauyng his keper with him, and was also allowed such apparell & dyet as was conuenient for his estate, vntill at length he practised to haue conueyed himselfe away: And beyng taken againe (as sayth the aforesayde wryter) he by the kinges commaundement had both his eyes put out, but in such wyse that the balles of them were saued. Touchyng his death it is further reported of the same Author, how king Henry hauyng on a time made a scarlet Robe with a hoode (as the fashion then was) for himselfe, & puttyng it on to assay whether it was meete for him or no, and perceyuyng the sayd hoode to be somewhat to little for his head, bad the yoman of his Wardrop to sende it vnto his brother Robert, because (sayth he) his head is somewhat lesse than mine. And when the Messenger that brought it was demaunded of Duke Robert whether any had euer worne it before or no, and the sayde messenger vnadui sedly shewed him what the king had done and sayd: Then sayd Duke Robert, nowe may I well thinke that my most wretched lyfe had bene ouerlong prolonged sith the iniurious king my brother hath so little regard of me, that he clotheth me with his cast apparell, and after that he would neuer eate nor drinke, but pyned away for hunger and sorow.

Nowe when king Henry had fynished his warres in Normandy he returned into England, and at that tyme Robert of Bolisme which was the eldest sonne of Hugh of mount Gomericke Erle of Shrewesbury arose against the king, and manned his Castelles of Shrewesbury, of Brugges, of Arondell, and of Tekynhill, and incouraged the Welshemen against the king. But the king pursued the sayd Robert so egerly, that within. xl. dayes he wanne all those Castelles, and slue many of his men, and gate the fauour of the Welshemen by giftes and pleasant wordes, and also compelled the sayde Robert to forsake England: the which sayled into a corner of Normandye, and kept him there secretly, vntill such tyme as William Erle of Cornewall came thether vnto him, which William was also Erle of Mortom in Normandy. When these two Erles were met, they gathered to them a great strength of Normanes, and did great harme within the Prouynce. Wherefore the king sailed thether and made sharpe warre vpon them, in the which he lost manye of his men: But in the ende hee put from them their strength, and tooke them both Prisoners, and so kept them duryng their lyues. And that done he set that Countrie in good rest and peace, and after returned into England. After which returne the king made sharpe lawes against theeues and other that vsed vnlawfull doynges. In the which lawes was conteyned, losyng of lyfe, of eyes, of stones, and other members of man, as the fault and offence required. Robert of Bolisme erle of Shrewesbury rebelled. 1104 Lawes made against ruffians and theeues.

And shortly after, Anselme Archebishop of Cauntorbury assembled a great counsail at London of the Clergie of England: By aucthority of which counsail, diuerse Abbottes & other were put from their dignitie, for that they had taken before tyme their Abbeyes by vnlawful meanes. And among all other decrees one was, that priests should forgo theyr wiues, as saith Fabian. Anselme Archebishop of Cãterbury. Priestes put from their wiues by Anselme Bishop of Cãterbury.

Then strife fell betwene the king and Anselme, for that he would not sacre the priestes that had taken inuestiture of the kinges handes, which before was forbidden vpon paine of cursing. But Giralde Archebishop of Yorke for the pleasure of the king, sa-

Anselme goeth to Rome to complaine of the king.

cred such Bishoppes: Wherefore Anselme beyng discontented, departed the land, and went to Rome to complaine of this and other thinges to the Bishop thereof, which then was named Pascall the second. And about this tyme Sir Robert le Fitzham Erle of Glocester buylded the towne of Tewkesburye, and there was buryed, and also buylded the Castell of Bristow.

1105
6
Flaunders ouerflowen with the sea.

In the sixt yere of the king, the Countrie of Flaunders was sore blemished and hurt by meane of the sea, so that the Flemynges were enforced to seeke for succour and place of dwellyng, and required of the king to haue lycence that they might inhabite in the East part of Twede, the which to them was graunted. But after a certeyne of yeres they were remoued into west Wales, where they remayned a long while, but after they spred all England ouer.

1106
7
Straunge & wonderfull sightes.

In the. vij. yere of his reigne, vpon a Fryday at night in the first weeke of cleane Lent, was seene a straunge and wonderfull starre betweene the South and the West, the which nightly apered at an houre, and continued so by the space of. xxv. dayes. And right against that, on the East part apered a great flamyng beame of great brightnesse, whiche stretched towarde the sayde starre. And vpon Maundy thursday next folowyng, were seene two Moones, the one in the East and the other in the West.

Anselme returned from Rome.

This yere also Anselme by the kinges agreement returned from Rome, and shortly after

A cõuocation at London.

called a conuocation at London, in the which by the Bishop of Romes auctboritie, it was newly enacted and confirmed, that no temporal man after that day should make any inuesture with Crosse and Ryng.

1107
8

In the. viij. yere of his reigne, the fourth Henry Emperour of Almaine, the which was affianced to Molde the eldest daughter of this king Henry, when she was of the age of fiue yeres, emprisoned Pascall Bishop of Rome and dyuerse of the Cardinalles.

1108
9

In the. ix. yere of his reigne, the Archbishop Anselme professed Gerard Archebishop of Yorke to the yoke of obedience, as he was before taught by Lanfranke his predecessor. And the. x. day of August folowyng, he sacred fiue Bishoppes at one tyme, as of Winchester, of Sarisbury, of Exeeter, of Herford, and Glamorgan. And king Henry ordeyned a bishops See at Ely, and to the Bishoppes See at Lyncolne he gaue his awne towne of Spaldyng, for he had minished that See by the erection of Ely.

Ely the Bishops See first instituted.

1109
10
Anselme dyeth.

In the. x. yere dyed Anselme Archebishop of Cauntorbury, after whose death the See was voyde fiue yeres, and the goodes of the Church spent to the kinges vse. And when he was prayed to helpe the Church that was without an head and a pastour, he vsed to aunswere that his father and also his brother had accustomed to set there the best proued men that they coulde finde, and to the entent that he might do the same, he toke the more tyme and leysure. And with such mylde aunsweres he put off the tyme, and filled his Cofers with the great summes of the Benefice. And at this tyme, the king maried his brother Roberts bastard sonne, to Mabell daughter and heyre of Robert Fitzham, and made him the first Erle of Glocester, who after buylded the strong Castell of Bristow.

1110
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About this tyme (as sayth the Frenche Chronicle) a controuersie began betwixt the king, and Lewes king of Fraunce sonne vnto Philip the first. This Lewes was surnamed Lewes the great, eyther for the bygnesse of his person, or else for the greatnesse of his dedes. This Lewes sent vnto King Henry beyng in Normandy, and gaue vnto him monition to do his homage for the Duchy of Normandy, and also that he should restore vnto

1111
12

him, or else beate downe the Castell of Gysours, and also make recompence and restitution vnto him for the hurtes and harmes that his Normanes had done in those partes. But all this of king Henry was denied, and shortly after skirmishes and bickerings began betwene the sayde two Princes, king Henry then liyng at the said Castell of Gysours, and Lewes at a place called mount Calue. But this encreased in such wise, that shortly after, eyther of the Princes sought for places of more rowme, and their knightes met sundrie times. But of any notable battaile betwene them I find no remembrance although the same warres continued two yeres. In the ende of which two yeres William

the

the eldest sonne of king Henry, beyng a childe and within age, contented so well the minde of Lewes, that he refrayned from his warre for that time.

In the. xiij. yere of his reigne, at Shrewesbury, and at Notyngham was a great earthquake from the mornyng vnto night. The Riuer of Trent in the moneth of Iune flowed not for the space of a mile so as sayth Guydo, that men might there haue gone drieshod ouer it, as though the water had bene gone another way, and this continued the space of one whole day. And soone after appered a blasyng starre, wherevpon folowed an hard Wynter, great death of the people, and scarcetie of victualles by the great Moreyn of beastes that ensued. And in this yere also the king founded the Abbey of hide without the walles of Winchester, that of olde tyme was within the walles, and first founded by king Alphred called the new Abbey of Winchester. The Citie of Worcester was in this yere almost all consumed with fyre. And in this time began the Parliament in England first to be instituted and ordeyned for reformation and gouernement of this Realme. The maner whereof as I haue found it set foorth in an olde Pamphlet, I entende at large to set forth in the reigne of king Edward the third, where and when Parliaments were yerely and orderly kept.

1112 13

Worcester brent.

In the. xiiij. yere of his reigne he subdued the Welshemen (sayth Polydore) and that not without great slaughter of them, which before by often breakyng out into the frontiers and marches of Englande, wasted those Countryes very sore.

1113 14

Aboute this time also (sayth the same wryter) Henry the fourth of that name Emperor, vnto whom Mawde the kinges daughter was fianced, sent vnto king Henry for his wife, beyng now able to company with a man, who to prepare a conuenient dowry for her, seassed a great payment vpon the people to be leuyed by the Acre, that is to say vpon euery Acre of land that any man helde a certaine porcion: By reason whereof he gathered a great masse of money, the which he sent with her to the aforesayd Emperour.

In the. xv. yere of his reigne, the king entended to haue promoted Fabricius, Abbot of Abyngdon vnto the See of Cauntorbury but in a sinode or counsaile of Bishoppes kept at Winsore, the kinges minde was chaunged, and to ỹ See was then admitted Raufe that was before bishop of Rochester.

1114 15

And the same yere one Thurston was chosen Archebishop of Yorke, the which denyed his profession of obedience, that he should owe vnto the See of Cauntorbury, wherefore at length he was depriued of his dignitie. But after by labour that he made to Pascall Bishop of Rome. the sayd Bishop of Rome wrote to the king that he should restore him againe to the sayd See: By the which meane he was restored, but yet disdeyned he to do his lawfull obedience vnto the sayde Raufe Archebishop of Cauntorbury. Then the strife was againe renued which Lanfranke before had appeased, and at the length brought in argument before the Bishop of Rome. The which at the kinges request promised that he would nothing do, nor ordeine that should preiudice the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, or the dignitie of his Church But in conclusion the sayd Bishop of Rome gaue such a defuse sentence in this matter, that he left the strife vndetermined. And when the kinges procurators and the Archbishops of Cauntorburies also were absent, were it for mede or for fauour, the Bishop of Rome was so bent, that he forsooke the olde rule vsed before his dayes, and sacred the sayd Thurston himselfe, and gaue him the Pall. For this dede the king was sore discontented with Thurston, and forbad him the entery of his land. Wherefore the Bishop of Rome wrote shortly after to the king, willing him to suffer Thurston to occupie the See peaceably, or he should be accurssed, and suspended by the dignitie of the office of Cauntorbury, and so Thurston quietly enioyed his See by that meanes.

Thurston Archebishop of Yorke denyed obedience to the Archebishop of Cãtorbury.

Contention for the Primacye.

Thurston made Archebishop of Cantorbury.

In the. xvij. yere of his reigne, the warre againe betweene him and Lewes the French king was renued and the occasioner thereof, as sayth the French Chronicle, was Thibauld Erle of Charters or Champaigne, which Thibauld was grieued by the French king, and for necessitie requyred ayde of the king of Englande, to whome the king as his kins-

1116 17

Warres againe renued with France.

man sent ayde and succour. And afterward the king sayled ouer with a strong army, and sent a noble man named Stephen into the Lordship of Brye, to defend it against the French king. When Lewes vnderstoode that king Henry was landed in Normandy with so great a power, he in all the hast assembled a great and strong power, and came towardes him. But there were such strong Holdes so well manned with Normanes, and also so great and deepe riuers that the Frenche king coulde not come at King Henry. But at the last he wanne a towne named Lingues in Cause, in the which towne was a bridge to passe ouer the ryuer of Thee, and so into Normandy.

When a certeyne of the knightes of Lewes had thus wonne the towne aforesayde, the sayde Lewes with his people sped him shortly after and rescued his foresayde Knightes, and then spoyled and robbed the Towne which was riche, bicause it had beene in rest and quiet many yeres before. He also slue and tooke prisoners all the Normans there dwelling, and put in their steed Frenchmen. And that done, he sped him towardes king Henrie, the which was at a Castle called Male assise, & there made prouision for the defence of the Frenchmen. And when he had garnished and furnished it to hys pleasure and contentation, he then departed from thence. And shortly after the French king came thether with his whole army of Frenchmen, and after many sore and cruell assaultes, he wonne the sayde Castell, and bet it downe to the grounde. After which victorie, as sayth the French Chronicle, there chaunced to the French king manye misfortunes. For shortly after among manye other mischaunces, a Noble Capitaine of his named Angueran de Chaumounte, the which had done much harme in Normandy to king Henry and had wonne there sundrie Castels and strong holdes, dyed sodeynlye. And in short time after Baldwin Erle of Flaunders, a man of great strength, and puyssaunce as he besieged a Castell was wounded in the face, and died within sixe dayes after. Then Fauques Erle of Aungeros, in whome also thys Lewes affied muche and trusted, married his daughter vnto William the eldest sonne of King Henry, and refused the French kings parte, and ayded and assisted king Henry in all that he might, so that daylie the power of Henry encreased, and the French Kings minished. Finally, these two Princes met with both their armies in plaine field and fought a deadly and cruell battayle, where in the ende the French king was ouercome, and lost muche of his people, & was compelled to flee vnto a place called Audeley for his safegarde. But this ouerthrowe of the Frenchemen is by them excused in the most fayrest maner, so that they (as Fabian sayeth) excuse themselues and saye, that King Henry set vpon Lewes when he was not ware, and hys Knights at that tyme were all out of order & aray: and also that King Henry had a farre greater number then the French king had, with other wordes in the praise and commendation of themselues, which is to their rebuke.

Male assise Castell.

1117 18

A cruell battaile.

But Reynulph of Chester sayth that King Henry ouercame the French King in the playne field royally.

Now it followeth in the storie, when these two Princes were agreed, William the sonne of King Henry did homage vnto the French king for the landes of Normandy, by the agreement of his father: for the king thought himselfe to good to be vnder the obeysaunce of the French king. Then king Henry caused his free men of Englande and of Normandy to doe homage lykewise vnto his sonne Wylliam.

1118 19

Homage.

And sone after Fauques before named, left his Erledom of Angers, in the guyding of King Henry, and went himselfe into the holye lande, and wylled in his Testament, that if he returned not againe, that then the sayde Erledome should remayne vnto his sonne in lawe Wylliam, sonne of King Henry which had maried his daughter.

About the twentie yere of the reigne of King Henry, Queene Molde or Mawde his wyfe dyed in Normandy, the which in her youth, was set by her father the king of Scottes into a Nonnery and there did weare and vse the vayle and habite of a Nonne. For the which cause when king Henry was agreeable to take her vnto his wife, this matter fell in great disputation, and Anselme then Archebishop of Cauntorburie was sore against that

1119 20

mariage

mariage for a tyme: But afterwarde it was sufficiently proued that shee was there wearyng the habite but neuer professed the order. And hir father had so deuised it to the entent to aduoyde vnworthy wooers.

When king Henry had continued in Normandy almost three yeres, he tooke shippyng at Harflete in Normandy, and sayled happely into England the same day, that is to say, the. xxiiij. day of Nouember. And shortly after William Duke of Normandy with Richard his brother, Mary his daughter, Richard Erle of Chester, with his wyfe the kinges nece, and the Archedeacon of Herforde and other to the number of one hundreth & three score personnes, tooke shippyng at the same port, and were all drowned, a Boocher only excepted: which misfortune chaunced partly by the violent rage of tempest, and partly by the ouersight of the maister and other, which in the night had quarelled among themselues, by reason whereof they ranne vpon a rock as sayd the Boocher. From this daunger William Duke of Normandy escaped, and was in the Shipboate nere vnto the land: but when he heard the lamentable cry of his sister, he commaunded the Rowers to returne and saue her, which done by what misfortune I can not tell, after she was receyued into the Boate, were it by tempest, or ouercharging of the Boate, or otherwise, they were all swallowed of the sea, so that none of them was after foūd, but part of their goodes.

A pitifull chaunce.

In the. xxi. yere of his reigne, king Henry made the Parke of Woodstock besyde Oxenford, and walled it with stone, besydes other pleasures to the same belongyng. And about this time Fauques Erle of Angers returned out of the holy land, and maryed the sister of her that before he had maried vnto William Duke of Normandy, vnto the sonne of Robert Curthose, and gaue with her the Erledome of Cenomanna. And strife began to kindle betwene king Henry and the said, Fauques, for the withholding of the dower or ioynter of his first daughter maryed vnto William the kinges sonne, and for the cruell handlyng of Duke Robert of Normandy, whom the sayd Fauques loued intyrely.

1120 21

Woodstock parke.

Fauques Erle of Angiers.

Robert Curthose.

In the. xxiij. yere of the king, Raufe Archebishop of Cauntorbury died, and a Clerke named William was placed in the See after him. And the king in this yere began the foundation of the Abbey of Readyng. And Ihon Cremensis a priest, Cardinall of Rome was sent from Calixt the seconde of that name then Bishop of Rome, for certeyne matters concernyng the said bishop of Rome. In which tyme of his beyng here, he made sharpe processe against such priestes as had eyther wyues or else kept concubines, and rebuked them by open publication, and otherwyse, so that he gat himselfe thereby small or little fauour. But this Cardinall was so feruent in the correction of other mennes vices, that he forgat to looke vpon his awne life. For in the night or euenyng of the same day that he had blowen his horne, and sayde, that it was a most detestable offence before God, to aryse from the syde of a strumpet, and then to sacre the body of Christ, he himselfe was taken with a strumpet to his open shame and rebuke, but he excused the matter (sayth Mathew of Westminster) saiyng that he was no priest but a corrector of priestes.

1123 23

Ihon a Cardinall of Rome, taken with incontinencie.

Priestes Wiues and Concubines.

A chast Cardinall.

A simple excuse and an vntrue.

In the. xxv. yere of his reigne was called a counsail at London, where the spiritualtie consented that the kinges officers should punish priestes that had Concubines. But the sayd officers tooke money and suffered the Priestes to liue at their pleasures. Which offence at this day is so clerely renounced of all Spirituall men, that there are no fynes at all taken nowe, neyther yet correction necessary done for the same, neyther duely punished any other where in England, except it be in one house called Bridewell in London, where also (as some say) there is but to much fauour shewed, chiefely to such as can make any friendes.

1124 25

Bridewell.

In the. xxvij. yere of his reigne, the Gray Fryers came first into this Realme of England, and had their first house buylded at Cauntorbury. And about this tyme also dyed Henry the fourth Emperour of that name, which (as before is touched) maryed Molde the daughter of king Henry. After whose death the sayd Empresse came vnto her father in Normandy. Nowe when king Henry was asserteyned of the death of Henry the Emperour, for somuch as he had none heyre male, he caused soone after the most part of all the Lordes spirituall and temporall in England, to swere in his presence that they should kepe

1126 27

Grey Friers when they came first into England.

the land of England to the vse of Mawde the Empresse, if he dyed without issue male, and that she then suruyued.

1127 28 In the xxviij. yere of the king, Geoffrey Plantagenet the sonne of Foulques Erle of Angeow, maryed Molde the Empresse. Of the which two discended Henry the seconde, which after Stephen was king of England. And after the king was returned into England, he released vnto the Englishmen the Dane gelt, which was by his father and brother receyued and taken.

Dane gelt released.

1129 30 In the. xxx. yere of his reigne dyed the Erle of Flaunders, and as Reynulph sayth, king Henry was by the agreement of the Frenche king made Erle, as next heyre and inheritor vnto the sayde Erledome.

1131 32 In the. xxxij. yere of the king dyed Robert Curthose the kinges brother, the which he had kept as prisoner in the Castell of Cardiffe from the fourth yere of his reigne, whose dead carkasse was buryed at Gloucester.

1134 35 In the. xxxv. yere of his reigne, was borne of Molde the Empresse, Henry shortmantell, or Henry the seconde, and about thys tyme was by the king founded the Bishoprike of Carlill, and a great part of London Brenned.

1135 36 Now for a finall ende of this story, king Henry in the beginning of the. xxxvj. yere of his reigne, he beyng in Normandye fell from or with his horse, whereof he tooke his death. But Raynulph sayth, that he tooke a surfet by eatyng of a Lamprey, and thereof dyed, when he had reyned full. xxxv. yeres and odde monethes, and was buryed at Redyng Abbey whereof he was the founder, as he was also of the Abbey of Ciceter the which Mathew of Westminster calleth Ciremester.

KING STEPHEN.

1135 1 STephen Erle of Boloigne, sonne of the Erle of Bloys and Adela daughter to king william the Conquerour, and nephewe vnto king Henry the first, tooke on him the gouernaunce of this Realme of England, the second day of December. 1135. through the counsayle and ayde of many Lordes of England, contrary to their othe made to Mawde the Empresse.

This was a noble man and hardy. But yet contrary to his othe ỳ he made to Molde or Mawde the Empresse as aforesayde, hee tooke vpon him the Crowne of this Realme, and

King Steue crowned.

was crowned on Saint Stephens day in Christmas weeke at Westminster of William Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which Bishop in lyke maner had made the lyke othe vnto the sayde Empresse, in the presence of the king her father as before is touched: In punishment of which periury as men suppose, the sayd Archebishop dyed shortly after.

Periury.

The Lordes also of the whole realme as abouesaid had made like othes, and committed the lyke periury, and therfore scaped not punishment. A great part of this periury (as sayth one aucthour) was this: one Hugh Bygot Steward sometyme of king Henry the first, immediately after the decease of the sayde Henry came into England, and before the sayde Archebishop and other Lordes of the land, he tooke wilfully an othe, and sware that he was present a little before the kinges death, when king Henry admitted and chose for his heyre to be king after him Stephen his nephew, because Molde his daughter had displeased him: wherevnto the Archebishop & the other Lords gaue to hasty credence. But the sayde

Wilful periury punished.

Hugh escaped not vnpunished, for he dyed miserably in a short tyme after.

When

When king Stephen was crowned he sware before the Lordes at Oxenford that he would not holde in his hande the Bishoprikes and benefices that were voyde, and that he would forgeue the Dane gelt as king Henry before him had done, with sundrie other thinges. And because this Stephen feared the commyng of Mawde the Empresse, he therefore gaue licence vnto his Lordes that euery of them might buylde a Castell or strong fortresse vpon his awne ground. And soone after hee agreed with Dauid king of Scots who with Henry his sonne did homage vnto him for Scotland. The same tyme Stephen gaue also vnto Henry the sonne of the sayde Scottishe king, the Erledome of Huntyngdon and the towne of Bedford.

Dane gelt.

1136 2

Homage of the Scotter.

In the which tyme the king layed siege to the Castell of Bedford, the which was possessed and manned of the Scottishe king and wanne it. And that done he then made a voyage into Scotland, where he did not muche eyther to his pleasure or profite. But yet Polydore wryteth, that whilest king Stephen made himselfe readie to set vpon the Scottishe armie, who were come to defende the borders of the Countrie: Dauid perceyuing himselfe to weake, and not able to withstand his power, sent his Ambassadors vnto him to entreate a peace, which at the length was graunted him vpon condition that he would be content to deliuer his sonne in hostage for the sure performaunce and holding of the Articles and couenants concluded betwixt them, the which was done. Then in his returne homeward he toke Alexander Bishop of Lincolne & kept him in durance vntill he had giuen vnto him the Castell of Newarke. And then he chased Nigellus Bishop of Ely. But sayth Polidore, after he had thus finished the matter with the Scottes in hys returne againe into England he went to Wales and their besieged and wanne Ludlow the head towne of those partes, the which he founde possessed of his enimies, where Henrie prince of Scotland as he was in fight neere vnto the towne walles, was sodeynly of the aduersaries that were within the towne plucked from his Horsse with a crooked engine of Iron, and therewith had beene taken vp into the towne, if God had not so prouyded that the King came foorthwith and rescued him in that present daunger.

1137 3

Alexander Bishop of Lincolne.

About this tyme also he tooke such displeasure with his louing friend, Roger Bishop of Sarisbury, for that he suspected him as he did all those that had lately buylded any Fort or Castell to fauor the Empresse part, that he cast him into prison vntill the sayd Roger had readred vnto him his two Castels: of Vises and Sherborne the which himselfe had builded. For the which the sayde Roger in remembring the great ingratitude of the king, tooke suche thought that he dyed shortly after, and left behinde him in readie coyne in his sayde Castels fourtie thousand Markes, which after his death came to the Kings Cofers, and with that treasure (sayth Reynulph) he found the meanes to marry his sonne Eustace to Lady Constance the French kinges sister.

Roger bishop of Sarisbury.

About the fourth yere of his reigne, Dauid king of Scottes repenting him of his former agreement made with the king, entred of newe within the boundes of Northumberland about the ryuer of Thayse towarde the Prouynce of Yorke, and brent and slue the people, and spoyled the Countrie in most cruell wise, not sparing neyther man woman nor chylde. Against whom Thurston Archbishop of Yorke by the kings commaundement was sent, who with his power did acquite himselfe so valiauntly, that he ouerthrewe the hoste of Scottes, and slue ten thousand of them, and in fine compelled them to withdrawe againe into Scotland. *Reynulph.*

1138 4

Scottes rebell.

Thurston Archebishop of Yorke ouerthrew the king of Scottes.

In the sixt yere of his reigne, and in the Moneth of Iuly, Mawde the Empresse with her brother Robert and other of her friends entred the lande at the hauen of Portesmouth, and from thence went to Arundell and tooke the Castell there. Then Robert Erle of Gloucester leauing her in the sayde Castell, hauing with him onely ten horsemen, with so many Archers on horsbacke, passed through his enimies Countries and sped him to Gloucester, as well to signifie vnto the people the landing of his sister the Empresse, as to cause an armie to ayde hir. And though the same towne were at his comming manned with the kings power: Yet when the townesmen vnderstood that he was come, they of their

1139 5

owne accorde put the kings Garrisons out of the towne and receyued him, that done the sayde Erle not onely assembled an armie there, but found the meanes also that the places and Countrie adioinyng, willyngly submitted themselues vnto the Empresse.

Now when king Stephen who then layde siege to Wallyngford Castel vnderstood that the Empresse was landed, he incontinent brake vp his siege, and with his whole power spedely addressed himselfe to the towne of Arondell and besieged the Castell. But when he had there continued his siege a certaine space, and nothing was yet done accordyng to his expectation, some of them which were secrete friendes and ayders of the Empresse, ceassed not to beate into his head that the same Castell was impregnable, and therefore his liyng there was but in vaine, saiyng further, that it were best for him to leaue his siege and suffer her to issue out, and to go to some other holde or place where he might more easily come by her, the which was done to this only ende, that she beyng now in the case that she was, not able to hold out any longer for lacke of victualles, might escape the present daunger she was in, and flie to some other place of more suretie, where shee might make herselfe more strong against her enemies. And so Stephen folowyng this deceyueable counsayle, departed incontinent with his armie so farre that the enemies should not feare to issue out whether they would. The which thing the sayd Empresse perceyuyng, departed thence in the dead of the night, and so kept on her iourney to Bristowe, whether there came to her shortly after her commyng great succours out of all partes of the Realme: The whiche when king Stephen was enformed of, he repented him (but to late) that he had folowed the former euill counsayle. Wherefore he hastened him towards Bristowe to the entent to lay siege to the towne, and there to enclose his enemie if he might by any meanes. But the Empresse hearyng of his comming, and vnderstanding his purpose, departed thence, and went first to Gloucester and then to Lyncolne, where she victualled the towne, and so fortefied it with men and munition, that she might safely there tary till eyther she were rescued by the Erle her brother and others of her friendes, or else by the fauour and ayde of the Commons, be restored to her right without bloudshed & battayle, and king Stephen deposed. But he beyng aduertised what was there by her done, pursued after withall haste and besieged the same Citie.

After which season the Erle Robert, and Reynulph before named with a great power of Welshemen, and the power of the Empresse, came agaynst the king intendyng to rayse the siege. Where when both armies were redye to ioyne. The Erle Reynulph of Chester spake to his knightes and sayde, I requyre you, that I that am cause of your peryll, may be the first that shall enter into peryll. Then aunswered Erle Robert and sayd, it is not vnworthie to thee that askest the first stroke and dignitie of this fight: for vnto thee it is sittyng, for noblenesse of blood and vertue of strength in the which thou passest other men: But the kinges false othe moueth men to warre and fight, wherein we must nowe eyther winne the maystry or be ouercome. And hee that hath none other succour, is constreyned to defende himselfe by knightly and strong dedes of armes and of manhood, and so shall we nowe ioyne with them that are blemished with guile & wickednesse, as Robert Erle of Mellent, the Erle also of Albemarle, and Simon of Hampton, the which is a man of great boast and small might.

Strife who should fight first in battel.

Then king Stephen prepared to set forward his people, and Erle Baldwyn had wordes of comfort to the kinges people, and sayde: Vnto men that shall fight there are three speciall thinges to be considered. The first is the quarrell, least men fall into peryll of the soule. The second is the number of men of armes, least men be ouerlayde and oppressed with to great a multitude. And the thirde is, the lustinesse, courage, and strength of knightes, that the matter quayle not for lacke of stoute, hardie courage, and assured fightyng in the tyme of neede. As touchyng which three poyntes, I trust we be well sped. And furthermore if we note well what enemies we haue. First we haue against vs Robert Erle of Glocester, who vseth great threates, and performeth small deedes. In mouth and countenaunce lyke a Lyon, but in heart a very sheepe. He is glorious in

The oracion of Erle Baldwin.

Thre things are requisite to such as fight in battayle.

speeche, and darke in vnderstandyng. There is also Reynulph Erle of Chester, a man without reason, and full of foolishehardinesse, redy and prompt to all conspiracie, and vnstedfast in al his deedes and attemptes: hastie and furious of heart, and vnware of perilles. He assayeth oft to atchieue great deedes, but he bringeth none to effect. And what he fiercely and freshely beginneth, he cowardly and fayntly forsaketh, as infortunate and vnhappy in all his dedes, and is ouercome in euery place, for he is a companion with banished men and sculkers, and the mo of them that are in a company, the sooner they be ouerthrowne: and feeble they be in fightyng, for eyther of them putteth his trust in his felow, whyle he hymselfe is ouerthrowen.

A terrible Battaile.

But, before he could finishe his wordes, the crie of the enemies wyth noyes of Trumpettes, and neeyng of horses were heard on euery syde, the battayles approched and ioyned together, and forth flew the arrowes, and a grisely and cruell fight was vpon both sydes so long as it endured. By reason of which fight and the slaughter thereof, the greene fielde was turned into a perfite red, so that many a pale and wanne visage was there sene yelding vp of the ghost, with armes and legges disseuered and departed from the bodyes. A long while this fight stood in doubt, whether partie should obteine victory. But in the ende king Stephens partie gaue backe and fled, but hee valiauntly abode in the fielde with a fewe of his knightes and was taken, and so he was brought vnto the Empresse: the which commaunded him to be conueyed vnder sure keepyng vnto Bristow, where he was kept as a prisoner, from Candlemas vnto holy Rood day then next ensuyng.

King Stephen taken prisoner.

When the Empresse had wonne this victorye, and had committed the king to warde, as before ye haue heard, she was not therewith a little exalted, but thought in her mynde, that she was in a suretie of the possession of the whole Realme: But she was deceyued, for the Countie of Kent tooke partie with king Stephen. And after this victory she departed thence, and toke the towne of Cicester, and afterwardes went vnto Winchester, where shee was solemply receyued of the Bishop and the people with procession, and from thence came to Wilton, to Oxford, to Reding, and to Saint Albones, into the which Cities and townes she was ioyfully receyued withall honour, but esspecially was she welcomed of Theobaldus then Archebishop of Cantorbury, and many of the nobilitie besydes. Lastly, she came to London for to enter the state of the land, and while she remayned there, the Quene king Stephens wyfe made earnest labor for the deliuery of the king her husband, promising that he should surrender the land into her possession, and he to become a religious man, either else a pilgrim to his lyues ende. But all was in vaine, for she could purchase no grace as then vpon no maner of conditions.

The triumphing of Mawde the Empresse.

A large promise which was neuer purposed to be performed.

The Citizens of London also made great labour that they might vse the lawes of king Edward the Confessor, as they were graunted by William the Conquerour, and not the lawes of her father, which were of more streightnesse, whereof in no wyse they could get any graunt.

The Empresse was somewhat to streyght laced.

For this the Citizens were discontented, and knowyng that the Countrye of Kent which fauoured king Stephen would strength theyr party, purposed to haue taken her. But she beyng thereof warned, departed in haste, and left behinde her her store of housholde, and so fled vnto Oxenford, where she abode, but her people was deuyded and scattered. And in this while she sent vnto Dauid the king of Scottes and her vncle for to ayde her, who in all haste came vnto her, and so went to Winchester, where she layde siege to the Bishoppes Tower, the which, the Bishop beyng the kinges brother at that tyme helde with great strength.

The flyeng of the Empresse.

Then the Queene with the ayde of her friendes, that is to say, of Kentishe men and other, made a strong hoste, whereof was chiefe Capitayne a Knight named Guyliam Ypres. When the Empresse heard of the great strength of the Queene, and sawe that her awne dayly minished rather than encreased, was in such feare that she caused her selfe to be caryed in a horse Litter to Gloucester as though shee had bene dead. But Erle

A wise and corragious woman.

Robert

Robert her brother was taken soone after, and put in prison, and Dauid king of Scots heeryng of this returned into Scotland.

Prisoners exchaunged.

Then meanes was made vpon either side for the deliuery and exchaunge of prisoners, so that in ỹ end it was agreed, that the king should be deliuered for Erle Robert. But before this agreement was fully concluded, great losse and mischiefe was done within this Realme euery way, for the Empresse pilled and spoyled on her partie, and the Queene by manaces and promises borowed and tooke vpon the othersyde, and the Souldiours stale, extorted, and spoyled vpon both parties, so that riche men were made needy, and the poore oppressed on euery side.

Pilling and spoyling of the Realme.

The returne of the Empresse vnto Oxenford.

In this meane while the Empresse returned againe to Oxenforde, and victualled it and manned it in her best maner. And lastly the king was deliuered vpon holy Rood day in Haruest, and soone after he compassed Oxenford with a great armye, from the tyme of Michaelmasse vnto Christmasse next folowyng, at which tyme and season, the Empresse vsed a newe guile for constraint and necessitie of victuall.

A prety inuention.

In that tyme great plentye of snowe fell vpon the ground, and the frost was therewithall so great, that Thames with other great riuers were then frosen ouer, so that man and horse might passe vpon the Ise. The Empresse then constreyned by neede (as aforesayd) apparelled her and her company in white clothing, which a farre of semed like snow, and so vpon a plumbe going together as neere as they might, escaped the daunger of their enemyes, and so came first to the pyle or Castell of Shereborne, and then to Wallingford. And from thence in short time, she departed with a small company into Normandy vnto her husband.

A hard scape.

The maner of departure of the Empresse.

So soone as the Empresse was thus departed from Oxenford the towne was yelded vnto the king, where the king had much of the Empresse stuffe, aswell harnesse as other stuffe of houshold. Then the king entended to haue pursued her, but tidynges came vnto him that Reynulph Erle of Chester with an hoste of Welshemen was commyng towardes him: But by mediation of friendes this Reynulph in the ende was reconciled to the king, and was with him fully agreed. But shortly after sayth Reynulph, in a Parliament holden at Northhamton, he was taken of the king by a traine, and not deliuered againe before he had geuen vp the Castell of Lincolne.

Parliament at Northhamton.

1144

About this tyme as certeyne write, the Iewes then beyng in England crucifyed a childe named William in the Citie of Norwiche in derision of the Christian religion. And in the time of Henry the second, about the. vj. yere of his reigne (as sayth Reynulph) they crucifyed another at Gloucester.

10 Iewes crucified a child.

1146

In the. xij. yere of his reigne, king Stephen was againe crowned at Lincolne after the geuyng vp of the sayd Citie where neuer none of his predecessors had bene euer crowned before.

12

Robert Erle of Gloucester made also new warre vpon the king, at Wilton, so that he was in great perill, and like to haue fallen into Roberts daunger, and escaped but verye narowly. And there was taken a Barron of the kinges named Sir William Martell, for whose raunsome and deliuery, the king gaue after to the sayd Erle the Castell of Sherborne. And that done, the sayd Erle Robert began to buyld a strong Castell at Faringdon: Whereof the king beyng enformed, assembled his knightes and sped him thetherward, by meane whereof the worke was for that tyme empeached and let. These thinges done (sayth Polidore) the rage of warre ceased for a tyme. In the meane while, the king went vnto London, and there helde a Parliament, in the which he spake vnto his Nobles and Prelates as foloweth.

Robert Erle of Gloucester well rewarded of the king.

Where you haue hetherto (my most deare and trusty Lords all) followed me as chiefe and head Capitaine in defending your libertie, I desire you that you will not nowe forsake me but do the lyke hereafter, and continue as loyall and faythful vnto me your souereigne liege Lord, as you haue hetherto bene: for as concerning me, though I haue not yet (I confesse) done my duetie in the princely regiment committed vnto me, accordingly

ingly yet certes it hath not bene for want of good will, but for that time hath not serued thervnto, neyther can I now accomplish the same without your ayde and assistance. And because you shall not thinke that hetherto little or nothing hath beene done of any importaunce: you shall vnderstand that our enimies are already so weakened by my meanes, that will they nyll they, they must needes yeeld them shortly to our grace and mercie. There remayneth onely that you will for your partes helpe to maintaine those warres which by oure consent and counsayle were first begonne and taken in hande by mee, for the defence of the common wealth. And manye other wordes spake he vnto them of lyke sentence, to the entent to moue them to contribute to the aforesayde warres as the present necessitie should require.

When he had thus spoken euery man promised wyllingly to ayde him with that they might, aswell for their awne safetie, as for the defence of the common libertie of the Realme. The Bishops and Priestes also, because it was not lawfull for them to fight, were contented yet to ayde him with money. For the which thing, he beyng desyrous to gratefie them againe, caused it to be ordeyned and enacted in the Parliament, that whosoeuer from that daye forwwarde layde violent handes vpon any that was within holy orders, or did arrest any such, for what cryme soeuer it were, or take them prisoners without the ordinaries processe and expresse commaundement, should be accounted accursed, and neuer to be assoyled againe, but of the Bishop of Rome.

In the. xv. yere of his reigne, the Ryuer of Thamys was so strongly ouer frosen that Horse and Carte passed ouer vpon the Ise. 1149 15

It is also written by Robert a Chronicler that king Stephen conceyuing great displeasure against the Citie of Worcester, because they receyued the Duke of Gloucester and Mawde the Empresse, did therefore cause the same Citie to be set on fyre and brent to coles.

In the. xvij. yere, Reynulph Erle of Chester dyed, and was the fourth Erle after the Conquest, and his sonne Hugh was Earle after hym, which was a man of great strength and power. And in the same yere (as sayeth Guydo and othe:) dyed Geoffrey Plantagenet husband of Mawde the Empresse. After whose death, Henry short Mantell that was the sonne of the sayde Geoffrey and Mawde, was made Duke of Angeow and Normandy, who in fewe yeres after maried Elianor the daughter of the Erle of Poytowe, the which Elianour was before maried vnto Lewes king of France, and from him deuorced for neerenesse of blood, when he had receyued of her two daughters named Mary, and Alice, as sayth the French Chronicle. And so this Henry was Erle of Angeow by his father, and Duke of Normandy by his mother, and Erle of Poytowe by his wyfe. 1151 17 The death of Geoffrey Plantagenet.

It was not long after, that Eustace the sonne of King Stephen, wyth aide of the French king, warred vpon Henry Duke of Normandy, the which (as some write) was practised by Stephen his father, to the intent to let or stop him that he should not come into England to clayme his inheritaunce. But Duke Henry defended himselfe so knightly, that the saide Eustace wan thereby lyttle honour and lesse profite.

An olde Chronicle sheweth that king Stephen entended to haue crowned the sayd Eustace his sonne king of Englande by his dayes, but the Byshoppes refused that deede by the commaundement of the Bishop of Rome.

In the. xviij. yere, the king layde siege vnto the Castelles of Newbury, of Walyngforde, and of Warwike & Warwell, the which had bene kept by the Empresse friendes, from the time of her departure vnto that day, and hoped of reskues by Henry Duke of Normandy. But the king then wan the Castelles of Newbury and of Warwell, but Warwike and Wallyngford defended themselues vntill the commyng of Henry the Duke, the which in the ende of the sayde yere with a great armye entred England, and first wanne the Castell of Malmesbury. 1152 18 The landing of Henry Duke of Normandy.

And thence he went to London, and wanne the Tower, asmuch by pollecy and by fayre promises, as by strength. And such stuffe of victuall and armour as he found therein,

therein, he sent to Walingford. And that done, he went to the towne of Walyngford and wanne suche holdes as were thereabout, and diuerse other townes and Castelles mo. Then king Stephen with his power drewe towarde the Duke. And finally, by meane of mediators, as Thibalde Archbishop of Cauntorbury and other, both Princes to common of peace, met nere vnto the water of Vrine, or Vrne. But as fast as some laboured for peace, so fast other laboured to haue warre, so that at that communication the peace was not concluded.

After the king and the Duke were departed, the king went toward Ipswitch in Suffolke: And the Duke tooke the way towarde Shrewesbury, where he wanne the Castell of the sayd towne. From thence he went to Notyngham, and wan that towne, but would not meddle with the Castell, because he thought it to strong to be wonne. Wherefore the Souldiours that held the said Castell, seeing that the towne toke partie with the Duke, brake out in the night, and set the towne on fyre, and brent a great part thereof.

Eustace the sonne of king Stephen drowned.

Thibald Archebishop of Cãtorbury.

In this meane tyme Eustace the sonne of king Stephen, was by misaduenture drowned, and was buried at Feuersham in Kent, in the Abbey ỹ his father before had builded, howbeit for al this Thibald Archbishop of Cãtorbury let not to labor & conclude the peace betwene the king & the Duke, and endeuored himselfe therin so diligently, that with the assistance of other of the Nobles, in the yere folowing a peace was concluded at Walingford, vpon diuerse conditions: whereof one was that the king should continue as king during his life, and that immediately after the conclusion of this peace, the sayd Henry should be proclaymed in all the chiefe cities & townes of England for heire apparant, & be king after the death of the said Stephen, & that the king should take him for his sonne by adoption & rightfull heyre vnto the crowne. To the which couenauntes iustly to be holden, the king was first sworne, and then his base sonne William and after his Lordes spirituall and Temporall, and so went both vnto London, where they were roially receiued. And when the king had feasted the Duke, and geuen vnto him riche giftes, he tooke his iourney toward Normandy. But the English Chronicle sayth that the accord was made vpon the deuision of the land betwene them, that is to say, that both should reigne together, and either of them to enioy halfe the lande. But how that deuision was made, or which part of the land eyther of them should holde, no mention thereof is made. And the former accorde should be concluded. viij. dayes folowyng the Epiphany of our Lorde in the towne of Oxford: and the king dyed in the moneth of October folowyng, when he had reigned. xviij. yeres. x. monethes and. xxiiij. dayes, leauyng no lawfull issue behynd him, and was buryed in the Abbey of Feuersham whereof he hymselfe was founder.

A peace concluded betwene king Stephen and Henry Duke of Normãdy.

Henry Duke of Normãdie proclaymed heyre apparant.

Duke Henry returned into Normandy.

1153

19

Of dyuerse auctheurs, as Reynulph and other, it is recorded that this Stephen liued in great vexation and trouble all the time of his reigne.

And as before ye haue heard in the latter ende of the story of king William the Conquerour, that king Henry the second, and king Stephen, came of two sisters, after the opinion of some wryters which were the daughters of king Henry the first who had maryed Molde the daughter of Malcolyne king of Scottes, whereof the elder was named Molde maried to Geoffrey Plantagenet of whome he begat king Henry the second: And the other sister named Mary was the mother of king Stephen: So also is it to be vnderstand, that by king Henry the seconde returned the blood of the Saxons to the crowne of England, and so it did by Stephen, but yet more properly by king Henry the first, as by the discent of his mother expressed before in the ende of the story of William Conquerour may apere. By which reason it foloweth, that the blood of William Conquerour reigned ouer England but lxviij. yeres, one moneth and. xvj. dayes, if it be accompted from the first yere of king William Conquerour, vnto the last yere of king Henry the first: But if we reckon it to the ende of the reigne of king Stephen, then was it. lxxxvij. yeres, and. xij. dayes.

By king Hẽry the second the blood of the Saxons was restored againe.

The blood of the Normãs how long it reigned ouer vs.

HENRIE

HENRIE THE SECONDE.

HEnry the seconde of that name, sonne of Geoffrey Plantagenet Erle of Angeow, and of Molde or Mawde the Empresse daughter of king Henry the first, began his reigne ouer the Realme of England the xxv. day of October M.C.liij.

The description of king Henry the second.

This king was somedeale red of face, and broad breasted, short of body, and therewith fat, the which to asswage he tooke the lesse of meates and drinkes, and much exercised himselfe in huntyng, hawkyng, and such lyke pastimes. He was harrish of voyce, but yet eloquent and well learned, and also noble and valiaunt in knyghthood, wise in counsayle, but dread ouermuche destinies. He was free and liberall to straungers, and heard and holdyng from his familiers and seruauntes. And whome he loued or hated entierly, hard it was to turne him to the contrary. He loued rest and peace, to the ende he might the rather folow his pleasure, with mo vices rehersed by Gerald and others, the which for length I passe ouer.

Henry the second a couragious prince.

Howbeit as Reynulph witnesseth he was not barren of all vertues, for he was of so great a courage, that he would often say, that all the worlde suffised not to a couragious heart. And he encreased his heritage so mightily, that he wanne Irelande, anone after his coronation by strength, and tooke the king of Scottes prisoner, and ioyned that kingdome of Scotlande to hys awne. From the South Occean, vnto the North Islandes of Orcades, he closed all the landes as it were vnder one dominion, and spred so largely his Empire, that we read not that any of his progenitors had so many Prouynces and Countreys vnder their gouernance and rule. For besyde the Realme of England and Scotland, he had in his rule Normandy, Gascoyne, and Guyan, Angeow and Poyters: and he made subiect to him Aluerne and other landes. And by Elianor his wyfe he obteyned as in her right, the Erledome of Tolous.

Ireland ioyned to the crowne of England.

Henry the second greatly enlarged his dominion.

Of the which wife he receyued sixe sonnes, and thre daughters, the which fiue sonnes had to name, William, Henry, Richard, Godfrey, and Ihon, but what the sixt was called is not remembred of wryters. The eldest of the maydens was named Molde or Mawde, and was maryed to the Duke of Saxon, the second Elianor, maryed to the king of Spaine, and the thirde named Iane, maryed to the king of Sicile.

King Henry the seconde had by Elianor his wife ix. children.

Princes are subiect to tyme.

This Henry was prosperous in his beginnyng, and infortunate in the ende, and specially in the last fiue yeres of his reigne, for in the first of those fiue yeres, his strength began to minishe: The second yere he lost a voyage in Irelande: In the thirde, he lost Aluerne, warryng agaynst the King of Fraunce: In the fourth yere he lost Briteyn, and in the fift the Citie of Cenomanna, and Turon, with many Holdes to them belongyng.

When tidynges was brought vnto this Henry of king Stephens death, he fortuned to lye at the siege of a Castell which was withholden and kept from him by the frenche king. And beyng aduertised by his counsayle forthwith to breake vp his siege, and to hasten him into England to take possession of the Crowne, least happely any styrre or businesse might arise by protractyng of ỹ time: he vpon the affiance that he had in his rightfull cause aunswered againe, that no man durst be so hardie as to attempt any thing agaynst him. And so though he were dayly counsayled to the contrary, yet would he not depart before he had wonne the sayde Castell. That done, he sped him into England, and was crowned at Westminster of Theobald Archbishop of Cauntorbury, not without great solemnitie and roioysing of the people, the Sonday before Christmas day. 1154. At the which coronation he made a very sweete and comfortable oration vnto the people, and so louyngly

1154

The coronation of King Henry the seconde.

louyngly spake vnto them both generally and priuately, that euery man conceyued thereby great hope of his good gouernment to come, and that they should haue a very good and gracious Prince of him.

In the first yere of his reigne, after he had chosen certeyne graue, wise, discrete, and well learned men in the lawes of the Realme to be of his priuie counsaile, and had by their aduice reformed the sayd lawes, then because iustice and equitie should no lenger be oppressed by such malefactors, as being called out of foreyn countryes by king Stephen to serue him in his warres, were not afeard to commit all kinde of mischiefe, vnder pretence of a libertie permitted to Souldiours by the law of armes in warre tyme: he made proclamation, that all such straungers whatsoeuer they were, should aduoide the Realme by a day assigned, vnder a great paine: But especially the Flemings whereof at that tyme there was a great number come hether, whome he hated more then any other Nation. That done, he rased diuerse Castelles that before in the tyme of King Stephen were buylded, eyther for displeasure of the owners, or for that they stood not commodiously and for his purpose: Or else for feare least they should at any time be fortefyed of his enemyes against him. Furthermore, he banished many of the Lordes and gentlemen that were highly in king Stephens fauour. And from such as by purchase, gift, or otherwise helde any landes, sometymes belongyng to the Crowne, he tooke the sayde landes and seased vpon them in whose handes soeuer they were. By the which fact of his, a number (sayth Polidore) were offended, gatheryng plainely thereof, that he would in tyme to come be nye himselfe, and regard his awne commoditie.

Straungers aduoided out of the realme.

Castelles destroyed and rased to the ground.

Lordes and gentelmen are banished.

Landes that belonged to the crowne are taken in agayne.

1155

In the beginnyng of the seconde yere which was the yere of our Lorde M. C. lv. Quene Eleanor his wyfe was brought a bed of a man childe whom he called Henry.

2 The birth of Henry the first sonne of king Henry the seconde.

This yere he went downe into the North Countrie, and so to Yorke, where he seased into his handes certeyne Castelles and Fortes which had bene a great while possessed of priuate personnes: But especially the strong Castell of Scarborough. After this he tooke from the Scottishe king the Countrie of Comberland, and then went he to Northumberlande, and recouered that Countrey wholy, notwithstanding that it was geuen vnto king Dauid of Scotland by Mawde the Empresse his mother, because the sayde Dauid tooke part with her against king Stephen, the which countries were at that season in the handes and possession of Malcolme who succeded the said Dauid: But because he would not seme altogether vngratefull vnto him, that had so well deserued of his mother, he permitted the sayde Malcolme still to enioy and reteyne the Erledome of Huntingdon, the which, as is before sayde, king Stephen gaue vnto Henry the eldest sonne of Dauyd: But yet on condicion that he should sweare to do homage and fealtie vnto him for the same Erledome.

1156

In the thirde yere of his reigne, about the moneth of October were sene in the Firmament wonderfull sightes, that is to say two Sunnes. And in the Moone was there sene also a red Crosse. Of this wonder sheweth the Aucthor of *Chronica Chronicarum*, saiyng that about this tyme in Italy there appered three Sunnes by the space of three houres in the West. And in the yere folowyng apered three Moones whereof the middle Moone had a red crosse ouerthwart, which is there set out and noted for a prodigie and token of the Schisme that afterwardes fell amongest the Cardinalles about the election of the Bishop of Rome Alexander the thirde, the which Schisme endured almost, xx. yeres.

3 Straunge & wonderfull sightes.

1157

About this tyme Adrian the fourth of that name called Nicholas was Bishop of Rome, borne at Saint Albons or nere there aboutes, and as Reynulph wryteth was a bondman of the Abbey, who because he desyred to be professed a monke in the sayde Monastery, and could not be receyued, went shortly after beyond the seas, where he profited so much in learnyng that the Bishop of Rome made him first Bishop of Alba, and afterwardes Cardinal, and at the last after the death of Anastasius Bishop of Rome, he was chosen Bishop of Rome. And beyng aduanced to the Popedome, he gaue many great priuileges to the sayd Abbey. At the length he dyed beyng choked with a flie in his drink, who a little before his

4 Adrian the fourth an English man made Bishop of Rome, and his iudgemēt of y Papacy.

death affirmed that there was no kinde of life more miserable than the Papacie, he that desyreth to knowe more of this Bishop, may reade the seconde booke and sixt Chapter of William of Newbrowghe.

The same yere also Hugh Mortimer a very prowde and hawtie man fortified dyuers townes and holdes against the king, as Glocester, Worcester and the Castle of Bridgenorth. And when he sawe the kings power bent against him, he humbly submitted himselfe, and had his pardon.

Hugh Mortimer a rebel, submitteth himselfe and is pardoned.

Richard, surnamed (for his manhood) Cuer de lyon, in English, Lyons hart, was this yere borne at Oxford, in the kings Palace there, which as is before sayde was buylded by Henrie the first, and afterwards geuen by Richard Duke of Cornewall brother vnto king Henrie the thirde, vnto the order of the Carmelites then newly come into this Realme, to make them a house to inhabite in, which was called as it is yet at this day ỹ white Friers. 1158 5

The birth of Richard after called Richard Cuer de Lion.

After this sayeth Polidore, the Realme of Englande was verye quyet and king Henry at peace, aswell with his awne subiectes as with other forrein nations, vntill worde was brought him that his brother Geoffrey made a great sturre and businesse beyonde the sea, the originall cause wherof was this. Geoffrey Plantagenet his father lying on his death bed, left behinde him three sonnes, that is to say, Henry, Geoffrey and William, and ordeyned by his will and last testament that whensoeuer his eldest sonne Henry should chaunce to be in full possession, as well of the Realme of England, as of the Dukedome of Normandy, that then and from thenceforth, his brother Geoffrey to haue and hold as in his awne proper right and inheritance the whole Countie and Erledome of Anioye: And in the meane season, vntill it fell vnto him, to haue the possession of these three Townes following, that is to saye, Chinon, Lendum and Mirabellum, bicause that when God should call for his father he hauing the aide of the aforesayd three townes might the easier come by his right, and not be lightly kept from the possession thereof. And fearing least his sonne Henry (who was then absent) woulde afterwardes breake this his will and testament, he compelled dyuers noble men and prelates that then were present to promise him vpon their othe that they would not suffer his body to be enterred before they had receiued a corporall othe of his sonne Henrye for the firme and inuiolable performance thereof. The whiche othe Henry afterwardes tooke (though full sore against his will) more to auoyde the great infamy and dishonour that should haue else ensued vpon the deniall thereof, then otherwise. But not long after when by the death of king Stephen, he was crowned king of England, being inflamed with ambition, and following the nature of all couetous persons, who the more they haue, the more they desire, he so vsed the matter with Adrian the fourth then Bishop of Rome, that he was by him dispensed of his aforesayde othe. And being so dispensed withall, contrarie to all right, equitie, law and conscience, he then little regarding his fathers will, made warre vpon hys sayde brother, and in short time subdued him: & so spoyling him of his rightfull inheritance seased the sayde Erledome into his owne handes. Howbeit, he gaue him afterwardes certaine other landes in recompence, bicause he should not lack lyuing to maintaine his estate. But the sayde Geoffrey being thus vnnaturally intreated of his brother lyued not long after. *Polidore.*

An oth taken by Henry the second for the performance of his fathers will.

The Pope dispenseth w^t^ king Henry for his othe.

All this while there was priuie grudge and hart burnyng betwene king Henry of England and Lewes of Fraunce, neyther could the same be otherwise quenched, then by oft renuyng of amitie and friendship betwixt them, the which yet was euermore but coloured and dissembled on both parties for the tyme, insomuch that it would burst out againe vpon the least occasion that might be. The chiefe cause of this mutuall grudge was for that Henry maried Aleanor, from whom the said Lewes as is beforesaid, had bene before deuorced, after he had had two daughters by her. This Aleanor was nece and heyre vnto William sometymes Duke of Aquitaine, and Erle of Tholose, who dyed in the holy land: Wherefore king Henry hauyng now maryed the sayde Alianor claimed as in her right the Erledome of Tholose, which then was witholden from him by the Erle Reymond,

Variance & discorde betwene king Henry and the French king.

who had maried lady Constance the french kinges sister, wherevpon both the sayd kinges were in armes redie to assayle eche other with sharpe and cruell warre, had not the matter bene taken vp by their friendes, and a peace concluded betwixt them. For confirmation whereof, it was agreed betwixt the sayd two Princes, that Henry the second sonne of king Henry, but the eldest then aliue, beyng a child of. viij. yeres of age, shoulde mary the daughter of Lowes the. viij. named Margaret beyng then but three yeres olde. The which daughter the sayde Lewes receyued of his seconde wife Constance the daughter of the king of Spaine: and this conclusion of peace & mariage was (as both Polidore and William of Newbrough do affirme) the viij. yere of ỹ reigne of king Henry.

A peace take.

A mariage concluded betwene the son of king Henry and the daughter of the French king.

1161

8

This yere also was the Citie of Cauntorbury almost all brent and consumed with fyre, although Fabian sayth that it was in the sixt yere.

Cantorbury brent. Theobald Archebishop of Cãtorbury.

The same yere also dyed Theobalde Archebishop of Cauntorbury. This man was a great fauourer of good letters and learned men, but especially he loued (for what qualities I know not) Thomas Becket a Londoner borne, the sonne of one Gilbert Becket, & of a woman of Siria. Insomuch that he not onely made him Archedeacon of Cauntorbury, but also was a meane vnto the king that he was made Lordchauncelour of England. Of the which Theobald it is also written, that immediately after his election to the Archebishoprick, he went to Rome, and there receyued his Pall of Innocent the second, and was made of him Legate. And hereof it came that al other Archbishoppes that succeded him were euermore called *Legati nati.*

Thomas Becket made Lorde Chancelor. Archbishops of Cãtorbury are named by the Pope, Legati nati.

The same yere Queene Aleanor was brought a bed of a daughter named Mawde. And shortly after the death of the sayde Theobald, Thomas Beckett aforesayd, was by the kinges procurement chosen and consecrated Archebishop of Cauntorbury, that is to say the. ix. yere of king Henry.

1162

9

And this yere the Queene was brought a bed at Roan of a daughter which was called Aleanor, after her mothers name.

Fealty sworn to the kinges sonne in the life of his father.

About this time king Henry caused all the States and Prelates of his Realme to sweare fealtie to his sonne Henry, a Prince of great towardnesse: And of all other, Thomas Lorde Chauncelor and Archebishop of Cauntorbury was the first that tooke the othe, with reseruation of the fealtie all ready made vnto the king his father so long as he lyued.

Not long after the sayd Archebishop resigned the office of the Chauncelorship, and gaue vp the great Seale into the kinges handes, the which the king tooke in very euill part.

1163

10

The yere folowyng which was the yere of our Lord. M. C. lxiij. and the. x. yere of the reigne of the king, there fell great variance betwene the king and the sayde Thomas Becket, insomuch that the kinges minde was nowe cleane alienated from him: The occasion and ground of which variance shall afterwardes be declared.

The king is in displeasure w' Thomas Becket.

1164

11

In the. xj. yere of his reigne the Welshemen rebelled againe, the which rebellion was by the king easely appeased without any great slaughter. For the chiefe doers and beginners hereof, he so punished, that it was thought that they would not eftsoones rebell but of their awne accorde remaine true and faythfull Subiectes.

1165

12

The. xij. yere of his reigne dyed Malcolme king of Scottes, next after whome succeded his brother William, who as sone as he was crowned went to London and there did homage and fealtie vnto king Henry, as Malcolme had done before. But Reynulph in his. vij. booke, and. xxiij. Chapter setteth foorth the maner and doyng of this homage as followeth. This yere (sayth he) the. xij. day before September, William king of Scotland by the assent of his Lordes and Barons came vnto Yorke where then king Henry was with his Nobles, and there sware fealtie and made his homage vnto the sayd king Henry of England. And also the sayd king William did then and there confesse and acknowledge by his letters patentes that he and his successors men of Scotland should do homage, allegeance and fealtie to the kinges of England, as often as they shall be requyred therevnto. And in token of this subiection, the sayde king of Scotland offered his Hat, and his Saddell vpon Saint Peters aulter in the Churche of Yorke, which are extant there to be

William king of Scottes doth homage and fealtie to king Henry.

seene

seene at this day. And moreouer the Lordes of Scotlande there present at that time, tooke their othe in solempne maner, that if the king of Scotlande would withdrawe him at any tyme from the sayd fayth and loyaltie, that then they would ryse against him, and so remaine his enemyes, vntill he would returne and reconcile himselfe.

About this time dyed Conanus duke of Briteyne without issue male, leauyng behinde him one onely daughter named Constance, which though she were then vnder age and not yet mariable, king Henry found the meanes to mary his sonne Geoffrey vnto, and so was his strength and dominion not a littell encreased thereby.

Geoffrey the kinges sonne maried to Constance the daughter of the Duke of Briteyn. 1166

In the. xiij. yere of his reigne dyed Mawde the Empresse the kinges mother, a woman as well for her wisedome and pollecye in warres, as all other her notable qualities incomparable.

This tyme also the Kinge maryed his daughter Mawde vnto Henry Duke of Saxony.

Mawde maried to ye duke of Saxony.

After this the king beyng at peace with all foreine nations from the. xiij. yere of his reigne the space of two yeres and more, because he would not idlely consume the tyme, neyther yet to suffer his souldiours by feastyng, banquettyng, and other vnsittyng pastymes, which they are commonly wont to gene themselues vnto in peace tyme, which should withdrawe their myndes from martiall affayres, taking his sonne with him, made a voyage into Briteyne, where he spent a great part of his time in ridyng about and viewyng of the Countrie, and in fortifiyng of townes and holdes, and finally in hauyng of familier conference and friendly talke with the noble men there. Then departyng from thence he went into Normandy, and there also tooke order with matters of that Countrie accordyngly. These thinges done, in the beginnyng of the next spring, he returned into England, but not without some misfortune vpon the sea: For one of his Shippes was drowned by tempest, wherein as it is reported were three hundreth persons which were all drowned. And after his returne he went to Windsore, where he made his abode and kept his Christmas, and the greatest part of all the Nobles of the realme were there with him. And thether came also king William of Scotlande with his brother Dauid to signifie vnto him how glad and ioyfull they were of hys prosperous successe in his late voyage, whom he right curteously embraced againe, geuyng them at theyr departure many riche and large giftes.

King Henry with his son, sayleth into Briteyne.

A great misfortune vpon the Sea.

Now to returne vnto Thomas Becket: the cause of the aforesayd varyaunce and discention betwixt the king and him was as it is written of diuers Aucthours of good credite, that certein wicked persons of the Clergie whose murders, robberyes, and grieuous transgressions against the lawes of the Realme, beyng declared to the king by his Iudges: The king therewith was not a little agreeued, and for reformation therof, called a Parliament in the. ix. yere of his reigne at Northampton, requiryng to haue established by auctoritie thereof, that due punishment might be executed vpon such transgressors of the Clergie of this Realme accordyng to the auncient order of the lawes: notwithstanding the prerogatiue and priuelege which the ecclesiasticall persons claymed, saiyng that they were exempt from all temporall iurisdiction. Thomas Becket then beyng Archebishop of Cauntorbury, vnderstandyng the king to go about to set lawes, preiudiciall to the priuelege of the Clergie, would not agree therevnto, desiryng the king that vnder Christ our newe king, and vnder the newe lawe of Christ he woulde not bring in anye newe proceedyngs agaynst the ordinances and decrees of the auncient holye fathers: And if he would, he sayde that he neither ought to sustaine it, nor would not. The king beyng moued therewith, alleageth againe and exacteth the olde lawes and customes of his Grandfather, obserued and agreed vpon by Archebishops, Bishoppes, Prelates, and other priueleged persons, requiryng likewise of him, whether he would agree to the same, or else now in his reigne condempne that, which in the reigne of his Grandfather was well alowed. And those constitutions are in number. xxviij. or. xxix. whereof certeine folowe.

Lawes and constitutions ordeyned by king Henry the first.

¶ Concerning the nomination and presentation into benefices, if any controuersie arise betweene

betweene the layetie and Clergie: or betweene one spirituall man with another, the matter to be brought into the kings temporall Court, and there to be decided.

2 Churches, suche as be *de feodo Regis*, to be giuen at no time without the assent and permission of the king.

Al ecclesiasticall persons are subiect in all criminall causes to the tẽporall law.

3 All spirituall and ecclesiasticall persons being accused of any crime, what soeuer it be, and summoned by the kings iustice to come and appeere in the kings court, there to make answere whether the matter appertain to the spirituall court or to the temporal: so that if the said persons be found guilty and conuicted of anye crime, the Church not to defende hym nor succour hym.

That no ecclesiasticall person depart this realme without ye kinges licence.

4 No Archebishop nor Bishop, nor person being of any Ecclesiasticall dignitie, to attempt to go ouer the Sea out of the Realme without the kings knowledge and permission, and in so doing, yet notwithstanding to be bound, tarying in any place to procure no damage eyther to the king or to ỹ realme.

No sanctuary or church may deteine goodes against the king.

5 Such goodes or Cattels as be forefeyted to the king, neyther any sanctuary of Church, or Churchyard to deteyn them, contrary to the kings iustice for that they belong to the king, whether they be founde in the Church or Churchyarde.

That no orders be geuẽ to husband mennes children, without the assent of the Lordes of the soyle.

6 No orders to be giuen to husbande mennes children without the assent and testimoniall of them which be the Lordes of the Countrey, where they were borne and brought vp.

¶ Besides these constitutions there were many other which I passe ouer, for that the afore rehersed articles are the chiefe. And now let vs returne to the matter betwixt the king and Thomas Becket aforesayd.

The king as is aforesayde, conuentyng hys nobles and Clarkes together, required to haue the punishment of the aforesayde misdoers of the Clergie. But Thomas Becket would not consent therevnto. Wherfore the king demaunded of him whether he woulde consent with hys Clergie, that the customes then set foorth in the realme (meaning the first parte of the aforesayde decrees) should be obserued. To the which the Archbishop consulting together with his brethren, giueth aunswere agayne, that he was contented the kings ordinances should be obserued, adding this withall *Saluo ordine suo*, that is, sauing his order. And so in lyke maner all the other Bishops after, being demaunded in order, answered with the same addition *Saluo ordine suo*. Onely Hillarius Bishop of Chichester, perceyuing the king to be exasperate with that addition, in stead of *Saluo ordine suo*, was agreed to obserue them *bona fide*. The king hearing them not simplye to agree vnto him but with an exception, was greatly offended, who then turning to the Archbishop and the Prelates, sayde: that he was not well content with that clause of theirs *Saluo ordine suo*, which he sayde was captious and deceytfull, hauing some maner of venym lurcking vnder it, and therefore required an absolute graunt of them, without any exception, to agree to the former ordynaunces. To thys the Archbishop replyeth that they had sworne vnto hym their fidelitie, both lyfe, body and earthly honour: *Saluo ordine suo:* and that in the same earthly honour, all those ordynances were comprehended. And to the obseruing of them they would bynde themselues after none other forme, but as they had sworne before. The king with this was moued, and all his nobilitie, and that not a little. The day beyng well spent the king when he could get none other aunswere of them, departed in great anger, geuyng no worde of salutation vnto the Bishops. And likewise euery one of the Bishops departed to his awne house. The bishop of Chichester among the rest was greatly rebuked of his felowes for chaungyng the exception contrary to the voice of all the other. The next day folowyng the king tooke from the Archebishop all suche honours and Lordshippes as he had geuen him before, in the tyme that he was Chauncelour, whereby appered the great displeasure that the king bare against him and the Clergie.

Hillarius Bishop of Chichester.

The king sheweth himself displeased with Thomas Becket.

Gilbert Bishop of London.

Not long after this, the king remouyng from London, vnknowyng to the Bishoppes, sayled ouer into Normandy, where the Bishop of London called Gilbert, not long after resorted

resorted to him to craue his fauour: and gaue him counsayle withall to ioyne some of the Bishoppes on his syde, least if all were against him, peraduenture he might the sooner be ouerthrowne. And thus the greatest number of the Bishoppes were by this meanes reconciled againe vnto the king, except the Archebishop and a fewe other Bishoppes. The king thinking to trie all maner of wayes, when he sawe neither feare, nor threates coulde turne them, he did then assay them with gentlenesse, but it would not serue. Many of the Nobles labouring betwixt them both, exhorted the Archebishop to relent vnto the king, but it would not be. Likewise the Archbishop of Yorke, with diuers other Bishops & Abbots especially the Bishop of Chester did the same: Besydes his awne housholde dayly called vpon him, but no man could perswade him. At length he hauing vnderstandyng, partly by them that came to him, what daunger might happen not onely to himselfe, but to all the other of the Clergie, vpon the kinges displeasure, and partly also consideryng the olde loue and kindenesse of the king towardes him in tymes past, was content to geue ouer to the kinges request, and came to Oxenford to the king, reconcilyng himselfe aboute the addicion which had displeased the king so much. Wherevpon the king beyng somewhat mittigated, receyued him with a more cheerefull countenaunce (but yet not so familiarly as before) saiyng that he woulde haue his ordinaunces and proceedinges after that forme confirmed in the publique audience and open sight of his Bishoppes and all his Nobles. After this, the king beyng at Clarendon, there called his Nobilitie and Prelates before him, requiryng to haue that performed, which they had graunted in consenting to the obseruing of his Grandfathers ordinances and proceedyngs. The Archebishop of Cantorbury suspectyng somewhat in the kinges promise, drewe backwarde, and now would not, that before he would: And to perswade him to obedience: First came vnto him the Bishop of Sarisbury, and of Norwich, who for olde matters were in daunger to the king long before, weping & lamenting to the Archbishop, desyryng him to haue some compassion on them, and to remit this pertinacye to the kyng, least if he so continued, through his stoutenesse to exasperate the kinges displeasure, haply it might redound to no small daunger, not onely to them which were in ieopardie all redy, but also to himselfe to be imprisoned, and the whole Clergie to be endaungered. Besydes these two Bishoppes, there went to him other two noble peeres of the Realme, labouryng with him to relent, & condiscend to the kinges desyre. If not, they should be enforced to vse violence, as neyther would stand with the kings fame, and much lesse with his quietnesse: But he would not geue ouer. After this came to him two Rulers of the Temple called Templares, one named Richard de hast: another called Constance de Houerio with their company, lamenting and bewailyng the great perill, which they declared vnto him to hang ouer his head, and yet neyther with their teares, nor with their kneelynges would he be remoued. At the length came the last message from the king, signifiyng vnto him with expresse words, and also with teares what he should trust vnto, if he would not geue ouer vnto the kinges request.

Thomas Becket yeldeth somewhat to the king.

A counsaile holden and kept at Clarendon.

Thomas Becke draweth backe from that he promised.

Great labour taken to reduce Thomas Becket to his bounden obedience.

By reason of which message, he either terrefied or else perswaded, was content to submit himselfe: Wherevpon the king incontinent assembling the States together, the Archebishop first before all other begynneth to promise to the king obedience, and submission vnto his customes, and that *cum bona fide*, leauing out his former addicion, *Saluo ordine*, mencioned before, in steede whereof, he promised *in verbo veritatis*, to obserue and keepe the kinges customes & sweare to the same. After him the other bishops likewise made the like othe. Wherevpon the king commaunded certeine instrumentes obligatory to be drawen, of the which the king should haue one, the Archbishop of Cantorbury another, and the Archbishop of Yorke the thirde, requiryng also the said Archbishop to set to his hande and seale. To the which the Archbishop although not deniyng but that he was willyng so to do, yet desired respyte in the matter while that he beyng come but newly to his Bishoprike might better peruse with himselfe the aforesayde customes and ordinances

Thomas Becket sware to kepe the kinges ordinances.

Thomas Becket vseth delayes.

dinances of the king. This request as it seemed but reasonable, so it was lightly graunted, and so the day beyng farre spent, they departed for that season, and brake vp.

Thomas Becket repenteth his othe and obedience to the king.

Alanus one of the foure wryters of the lyfe of this Thomas Becket, recordeth that the Archbishop in his voiage toward Winchester began greatly to repent that he had done before, partly through the instigation of certain about him, but chiefely of his crossebearer, who goyng before the Archbishop did sharpely and earnestly rebuke him, for geuyng ouer to the kings request, against the priuilege and liberties of the Church, pollutyng not onely his fame & conscience, but also geuyng a pernicious example to them that should come after, with many like wordes.

To make the matter short, the Archebishop was so touched vpon the same, with such repentance, that kepyng himselfe from company, lamentyng with teares, with fastyng, and with much penaunce, tearyng and scourgyng his awne body, did also suspend himselfe from all deuyne seruice, and would not receyue comfort, before he had sent to the Pope, and had graunt that he should be assoyled of him, who directed to him againe letters by the same messenger that came from the sayde Archebishop. In which letters, he not onely assoyled him of his trespasse, but also with wordes of great consolation did courage him to be stoute in the quarrell he toke in hand. Vpon these letters of the Pope, Becket was not a little comforted & encouraged. The king heering of Thomas Beckets going back & how he denied to set his seale to those sactions which he cõdiscended vnto before, toke no little displeasure against him, insomuch as he threatnyng to him banishment and death, began to call him to reconynges, and to burthen him with paymentes, that all men might vnderstand that the kinges mynde was sore set agaynst him. The Archbishop herevpon, whether more for the loue of ỹ Pope, or dread of his Prince, thought to make an escape out of the realme, and so crept out in the night with two or three with him, stealing from his houshold, & attempted to take the sea priuily, but the weather not seruyng him, he was driuen home againe. And shortly after that he was gone, his departure was knowne and noysed abroade: By reason of which noyes the kinges officers came to Cauntorbury, and purposed to haue seased vpon his goodes on the kinges behalfe. But as it chaunced the night before their commyng, Becket returned and was founde at home, wherefore they did not proceede in their purpose. Nowe Becket well vnderstandyng the king to be sore bent against him, and perceyuyng that the Seas would not serue him, made haste to the Court, the king liyng then at Woodstocke, where the king receyued him after a certeyne maner, but nothyng so familiarly as he was wont, taunting him iestingly and merily, as though one Realme were not able to holde them both. Becket, although he was permitted to go and come at his pleasure to the Court, yet he coulde not obteyne the fauour that he would, perceyuing both in himselfe, and confessyng no lesse vnto others howe the matter would fall out, so that eyther he should be constreyned to geue ouer with shame, or stoutely he must stande to that which he had so boldely taken in hande. The Archebishop of Yorke in the meane time goyng betweene the king and Becket, laboured to make peace and loue betwene them: But the king in no case would be reconciled, onlesse the other would subscribe to his lawes. So that while the king would none otherwise agree, neither that Becket would in no wise subscribe, there was a foule discorde betwixt them. The king for his regall auctoritie thought it much that any subiect of his should stande against him. The Archbishop againe thinking himselfe to haue so good a quarrell as in the defendyng of the liberties of the Church, and also bearing himselfe bold vpon the letters of the Pope lately written vnto him, thought himselfe strong ynough against the king and all the realme besyde. Wherefore the Archebishop trustyng to these thinges, woulde geue no place, but by vertue of his Apostolike auctoritie gaue censure vpon these lawes and constitutions of the king, condemnyng some, and other some approuyng for good and Catholike. Besides this there came also to the king Rotrodus Archbishop of Roan sent from the Pope to make peace betwene the king and the Archebishop. To the which the king was well content to agree,

Thomas Becket is assoyled of the Pope for his othe.

The kinges wrath encreased agaynst Thomas Becket.

Thomas Becket purposed to make an escape.

Thomas Becket fleeth, but returneth againe.

Thomas Becket commeth againe to the Court, to the king.

An arrogant subiect to stād in such maner with his Prince.

Rotrodus Archebishop of Roan.

so

so that the Pope would agree to ratefie his ordinaunces. But when that could in no wyse be obteyned at the Popes handes, then the king thus beyng stopped and frustrate of his purpose by reason of Beckets Apostolike Legacie, beyng *Legatus a latere*: thought good to send vp to the Pope: and so he did to obteyne of him, that the same auctoritie of the Apostolike Legacy might be cõferred to another, after his apointment which was the Archbishop of Yorke: But that the Pope denied. Notwithstandyng at the request of the kinges Clergie, the Pope was content that the king shoulde be Legate himselfe, whereat the king tooke great indignation as (Houeden wryteth) so that he sent the Pope his letters againe.

The king disdeyneth to be the Popes Legate.

And when the kings Ambassadors were returned with the aforesaid letters, & had declared the kings pleasure & request. The Pope at the last graũted, that the Legate should be remoued, & that the Archbishop of York should be placed in that office after his awne request. And yet addeth this promise withall, that the sayd Becket should receyue no harme nor domage thereby.

Assone as the king had receyued the Popes letters to authorise the Archbishop of Yorke in the Legacie, he then caused Becket to be cyted vp to appeere by a certayne day at the towne of Northampton, there to make aunswere to suche things as should be layde to his charge. So when the daye was come, all the Peeres and Nobles with the Prelates of the realme vpon the kings proclamation beyng assembled in the Castell of Northampton great faulte was found with the Archebishop, for that he beyng cited personally came not himselfe, but sent another for him. The cause why he came not (Houeden sayth) was this, because the king had placed his horse and horsemen in the Archebishops lodging, which was a house there of Chanons, wherewith he being offended, sent worde agayne that he would not appere onlesse his lodgings were auoyded of the kinges horsemen. Wherevpon by publique sentence as well of the Nobles as of the Bishops, his moueables were adiudged to be confiscate for the king.

Thomas Becket cited to appere at Northampton.

A iudgement geuen against Thomas Becket.

The Archbishop againe for his parte against the order and forme of that iudgement complayned, alleging for himselfe, that seing he was the Primate & spirituall father, not only of all other in the realme, but also of the king himselfe, he thought it not cõuenient, ỹ father so to be iudged of hys children, nor the pastor of the flock so to be cõdempned. And this was the first daies action.

A stoute replie of Thomas Becket.

The next daye following the king layde an action against him, for one that was his Marshall called Ihon, for certaine iniurie done to hym, and required of the sayde Archbishop the repaiyng againe of certayne money, which he as he sayde had lent vnto him in the tyme he was Chauncelour, the somme whereof was fyue hundreth Markes. This money the Archebishop denyed not but that he had receyued it of the king, albeit by the waye and tytle of gift (as he tooke it) though he could bring no proofe thereof. Wherevpon the king required hym to put in assurance for the payment thereof, whereat the Archbishop making delayes, not well contented at the matter, he was so called vpon, that eyther he should be comptable to the king for the money; or else he should incurre present daunger, the king being so bent against him. The Archbishop being brought to such a strayte, and destitute of his awne suffraganes, could not here by no meanes escape, had not fyue persons of their awne accorde stepped in, being bound for him, euery one in one hundreth Markes, and this was vpon the second day concluded.

King Henry cõmensed an actiõ against Thomas Becket.

The morrow after which was the thirde daye of the Counsayle, as the Archbishop was sitting beneth in a conclaue with his felow Bishops about him, consulting togither, the sayde Bishops labored by sundry wayes and meanes, and with verie vehement perswasions and learned arguments to wyll him to obedience and to submit himselfe to the king, the which perswasions for the length of them I doe here omit: But to conclude, when they had long spent their labour, good wyll and wisedome, to haue reduced him to good order, he would not condissend vnto them, but sayde as followeth.

I perceyue sayth he, and vnderstand that ye go aboute to maintaine and cherishe but your owne cowardnesse vnder the colourable shadowe of sufferance, and vnder the pretence

A bolde and stoute aunswere made by Thomas Becket.

tence of dissembling softnesse, to choke the libertie of Christes Church: who hath thus bewitched you, O vnsaciable Bishoppes? what meane ye? why do you so vnder the impudent title of forbearing, beare a double heart, and cloke your manifest iniquitie? What call ye this bearing with tyme, the detriment of the Church of Christ? Let termes serue the matter, why peruert you the matter that is good with vocables and termes vntrue? For that ye say we must beare with the malice of tyme, I graunt with you, but yet we must not heape sinne to sinne. Is not God able to helpe the state and condicion of his Church, but with the sinfull dissimulation of the teachers of the Church? Certes God is disposed to tempt you. And tell me I pray you, when should the gouernours of the Church put themselues to daũgers for the Church, in tyme of tranquilitie or in tyme of distresse? Ye will be ashamed to denie the contrary, but in distresse. And nowe then the Churche liyng in so great distresse and vexation, why should not the good pastour put himselfe in perill therfore? For neither do I thinke it a greater act or merite, for the auncient bishops of the olde tyme, to found the Church than with their blood, or then now for vs to shead our blood for the liberties of the same. And to tell you plaine, I thinke it not safe for you, to swarue from the forme and example which you haue receyued of your holy elders.

After these thinges were spoken, they sate all in silence a certaine space, beyng locked in together as aforsayde: But at the length to finde a shift to cause the dore to be opened, I woulde sayth the Archebishop speake with two Erles that are about the king, and named them who they were, which beyng called, opened the dore and came in with haste, thinkyng to heare some thing which should appease the kinges minde, to whome the Archbishop spake in this maner. As touchyng and concernyng the matters betwene the king and vs, we haue here conferred together. And forasmuch as we haue them not here present with vs now, which know better in the matter than we do, whose aduise we would also be glad to follow, therefore we craue so much respyte as vntill to morow, and then we will be redy to geue vp our answere vnto the king: with this message two bishops were sent vnto the king, which was the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Rochester.

London to helpe the matter, and to set quietnesse, addyng somethyng more to the message, sayde to the king, that the Archebishop craued a little delay of time to prepare suche wrytings and instrumentes, wherein he should set forth and declare his mind, in accomplishing the kinges desyre. &c. Wherfore two Barons were sent to him from the king to graunt him that respite or stay, so that he woulde ratefie that which the messengers had signified to the king. To the which the Archebishop aunswereth that he sent no suche message as was intimate in his name: but onely that the next day he woulde come and geue aunswere to the king, in that which he had to say. And so the conuocation of the Bishoppes dissolued, and they were dismissed home. So that the most part of them that came with the Archebishop and accompanied him before, for feare of the kinges displeasure seuered them selues from him. The Archebishop thus forsaken and destitute (as the History of him sayth) sent about for the poore, the lame, & the halt, to come in and furnish his house, saiyng, that by them he might soner obteyne his victory, than by the other, which had so slipt from him.

Thomas Becket vseth many delayes.

On the next day folowyng, because it was Sunday nothing was done. So the day after, which was the second fery, the Archebishop was cited to apere: But the night before beyng taken with the disease of the Cholike, all that day he kept his bed, and not able as he sayd to aryse. Euery man supposed it to be but a feyned sicknesse, certeyne of the chiefe Nobles were sent to trie out the matter, & to cite him to the Court namely Robert Erle of Leycester, & Reginald Erle of Deuonshire. To whom the Archebishop answered, that as that day he was so diseased that he coulde not come, and thoughe he were brought in a horse Litter: so that day passed ouer.

Thomas Becket, is counsayled to haue a Masse of S. Stephē to defend him from his enemyes.

The morow after, certeine that were aboute him, fearing no lesse but that some daunger would happen vnto him, gaue him counsaile in the mornyng to haue a Masse in the honour

honour of the holy Martyr Saint Stephen, to kepe him from the handes of his enemies that day. When the Morow was come beyng Tuesday, there came to him the Bishops and Prelates, counsailyng and perswadyng him couertly by insinuation (for apertly they durst not) that he woulde submit himselfe aswell for all other his goodes, as also his Archebishoprike to the will of the king, if paraduenture his indignation by that meanes might asswage. Addyng moreouer, that onlesse he would so do, periury should be layd against him, for that he vnder the othe of fidelitie had promised to kepe the kinges lawes and ordinaunces, and nowe woulde not obserue them. To this Becket aunswereth againe: Brethren ye see and perceyue well howe the worlde is set against me, and how the enemy riseth and seketh my confusion. And although these be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieueth me most of all is this: the sonnes of myne awne mother be prickes and thornes against me. And albeit that I do holde my peace, yet the posteritie to come will knowe and report howe cowardlye you haue turned your backes, and haue left me your Archebishop and Metropolitane alone in this conflict, and how you haue sitten in iudgement against me (although an vnworthie sinner) nowe two dayes together, and not that onely in the Ciuile or spirituall Court, but also in the temporall Court redy to do the same. But in generall this I charge and commaunde you all, by the vertue of pure obedience, and in perill of your awne order, that ye be not present personally in iudgement against me. And that ye shall not so do, I here appeale to our mother and refuge of all such as be oppressed, the Church of Rome: and if any seculer man shall lay handes vpon me (as it is rumored they will) I streightly enioyne & charge you in the same vertue of obedience, that you exercise your censure Ecclesiasticall vpon them, as it becommeth you to do for your father and Archebishop. And this I do you to vnderstand, that though the world rage, and the enemy be fierce, and the body trembleth, for the flesh is weake, yet God so fauouryng me, I will neyther cowardlye shrinke, nor vilye forsake my flocke committed to my charge.

Thomas Becket was charged with periury.

Thomas Becket appealeth to Rome.

Thomas Becket a man of great courage.

But the Bishop of London contrary to this commaundement, did incontinent appeale from him. And thus the Bishops departed from him to the Court, saue onely two, that was Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Ioselyne of Sarisbury, who returned with him secretly to his Chamber and comforted him. This done, the Archebishop the next day addressed him to the Masse of S. Stephen with all solemnitie, as though it had bene an high festiuall day, with his Metropolitane Pall, which was not vsed to be worne, but vpon the holy day. &c. The office of his Masse began *Sederunt Principes & aduersum me loquebantur.* &c. that is, Princes sate and spake against me. &c. (The kinges seruants beyng also there, and beholdyng the matter) for this Masse Gilbert Bishop of London accused Becket afterwarde, both for that it was done *per artem magicam, & in contemptum Regis*, (as the wordes of Houeden purport) that is both by art magique, and in contempt of the king.

Gilbert Bysbop of London appealed from Thomas Becket.

A Masse of S. Stephen.

Becket accused to be a conjurer.

The Masse beyng ended, the Archebishop puttyng off his Pall, his Miter and other robes, proceedeth to the kinges Court, and taketh also the Sacrament priuily about him. And commyng towardes the kinges Chamber there to attend vpon ỹ king, as he was entering in at the dore, he taketh from Alexander his Crosyer, the Crosse with the Crossestaffe, in the sight of all that stode by, and caryeth it in himselfe, the other bishops folowing hym, and saiyng he did otherwise then became him. Amongest other, Robert bishop of Hertford offered himselfe to beare his crosse, rather than he should so do, for that was not comely: but the Archbishope would not suffer him. Then sayde the Bishop of London vnto him, if the king shall see you come armed into his Chamber, perchaunce he will drawe out his sworde against you, which is stronger than yours, and then what shall this your armour profite you? The Archbishop aunswereth againe: if the kinges sworde do cut carnally, yet my sworde cutteth spiritually, and striketh downe to hell: But you my Lorde, as ye haue played the foole in this matter, so you will not leaue off your folly so farre as I can see, and so he came into the chamber. The king heering of his commyng

Robert Bishop of Hertford.

& the maner thereof, taryed not long, but came where Becket was set in a place by himselfe with his other Bishops about him. First the cryer callyng all the Prelates and all the Lordes of the Temporaltie together: that beyng done, and euery one placed in his seate, accordyng to his degree: The king beginneth with a great complaint against the Archbishop, for his maner of entering into the court, not as into a kings court, but as a traytor, shewing himselfe so like a traytor as hath not bene seene before in any christian kinges court: To this all there present gaue witnesse with the kings wordes. And so altogether with one crie called him on euery side Traytor. Wherevpon, great horror and feare was what should befall on him. The Archbishop of Yorke commyng downe to his men, sayd he could not abide to see what the Archebishop of Cantorbury was like to suffrr. Likewise, the Tipstaues and other ministers of the assembly commyng downe with an outas agaynst him, crossed them to see his laudie stobernesse, & the businesse that there was towards him. Certeine there were of hys friendes one or two, sittyng at his feete, some comfortyng him softly, and biddyng him to lay his cursse vpon them: Other contrary, biddyng him not to cursse, but to pray and to forgeue them: and if he lost his life in the quarrell of the Church and the libertie thereof, he should be happy. Afterward one of them named Iohannes Stephani, willyng to speake something in his eare, but could not be suffered by the kinges Marshall, who forbade that any man should haue any talke with him. Then he, because that he could not otherwise speake vnto him, wrought by signes, makyng a crosse and lokyng vp with his eyes, and waggyng his lippes meanyng that he should pray, & manfully stande to the Crosse. In the meane time cōmeth to him Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter, desiryng him to haue regard and cōpassion vpon himselfe, & also of them, or else they were all like to perish for the hatred of him, for there commeth out, saith he, a precept from the king, that you shall be taken, and so suffer for an open rebell, and who so hereafter taketh your part shall haue the like punishment. It is sayd moreouer, that Ioselinus Bishop of Sarisbury, and William Bishop of Norwiche are to be had to the place of execution for their resistyng, and makyng intercession for you. When he had thus sayd, the Archbishop lokyng vpon the sayd bishop of Exeter said: Adnoyde sayd he, hence from me, thou vnderstandest not, neither doest thou sauour those thinges that be of God.

The king calleth Becket traytor.

Iohannes Stephani.

Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter is reproued by Thomas Becket as Peter was of Christ.

The Bishops and Prelates then going aside by themselues from the other Nobles (the king so permitting them to do) tooke counsaile together what was to be done. Here the matter stoode in a doubtfull perplexitie, for eyther must they incurre the daungerous indignation of the king: or else with the nobles they must proceede in condemnatiō against the Archbishop for resisting the kinges sanctions, which they did not fauour themselues. In this straite necessitie they deuysing what way to take, at length agreed vpon this, that they with a common assent shoulde appeale the Archbishop to the See of Rome vpon periurie. And that they shoulde oblige and binde themselues to the king, with a sure promise to woorke their diligence in deposing the Archbishop vpon this condition, that the king should promise their safety, and discharge them from the perill of that iudgement which was towarde him. So all the Bishops obligyng themselues thus to the king, went foorth to the Archbishop, of whome one speaking for the reast (which was Hilary Bishop of Chichester) had these wordes. Once you haue bene our Archbishop, and so long we were bounde to your obedience: but now for as much as you once swearing your fidelitie to the king, doe resist hym, neglecting his Iniunctions and ordinaunces concerning and perteyning to his terrene honor and dignitie, wherefore we here pronounce you periured, neyther be we bound to gene obedience to ỹ Archbishop thus periured. But putting our selues & al oures in the Popes protection do appeale you* to his presence. And vpon the same assigned him his day & time to apere. The Archbishop answering again said, he heard him wel ynough, And vpon this sēdeth vp to Rome in al hast to the Pope, signifying to him by letters the whole matter, how and wherefore & by whom he was appealed: After the Archbishop was thus appealed to Rome as before you haue heard, he then sitting

The bishops agree to appeale Thomas Becket to Rome of periury.

The bishops refuse obedience to Thomas Becket.

* That is to say, do call you or sommon you.

w his crosse wayting in the Court, at the last the king sent by certain Erles and Barons commaundment to him (Robert the Erle of Leycester doing the message) that he should without delay come and render a full accompt of all things that he had receyued in fruits & reuenues of the realme, in the time he being his Chaūcelor, and especially for the 30000 Markes for the which he was accomptable to the king. To whom the Archbishop aunswereth, that the king knew how ofte he had made his reconning and accompt of those things which he nowe required. Further and besides, he sayde that Henry his sonne and heyre of the Realme, with all hys Barons and also Richarde Lucye his chiefe iustice tolde him that he was free and quit to God & holy Church from all receiptes and computations, and from all secular exactions on the kings behalfe. And so he taking this his discharge at their handes, entered into his office, and therefore other accompt besides he woulde make none. When this worde was brought to the king, he required his Barons to do the lawe vpon hym: who iudged him to be apprehended and layde in prison. This done the king sendeth vnto him Reginald Erle of Cornewall and of Deuonshire, and Robert Erle of Leycester, to declare to hym what was his iudgement. To whome the Archbishop aunswereth, heare my sonne and good Erle, what I say vnto you: how much more precious the soule is then the bodye, so muche more ought you to obey me in the Lord, rather than your terrene king: Neyther doth any lawe or reason permit the children to iudge and condemne their father. Wherefore to aduoyde both the iudgement of the king and youres, and of all other, I put myselfe onelye to the Arbitrement of the Pope vnder God alone, to be iudged of him and of none other. To whose presence here before you all I do appeale, committyng the orderyng of the Church of Cantorbury my dignitie, with all other thinges apperteyning to the same, vnto the protection of God and his. And as for you my brethren and felow bishops (which rather obey man than God) you also I call and clayme to the audience and iudgement of the Pope, and hence I depart from you as from the enemyes of the Catholike Church, & of the auctority of the Apostolike See.

Thomas Becket once again charged to be in the kinges dept.

Thomas Becket iudged to be imprisoned.

A prowd and presūptuous speach.

Thomas Becket appealeth from the king to the Pope.

While the Barons returned with this aunswere to the king, the Archebishop passing through the throng, taketh to him his Palfrey, holdyng hys Crosse in the one hande, and the Bridle of his Palfrey in the other, the Courtiers folowyng after criyng Traytor, Traytor, tary & here thy iudgement: But he passed on vntill he came to the vttermost gate of the Court, which beyng fast locked, there he had bene stayed, had not one of his seruaunts called Peter, named Deiunctorio, fyndyng there a bunch of keyes hangyng by, first prouyng one key, and then another, at the last chaunced vpon the right key, and so opened the gate and let him out. The Archebishop went streight way to the house of Chanons where he did lye, callyng in to him the poore where they could be found. When supper was done, making as though he would go to bed (which he caused to bee made betwixt two Altars) he in the meane tyme preuily, while the king was at Supper in the Euenyng, prepareth his iourney secretly to escape away, chaunging his garment and his name beyng called Derman, first went to Lincolne, from thence to Sandwich, where he tooke Ship, and sayled into Flaunders, & from thence iourneyed to Fraunce as Houeden sayth. But Alanus differyng in the order of his flight, sayth that he did not flie that night, for at supper tyme there came vnto him the Bishops of London, and Chichester, declaryng to him that if he would surrender vp to the king his two maners of Otford and Wingham, there were hope to recouer the kinges fauour, and to haue all remitted: But when the Archebishop would not agree therevnto, forasmuch as those Manours were belongyng to the Church of Cantorbury: And the king heeryng thereof was greatlye offended. Insomuche that the next day, Becket was faine to sende to the king two Bishops and his Chapleyn to haue leaue to depart the realme. To the which message the king aunswered, that he would take a pause vntyll the next day, and then he should haue aunswere. But Becket not tariyng for his aunswere, the same day conueyed himselfe away secretly, as is aforesaid to Lodouicus the French king. But before he came to the French

Thomas Becket in a foule rage.

Thomas Becket chaūgeth his name and escapeth.

king, Gilbert the B. of London, & William Erle of Arondel, sent from the king of England to Fraunce, preuented him, requiryng of the sayd French king in the behalfe of the king of England that he would not receiue nor reteyne within his dominion the Archbishop of Cantorbury. Moreouer, ỹ at his instance he would be a meanes to the Pope, not to shew any familiaritie vnto him. But the king of England in this poynt seemed to haue more confidence in the French king, then knowledge of his disposition. For thinkyng that the French king would be as a good neighbour to him, in trustyng to him he was deceyued. Neither cõsidered he with himselfe enough the maner and nature of the French men, at that time against the Realme of England, who then were glad to seke and take all maner of occasions to do some acte against England. And therefore Lodouike the French king vnderstandyng the matter, and thinkyng percase to haue some aduauntage thereby agaynst the king and Realme of England by ỹ occasion hereof: Contrary to the kings letters of request, not onely harboureth and cherisheth this Dereman, but also wrytyng to the Pope by his Almoner and brother, entreateth him vpon all loues, as euer he would haue his fauour to tender the cause of the Archebishop Becket. Thus the kinges Ambassadors repulsed of the French king returned, at what tyme he sent another Ambassade vpon the lyke cause to Alexander the Pope, then beyng at Sene in Fraunce. The Ambassadors sent on this message were, Roger Archebishop of Yorke, Gilbart Bishop of London, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Hillary Bishop of Chichester, Bartholemew Bishop of Exceter with other Doctors and Clerkes: Also William Erle of Arondell, with certeyne mo Lordes and Barons. Who commyng to the Popes Court, were friendly accepted of certaine of the Cardinalles, amongest the which Cardinalles, there arose also discention about the same cause, some iudgyng the Bishop of Cauntorbury in the defence of the libertyes of the Church, as in a good case was to be mainteyned: Some thinking againe that he beyng a perturber of peace and vnitie, was rather to be brideled for his presumption, then to bee fostered and encouraged therin. But the Pope partly bearing with his cause, and partly incensed therevnto wyth the letters of the French king, did wholy encline to Becket. Wherefore the Pope the next day folowyng sittyng in consistory with his Cardinalles, when the Ambassadors were called for, to the heeryng of Beckets matter, first begynneth the Bishop of London, next the Archebishop of Yorke, then Exceter, and through the Bishoppes euery one in their order to speake. Whose Orations beyng not well accepted of the Pope, and some of them also disdeyned: The Erle of Arondell perceyuyng that, somewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the Popes eares began after this maner.

Lodouike or Lewes the French king.

1163

Oration of the Erle of Arondell which he made in French.

Although to me it is vnknowen (sayth he) which am both vnlettered and ignoraunt, what it is, that these Bishoppes here haue sayde, neyther am I in that tongue so able to expresse my minde as they haue done: yet beyng sent and charged therevnto of my Prince, neyther can, nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cause is of our sendyng hether, not to contende or striue with any person nor to offer any iniury or harme vnto any man, especially in this place, and in the presence here of such a one, vnto whose becke and auctboritie all the worlde doth stoupe and yeelde. But for this intent is our Legacye hether directed, to present here before you, and in the presence of the whole Church of Rome, the deuocion and loue of our king and master, which euer he hath had, and yet hath still toward you. And that the same may the better appere to your excellencie, he hath assigned and appoynted to the furniture of this Legacie, not the least, but the greatest: not the worst, but the best and chiefest of all his subiectes, both Archebishoppes, Bishoppes, Erles, Barons, with other Potentates mo, of such worthinesse and parentage, that if he could haue found greater in all his Realme, he woulde haue sent them, both for the reuerence of your person and of the holy Church of Rome. Ouer and besydes this I might adde to more, which your holinesse hath sufficiently tryed and proued all ready, the true and heartie fidelitie of this our Souereigne towarde you: Who in his first entrance into his kingdome wholy submitted himselfe, with all that is his besydes, to your will and pleasure.

And

And truely to testifie of his maiestie howe he is disposed to the vnitie of the Catholique fayth, we beleue there is none more faythfull in Christ than he, nor more deuoute to God, nor yet more moderate in kepyng the vnitie of peace wherevnto he is called. And as I may be bolde this to protest for our king and maister: so neyther do I deny touching the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, a man also not destitute nor vnfurnished with giftes and ornaments in his kinde of callyng, to be a man both sage and discrete, in such thinges as to him apperteyne, saue onely that he semeth to some, more quicke and sharpe than nedeth. This blot alone if it were not, and the breache betweene him and our king had not happened, both the regimentes together of the Temporaltie and Spiritualtie might quietly haue flourished, one with the other, in much peace and concorde, both vnder a Prince so worthie, and a Pastor so vertuous. Wherefore the case so standyng as it doth, our message hether and our supplication is to your vigilant prudence, that through your fauour and wisedome, the necke of this discention may be broken, and that reformation of vnitie and loue may by some good meanes be sought.

This Oration of his, although it was liked of them for the softnesse and moderation thereof: yet it could not so perswade the bishop of Rome to condiscende to their sute and request, which was to haue two Legates or Arbitrers to be sent from him into England to examine and to take vp the controuersie betweene the king and the Archebishop. But the Pope beyng encensed as is sayde before, would not graunt to their peticion, forasmuch as it should be (sayth he) preiudiciall, tendyng to the oppression of the Archebishop to graunt vnto it, he beyng not present. And therefore willed them to tary hys commyng, or else, he beyng absent, he would not he sayde in any case proceede against him. But they allegyng againe, their tyme to be expyred appoynted them of the king, hauyng besydes other lettes & causes, as they alleaged, said, they could not there wayte for the commyng of Becket, and so returned backe their cause frustrated without the Popes blessyng to the king. Within foure dayes after, Becket commeth to the Popes court, where he prostrating himselfe at his feete, brought out of his bosome a scroll conteinyng the customes and ordinaunces of the king afore mentioned. The Pope receiuyng the sayd scroll, and readyng it in the open heeryng of his Cardinalles, condempned and cursed the most part of those decrees of the king, which he called *Consuetudines auitas*, that is, his Grandfathers ordinaunces: Besides, the Pope moreouer blamed Becket, for that he so much yelded vnto them at the beginnyng, as he did: Yet notwithstanding, because he was repentant for his vnaduised fact, he was content to assoyle him for the same, and that the rather because of his great troubles, which for the liberties of the holye Church he did sustaine, and so with great fauour for that day they dismissed him.

The next day, Alexander the Pope assemblyng his Cardinals together in his secret Chamber, appereth before them the Archbishop of Cantorbury, who made there a solempne Oration, and there and then resigned into the handes of the Pope the Archbishoprike of Cantorbury, & his Oration beyng ended, he was bidden to stand apart. The Pope then cõferring vpõ this with his Cardinalles, about the resignation of Becket, what was best to be done: Some thought it best to take the occasion offered, thinking thereby the kings wrath might easily be swaged, if the Church of Cantorbury were assigned to some other person, and yet the sayd Becket to be otherwise prouided for notwithstanding. Contrary, other again thought otherwyse, whose reason was: For if he ẏ for the liberties of the Church had ventured not only his goodes, dignitie, & auctboritie, but also his life, should nowe at the kinges pleasure be depriued, like as it might be a president hereafter to others in resisting their king in like sort, if his cause were mainteyned: so contrary. if it were quayled, it should be an example to all other hereafter none to resist his Prince in the like case, & so might redound not only to the weakening of the state of the Catholike Church, but also to the derogation of the Popes auctboritie. Briefiye this sentence at length preuayled, that Becket receyueth his pastoral office at the Popes hand againe, with commendation & much fauour. But forsomuch as he could not be well placed in England, in the

The sentence of the Pope and his Cardinalles.

meane while the Pope sendeth him with a Monkes habite into the Abbey of Pontimack in Fraunce, where he remayned two yeres, & from thence he remoued to Senon where he remayned. v. yeres, and so the time of his exyle continued in all. vij. yeres.

1164

11 The king directeth his Iniunctions agaynst the Pope.

Vpon this, the king beyng certified by his Ambassadours of the Popes aunswere, howe his fauour enclined more to Becket, than to him, he was moued with wrathfull displeasure. Who vpon the same directed out certaine Iniunctions against the Pope & the Archbishop of Cantorbury, much like, & the same in effect that are before rehersed in the beginning of this Hystory.

1166

13 A proclamation against Thomas Becket and his kindred.

And besides his Iniunctions, the king also set foorth his proclamation that all maner of persons both men and women, who soeuer were founde of the kindred of Thomas Becket, should be banished without taking anye parte of their goodes with them, and sent to him where he was, which was no little vexation to Becket to beholde them. Moreouer, for so muche as he was then lying with Gwaryn Abbot of Pontiniack, to whome the Pope as is aforesayde had commended him, therefore the king wryting to the same Abbot, required him not to retayne the Archbishop of Cauntorbury in his house, eyther else he would dryue out of his realme all the Monkes of his order. Wherevpon Becket was inforced to remoue from thence, and went vnto Lewes the French king, by whome he was placed at Senon and there founde of him the space of fiue yeres, as is aboue mencioned.

After the aforesayde Iniunctions and proclamation were thus set foorth, which greeued and troubled Becket not a little, then he for helpe resorted to the Pope, and obteyned of him letters to the king, and likewise the king agayne wrote to the Pope: And at the last the Archbishop in his owne name wrote to the king, and to sundrie of the Clergie, namely to certaine Bishops, who verie learnedly and plainely aunswered him, in suche maner as he had no hope of any good enterteynment in this realme. And in the ende he receyued a learned & worthy answere from the whole Clergie of England, (which for length I ouerpasse) so effectually & substancially written, as there could not be a better. But all this moued him nothing: And now that he saw himselfe to be of smal estimation among the Clergie of England, he therfore earnestly besought the Pope of aide & helpe against his aduersaries: and at the last he obteyned of him certaine cursses & excommunications. And first he put his cursse in execution vpon the Ministers of his church of Cantorbury, and then executed the same vpon certaine Bishops that had contempned hym, and lastly he procured two Legates to be sent from the Pope to the king to cursse him and all the whole realme, if the king would not restore him againe to his pristinate state and dignitie.

Becket falleth to cursyng.

The King being thus vexed with the Archebishop, departed into Normandy, and shortly after into Fraunce to the French king, where then the Archbishop was present, and the French king perceyuing the king of England to be disquieted, and he desirous to procure peace, or at the leastwise pretending to set agreement betweene them, brought the matter to a communication among them. In the which communication the French king made himselfe as an Vmpere betwene them. The king of Englande vnderstanding that the Archbishop would commit himselfe to his arbitrement, was the more wylling to admyt his presence. Wherevpon many being there present, the Archebishop (prostrating himselfe at the kings feete) declared vnto him kneeling vpon his knees that he would commit the whole cause, whereof the dissension arose betweene them, vnto his awne arbitrement, adding thereto as he did before *Saluo honore dei*, that is, sauing the honour of God. The king then as is sayde before was greatly offended at this worde *Saluo honore dei*, and also hearyng and seing the stiffenesse of the man, sticking so muche to this worde *Saluo honore*. &c. was highly therewith displeased, rebuking him with many grieuous wordes, as a man prowde and stubborne, and he also charged him with sundry & great benefites bestowed vpon him, as a person vnkinde and forgettyng what he so gently had done and bestowed vpon him.

Communication betwene the French king and the king of England, & Thomas Becket.

And

And speakyng to the French king then beyng present: See Sir if it please you (sayth the kyng of Englande) whatsoeuer displeaseth this man, that he sayth to be contrary to the honour of God. And so by this meanes he will vendicate and chalenge to himselfe both that is his and myne also. And yet notwithstandyng, for that I will not seeme to do any thing contrary or preiudiciall to Gods honour, this I offer him: There haue bene kinges in England before me, both of greater and lesse puissaunce then I am: Lykewise, there haue bene Bishoppes of Cauntorbury many both great and holy men, what the greatest and most holyest of all his predecessors before him, haue done to the least of my progenitors & predecessors before me, let him do the same to me, and I am content. They that stood by, heeryng these wordes of the king cryed all with one voyce, the king hath debased himselfe ynough to the Bishop. The Archebishop staiyng a little at this with silence, what sayth the French king to him, my Lorde Archbishop, will you be better then these holy men? will you be greater then Peter? what stande you doubting? heare, now haue you peace & quietnesse put into your awne handes if ye will take it. To this the Archbishop answering againe: truth said he, my predecessors before me were much both better and greater than I, and of them, euery one for his tyme, although he did not extirpe and cut off all, yet some thing they did plucke vp and correct, which semed aduerse and repugnaunt agaynst Gods honour. For if they had taken altogether away, no such occasion then had bene left to any man, to rayse vp this fyre of temptation against vs as nowe is raysed, to prooue vs withall, that we beyng so prooued with them, might also be crowned with them, beyng likewise partakers of their prayse and rewarde, as we are of their labour and trauayle. And though some of them haue beene slacke or exceede in their duetie doyng, in that we are not bound to follow their example.

Thomas Becket answere to the king of Englande.

Peter, when he denyed Christ, we therefore rebuke him: But when he resisted the rage of Nero, therein we commend him. And therefore, because he could not finde in his conscience to consent vnto him, he ought in no wyse to dissemble with him, neyther did, by reason whereof he lost his life. By such lyke oppressions the Church hath alwayes growen. Our forefathers and predecessors because they would not dissemble the name and honor of Christ, therefore they suffered: And shall I to haue the fauour of one man suffer the honour of Christ to be suppressed. The Nobles standyng by hearyng him thus speake were greatly agreeued with him, notyng in him arrogancy and wilfulnesse, in perturbyng and refusyng such an honest order of agreement: But specially one among all the rest, who there openly protested, that seeyng the Archebishop so refused the counsayle and request of both the kinges, he was not worthie to haue the helpe of either other, whome as the kingdome of England had reiected, so the kingdome of Fraunce should not entertaine.

Alanus, Herbertus, and other of his Chapleynes that commytted to story the doyngs of Becket, do recorde (whether truely or no I can not say) that after this, the French king sendyng for him, as one much sorowyng and lamentyng the wordes that he had spoken at the commyng of Becket, did prostrate himselfe at the feete of the Archebishop, confessyng his fault in geuyng that counsayle to him in such a cause, perteynyng to the honour of God, to relent therein, and to yelde to the pleasure of man: Wherefore declaryng his repentaunce, desyred to be assoyled thereof. So that after that the French king and Becket were great friendes together, insomuch that king Henry sendyng to the king, to entreate and desyre him, that he would not support nor maintaine his enemie within his Realme: The French king vtterly denyed the kinges request, takyng part with the Archbishop rather than with him.

Besydes these quarelles and grudges betwene the king and the Archebishop aboue mentioned: there folowed yet moreouer a nother, which was this. Shortly after this communication betwene the kynges and Becket, the king of England returning againe from Normandy into England, which was the yere of our Lord M.C.lxvij. and the. xiiij. yere of his reigne about Midsommer kept his Court of Parliament at Westminster. In the which 1167

Henry the thirde crowned in the life of his father Henry the second, and died before his father, & therefore he is not counted in the number of kinges.

Parliament through the assent of the Clergie, and the Lordes Temporall, he caused his sonne Henry to be crowned king. Which coronation was done by the handes of Roger Archbishop of Yorke, with the assistance of other bishops ministring to the same, as Gilbert of London, Ioselyn of Sarisbury, Hugh of Duresme, and Gualter of Rochester. By reason whereof, Becket of Cauntorbury beyng there neyther mentioned nor called for, tooke no little displeasure. And so did Lodouick the French king, heeryng that Margaret his daughter was not crowned with her husbande, wherevpon gatheryng a great army, he marched toward Normandy. But that matter was sone composed by the king of England, who sendyng his sonne to him in Normandy, intreated there, and concluded peace with him, promisyng that his son should be crowned againe and his daughter also. But the Archebishop not ceasing his displeasure, sent againe vnto the Pope, complainyng vpon these foure Bishops, especially of the Archebishop of Yorke, who durst be so bolde in hys absence, and without his knowledge or his licence to entermeddle to crowne the king, beyng a matter proper and peculier to his iurisdiction. At the instance of whom, the Pope sent downe the sentence of excomunication against the Bishop of London. The other three Bishops with the Bishop of Yorke, he suspended, whose sentence and letters thereof, for the aduoidyng of prolixitie I here omit. This beyng done, the Archebishop of Yorke with the foresayde Bishops resorted to the king with a grieuous complaint, declaring how miserable their case stoode, and what they had susteyned for fulfillyng of his commaundement. The king heeryng this was highly moued.

Becket complayneth againe vpon the Bishops to the Pope.

Thomas Becket procureth a curse against the Bishoppes.

The bishops complaine to the king of Becket.

The French king laboured to haue the king of England to be accursed for Beckets cause.

And in the meane season, the French king for his part, and his Clergie, and Courtiers slackt none occasion to insite and solicite Alexander. the Pope, against the king of England, to excommunicate him also, sekyng thereby, and thinkyng to haue some vauntage agaynst the Realme: Neither was the king ignorant of this, which made him more ready to apply to some agreement of reconciliation. At length cōmeth downe from the Pope two Legates, the one the Archbishop of Roan, & the other, the Bishop of Nauerne, with direction, and full commission either to driue the king to be reconciled, or to be interdited by the Popes censures out of the Church. The king vnderstanding himselfe to be in greater streights than he could well aduoyde, at length through the mediation of the French king, and of other Prelates & great Princes, he was content to yelde to peace and reconciliation with the Archbishop whome he receyued both to his fauour, and also permitted and graunted him free returne to his Church againe. Albeit concerning his possessions and landes of the Church of Cantorbury, although Becket made great labour therfore, yet the king beyng then in Normandy, would not graunt him that, before he should repayre into England, to see how he would there agree with his subiectes. Thus peace after a sort beyng concluded betwene the king and him, the Archebishop returned into England, where he was right ioyfully receyued of the Church of Cauntorbury: Albeit of Henry the yong king he was not so greatly welcommed. Insomuch that he comming vp to London to the king, was returned and commaunded backe to Cauntorbury, and there bidden to kepe his house.

King Henry driuen to a great streight.

Thomas Becket returneth into Englande.

Hereof commeth yᵉ talke that Kentish men haue tayles.

Roger Houeden maketh mencion in his Chronicle, that the Archebishop vpon Christmas day did excommunicate Robert de Brock, for cuttyng off the tayle of one of his horses the day before.

1170

17

In this meane time, the foure Bishoppes before mencioned whome the Archbishop did excommunicate, as is aforesayde, sent to him humbly, desiryng to be released of their censure. To whome when as the Archebishop would not graunt clerely and simply, without cautels and exceptions, they went ouer vnto the king, declaryng to him and complainyng of their miserable estate and vncurteous handlyng of the Archebishop. Wherevpon the King conceyued great displeasure in his minde towarde the Archebishop. Insomuche that he lamented oft and sundry tymes to them about him, that among so manye as he had done for, there was none that woulde reuenge him of his enemye: By the occasion of which wordes, certaine that were about the king, to the number of foure, heering the king,

The chiefe occasion that hastened the soudeine death of Thomas Becket.

thus

thus complaine and lament, addressed themselues in great heate of haste to satisfie the agrieued minde and quarell of their Prince: Who within foure dayes after the aforesayde Christmasse day, saylyng ouer into England, hauyng a forwarde and a prosperous wynde in their iourney, beyng in the deepe of winter, came to Cauntorbury where Becket was commaunded to kepe. Where after certeine aduisement and consultation had among themselues, they pressed at length into the Bishops palace, where the Archbishop was sittyng with his company about him: And first they assayed him with gentle wordes to see whether he would relent to the kinges minde, and come to some conformitie, and said, that they had brought to him a cõmaundement from the king, which, whether he had rather openly there in presence, or secretly, to be declared vnto him, they bid him chose. Then the company beyng bidden to aduoyde, as he sate alone, they sayde: you are commaunded from the king beyond the Sea, to repayre to the king here his sonne, there to do your dutye to him, in swearing to him your fidelitie for your baronage and other thinges, and to amend those thinges wherein yee haue offended against him. Wherevpon the Archbishop deniyng to sweare, and perceyuyng they entent, called in his company againe: and in multipliyng of wordes to and fro, at length they came to the Bishoppes which were excommunicate for the coronation of the king, whome they commaunded him in the kings name, that he should absolue and set free againe. The Archebishop aunswered that he neyther suspended nor excommunicated them but the Pope, wherefore if that were the matter that greeued them, they should resorte to the Pope, he had nothing to do with the matter. Then sayde Reginald one of the foure. Although you in your awne person did not excommunicate them, yet thorow your instigatiõ it was done. To whom the Archbishop againe aunswered: and if the Pope sayde he, tendering the iniuries done to me and to my Churche, wrought this reuenge for me, I confesse it offendeth me nothing. Thus then sayde they, it appereth by your awne wordes that it pleaseth you right well, in contempt and contumely of the kings Maiestie, to sequester his Bishops from their ministerie, who at the commaundement of the king did seruice in the Coronation of his sonne. And seing ye haue presumed thus to stande against the exaltation of this oure souereigne oure newe king, it seemeth lykely that you will aspire to take his crowne from him, and to be exalted king your selfe. I aspire not sayde he to the crowne and name of the king, but rather if I had foure crownes to geue him more, I would set them all vpon him, such good wyll I doe beare him, that onely his father the king excepted, there is none whose honor I more tender and loue. And as concerning the sequestring of those Bishops, this I geue you to vnderstand, that there was nothing done in that behalfe without the knowledge and assent of the king himselfe, to whome when I had made my complaint at the Feast of Mary Magdalene of the wrong and iniurie done to me and my Church therein, he gaue me his good leaue to obteine at the Popes hand such remedie therein as I could, promising moreouer his helpe to me in the same. What is this quoth they that thou sayest? Makest thou the king a traitor & bewrayer of the king his awne son, that when he had commaunded the Bishops to crowne his sonne, he would geue thee leaue after to suspend them for so doing? Certes, it had bene better for thee not to haue accused the king of this prodition. The Archbishop said to Reginald one of the foure, that he was there present himselfe at that time and heard it, but that he denyed and swore it was not so: and thinke you said they, that we the kings subiectes will or ought to suffer this? And so approching neerer vnto him sayde, he had spoken ynough against his awne head: wherevpon followed great exclamation and many threatning words. Then the Archebishop sayde, I haue sithen my comming ouer, susteyned manye iniuries and rebukes, concerning both my selfe, my men, my cattell, my wynes & other goodes, notwithstanding the king writing ouer to his sonne, required him that I should lyue in safetie and peace, and nowe besydes all other, you come hither to threaten mee. To this Reginald aunswered and sayde, if there be any that worketh you iniurie, otherwise then right is, the lawe is open, why doe you not complayne? To whom sayde Becket should I complayne? To the yong king sayde they. Then Becket sayde, I haue complayned ynough

if that woulde helpe. I haue sought for remedie at the kings handes so long as I could be suffered to come vnto his speche: but now seing I am stopped from that, neyther can finde redresse of so great vexations and iniuries as I haue and daylie doe susteyne, nor can haue the benefite of law or reason: such right and lawe as an Archebishop maye haue, that will I exercise and let for no man. At these wordes one of them burst out in exclamation and cryed, he threatneth: he threatneth: what, wyll you also interdict the whole Realme and vs altogether? Nay, that shall he not sayth another, he hath interdicted to many already. And drawyng more nere vnto him, they protested and denounced him to haue spoken wordes to the ieopardie of his awne head. And so departyng in great violence, and with many high wordes, rushed out of the dores: Who by the way returnyng to the Monkes, charged them in the kinges name to kepe him forthcomming that he should not escape away. What quoth the Archebishop, thinke ye that I will flie away? Nay, neyther for the king nor for anye man aliue will I stirre one foote from you. No sayd they, thou shalt not aduoyde though that thou wouldest. And so they departed in hye clamour of wordes. The Archbishop, foloweth them out of the Chamber dore, cryyng after them, here, here, here shall you finde me, laiyng his hand on his crowne. The names of these foure men, were these, Reginald Bereson, Hugh Morteuyll, William Thracy, and Richard Briton: But Fabian nameth them, William Briton, Hugh Moruile, William Thracy and Reignold Fitzvre, who goyng to harnesse themselues, returned the same day againe: But fynding the Hall dore of the Palace of Cauntorbury shut against them, they went to an inwarde backe dore, leadyng into an Orchard, and there brake vp a Windowe and opened the dore, and so entered into the place. The Monkes (beyng about Euensong tyme) had got the Archbishop into the Church, who beyng perswaded by them, caused his crosse to be borne before him, and so through the Cloyster by a dore which was broken vp for him, proceded into the Quier. The harnessed men folowed after, and at the last came to the Church dore, which dore the Monkes would haue shut against them, but (as their story sayth) the Archebishop would not suffer them. So they approchyng into the Church, and the Bishop meting them vpon the stayers, there he was slaine, euery one of them striking him with his sworde into the head. And after they had thus slaine him they fled into the North countrie, and at length with much a do, obteynyng their pardon of the Pope, through the kinges procurement (as some storyes record) they were enioyned in penaunce to go on pilgrimage to Ierusalem. And thus an ende of the story of the life and death of Thomas Becket.

Thomas Becket slain.

2172

18

Richarde Prior of Douer succeded Thomas Becket and was chosen Archebishop after him, a man of an yll lyfe and an inordinate waster of the goodes of the Church.

The king sēdeth an Ambassade to Rome to purge him of the death of Thomas Becket.

Now when Becket was thus murthered, the king fearyng the Popes wrath and cursse to be layd vpon him (wherevnto Lodouike or Lewes the French king also holpe what he could to set the matter forward) sent to Rome the Archebishop of Roan with certeine other bishops and Archedeacons vnto the Pope, with his excuse, which the Pope woulde in no wise heere. And after, he sent second messengers, which some of the Cardinalles receyued, shewyng them that on good fryday (beyng then nie at hande) the Pope of custome was vsed to assoyle or to cursse, and that it was noysed that the king of England with his Bishops should be curssed by name, and his lande enterdicted, and herevpon the kinges messengers were put in prison. Whervpon certeyne of the Cardinalles shewed the Pope that the Messengers had power to sweare to the Pope, that the king should obey to his punishment and penance. Which was taken both for the king and for the Archebishop of Yorke: So that in the same day the Pope curssed the deede doers with such as were of their consent, eyther that ayded or harboured them, which deede doers had after in penance to go in their Lynnen clothes barefote, in fastyng and prayer to Ierusalem, which by reason of this hard penance are sayde to die in fewe yeres after. And shortly after, as sayth Fabian, Cooper, and other, the Pope Canonized Thomas Becket for a Saint & holy Martyr.

The Pope vseth to curse or assoyle on good Friday.

The kinges Ambassadors liyng as is sayd in Rome, could find no grace or fauour a long

long tyme at the Popes hande. At the length with much a do, it was agreed that two Cardinalles should be sent downe, to enquire out the matter concernyng them that were consentyng to Beckets death. The king perceyuing what was in preparing at Rome, neither beyng yet certeine, whereto the intent of the Pope and the commyng downe of the Cardinalles woulde tende, in the meane time time addressed himselfe with a great power to enter into Irelande, geuing in charge and commaundement (as Houeden wryteth) that no bringer of any briefe or any letter should in his absence come ouer into England, or passe out of the realme, of what degree or condicion so euer he were, without speciall licence and assurance, to bring nothing that should be preiudiciall to him, or to the realme.

The king forbad that no bringer of any processe should come into England without lycence.

The aforesaid order being set and ordeyned, the king with foure hundreth great ships taketh his iourney to Ireland in the aforesayd yere of his reigne where he subdued in short tyme the whole lande vnto him, which at that time was gouerned vnder diuerse kinges, to the number of fiue. Of whom foure submitted themselues vnto the sayd king Henry: Onely the fift who was the king of Tonacta, denyed to be subdued, kepyng him in Woodes and Marisshes. And hauyng subdued that countrie, he by the helpe of the Archbishop of Armach, reformed their religion in three speciall poyntes. First, he ordeyned that the deuine seruice should be sayde and song, and the Sacramentes ministered after the English maner: Secondly he tooke order for tythes and other dutyes to be payde vnto the Curates and Ministers by the lay people. Thirdly, he ordeyned that euery man should make his testament and last wil in the presence of his neighbours, or at the leastwise cause it to be read before them.

1172

19

The king taileth into Ireland with a great power.

In the meane season while the king was thus occupied in Ireland, the two Cardinalles sent from the Pope, Theodinus and Albertus, were come to Normandy: vnto whome the king the next yere folowyng resorted about the Moneth of October. But before, duryng the tyme of the kinges beyng in Ireland, the Bishop of London, and Ioselyne Bishop of Sarisbury had sent to Rome, & procured their Absolution from the Pope. The king returning out of Ireland by Wales into England, & thence into Normandy, there made his purgation before the Popes Legates as touchyng the death of the aforesaid Becket, to the which he sware that he was neither ayding nor comfortyng, but onely spake rigorous wordes against him, for that his knightes would not auenge him against the sayde Becket. For the which cause this penance was enioyed vnto him vnder his othe.

1173

20

Penance enioyned to king Henry the second for the death of Thomas Becket.

1 First that he should sende so much money to the holye lande, as woulde finde two hundreth Knightes or Souldiours for the defence of the lande by the space of three yeres.

2 Also that from the terme of Christmasse day then next folowyng, he should set forth in his awne person to fight for the holy land the space of three yeres together: onlesse he should be otherwise dispenced withall by ỹ Pope.

3 Item, that if he would make his iourney into Spaine as the present necessitie did requyre, there to fight against the Saracens: as long tyme as he should there abide, so long space might he prolong his iourney to Ierusalem.

4 Item, that he should not hinder, nor cause to be hindered by hym any appellation made to the Pope of Rome.

5 Item, that neither he nor his sonne, should recede or disseuer from Pope Alexander, or from his Catholique successors, so long as they should recount him or his sonne for kinges Catholique.

6 Item, that the goodes and possessions taken from the Church of Cauntorbury, should be restored againe fully and amplye, as they stoode the yere befor Thomas Becket departed the Realme, and that free libertie should be graũted to all such as were outlawed for Beckets cause to returne againe.

7 Item, that the foresayd customes and decrees by him established against the Church, should be extinct and repealed, such onely except, that concerned his awne person. &c. besides other secret fasting & almose dedes enioined him.

All these former conditions the king with his sonne did both agree vnto, debasyng himselfe with great humilitie and submission before the sayde two Cardinalles: by the occasion

Secrete penãce enioyned to the king.

sion whereof, the Cardinalles tooke no little pride, vsyng this verse of the Psalme, *Qui respicit terram, & facit eam tremere, qui tangit montes & fumigant.* That is, which looketh vpon the earth, and maketh it tremble, which toucheth the hilles and they smoke. &c. Moreouer, it is mentioned in Historyes of the sayd king that a little after, at what time William king of Scottes made a roade into the Realme, he returnyng out of Normandy into England, came first to Cauntorbury, and by the way so sone as he came within the sight of Beckets Church, lighting off his horsse, and puttyng off his hosen and shoen, he went barefoote to his Tombe, whose steppes were found bloody through the roughnesse of the stones. And not onely that, but also receyued further penaunce by by euery Monke of the Cloyster, that is to say a certeyne discipline of a Rod. The which by all likelyhood was the secret penaunce that the Cardinalles enioyned him.

William king of Scottes made a roade into England while yᵗ king was in Irelande.

The king scourged wᵗ roddes by the Monkes of Cantorbury.

1174

In the xxj. yere of his reigne he caused a conuocation of Bishops to be holden at Westmynster by Richard Archebishop of Cauntorburie. In which conuenticle, then being present all the Bishoppes and Abbottes of the prouynce of Cauntorburie, a great contention arose betweene the two Archebishops of Cauntorbury and Yorke, as it had done a little before in king William the Conquerours time, and. vij. yere of his reigne 1074. about the obedience that the Archbishop of Yorke shoulde doe to Cauntorbury, that is, whether the Archebishop of Yorke might beare his Crosse in the Diocesse of Cauntorbury, or no: Also aboute the Bishoprick of Lyncolne, of Chichester, of Worcester, of Hereford, whether these Churches were vnder the iurisdiction of the See of Yorke, or not. &c. Vpon these and such other like matters rose such controuersie betwene these two Sees, that the one appealed the other to the presence of the Bishop of Rome.

21

A conuocatiō of Bishops.

Contention againe for the primacie of Yorke and Cantorbury.

In this and suche cases lyke, howe muche better had it bene if the primacie had remayned more here in the kinges handes at home, whereby not onely much labour and trauaile had bene saued, but also the great and wastfull expences bestowed at Rome might with muche fruite and thanke haue bene conuerted to their cures and flocks committed vnto them, and also percase their cause no lesse indifferently heard, at the least more spedely might haue bene decided: but to the purpose againe.

In this controuersy diuerse of the Bishop of Yorkes Clergie, suche as were of Gloucester, belongyng to the Church of Saint Oswalde, were excommunicate by the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, because they beyng summoned, refused to appere before him. At length, that is to say, the next yere folowyng, there was a Cardinall sent downe from Rome by the kinges procurement, who studied to set peace betwene the two Archbishops. So that the way of agrement was taken, by the meanes of the king at Winchester, that as touching the Church of Saint Oswalde in Gloucester, the Archebyshop of Cauntorbury should ceasse of his clayme thereof, molestyng the See of Yorke no more therein. Also he should absolue againe the Clerkes thereof whom he had excommunicated before. And as concernyng the bearyng of the Crosse and all other matters, it was referred to the Archebishop of Roan and of other Bishops of Fraunce, so that for the space of fyue yeres an order was taken betwixt them, till they shoulde haue a full determination of their cause.

Shortly after this, the king purchased a dispensation of the Bishop of Rome for the voyage which he promised to make in proper person into the holy lande, to fight against the enemies of the Christian religion before two Cardinalles as is aforesayde: The which dispensiation was graunted vpon condition that he should builde three Abbayes in Englande. For the accomplishment whereof he put out of the house of Walthām secular Chanons, and placed in their steede reguler. And for the second he aduoyded the monks that were in the Abbey of Ambresburie, and set in their place Mynchions or Nonnes which he brought with him from beyond the Sea. And for the third he repayred after a homely sorte the Charterhouse of Wytham in the dioces of Bath and Welles.

Reynulph of Chester in his booke entitled *Polichronicon*, in his. vij. booke and. xxij. Chapter, sayth that thys king had long kept a bewtifull Damosell for his Paramour, whome

whome he called Rosamond, and that the sayde king had buylded for her at his place of Woodstock beside Oxforde a Bowre or chamber, which was so artificially wrought, and was such a laberinth and so full of turnings, dores, and wayes most curiously deuysed and made, that it was not possible without teaching to come to any that was therein, and that the same is called at this day Rosamonds Bowre: and he sayth that the cause of the making of the sayd Bowre, was for that the Queene could not abide the sayde damosell, and therefore would she haue done hir displeasure if she might haue come by her: and it is also written of some that at the last the Queene by a clewe or bothome of threede that was brought vnto hir, founde the way and came vnto hir, and that she lyued not long after, but dyed and was buried at Godestowe besyde Oxenford in the Chapterhouse there. And vpon hir Tombe was written this Epitaph.

Hic iacet in tumba, rosa mundi, non rosa munda
Non redolet, sed olet, que redolere solet,

Which is Englished by Fabian in meter as foloweth.

The Rose of the worlde, but not the cleane flower,
Is here nowe grauen: to whom beautie was lent.
In this graue full darke, now is her Bowere
That by her life was sweete and redolent.
But nowe that she is, from this life blent
Though she were sweete, nowe fowly doth she stinke,
A myrrour good for all that on her thinke.

The sayde Authour sayth also that the aforesaide Rosamond had a little Coffer scarcely two foote long, merueylous artificially wrought, which is yet (sayth he) to be seene there, wherein Gyauntes seeme to fight, beastes do startle and stirre, and fowles fliyng in the ayre, and fishes swim in the water, without any mannes mouyng or helpe.

In the. xxj. yere of his reigne, he caused Henry his sonne to be the second tyme crowned king, with Margaret his wyfe the daughter of the Frenche king, by Roger Archbishop of Roan, in a Parliament holden at Wynchester, as he had promised to her father that he woulde do, as before ye haue heard. 1274 — 21 Henry ye son of king Hery the seconde againe crowned king of Englād with his wife Margaret ye daughter of the French king.

And this yere the king deuided the realme into sixe partes, and ordeyned vpon euery part three Iustices of Assise yerely to passe through the Realme, which now are called the Assises. The circuite or limitation of which Iustices was thus disposed. The first company had Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, and Herfordshire.

The second company, had Lincolneshire, Notinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwikeshire, Northamptonshire, and Leycestershire.

The thirde company, had Kent, Surrey, Southhamptonshire, Sussex, Barkeshire, Oxfordshire.

The fourth company, had Herfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire.

The fift company, had Wiltshire, Dorcetshire, Sommersetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornewall.

The sixt companie, had Euerwikeshire, nowe called Yorkeshire, Richemondshire, Lancaster, Copeland, Westmerlād, Northūberland & Cōberlād.

But now these circuites are altered, & so are the number of the Iustices.

In the. xxij. yere of his reigne, as saith Cooper, or as some other write in the. xxj. king Henry the sonne, by the exciting of the king of Fraunce, Aleanor his mother, and certeyne of the Nobles, as Robert Erle of Leycester, and other tooke armes, and arrered deadly warre against his naturall father. Diuerse strong battailes were foughten, aswell in England by the deputyes and friendes of both partes, as also in Normandy, Poytow, Guyan, and Britayn, where they were corporally present: But the victory alway enclyned to the father. There toke part against king Henry the father. Lewes king of Fraunce, 1275 — 22 An vnnaturall warre.

Fraunce, William, king of Scotland, Henry, Geoffrey, and Ihon his awne sonnes, Robert Erle of Leicester, Hugh of Chester, and other. But in the end, the sonnes with their allies were cõstrayned to bend to their fathers will, and to desyre peace, which he gently graunted vnto them, and forgaue them their trespasse. But William king of Scottes forfeyted and lost the Erledome of Huntingdon, for taking of king Henry the sonnes part against the father.

And besides that, beyng discomfited and taken Prisoner at the Castell of Alnewike in Northumberland, he was compelled to yelde for his raunsome the Citie of Careleyll, the Castell of Bambourgh and the newe Castell vpon Tine, and swore for euer to be true vnto the king, and as well he as his successours to do their homage as often as it should be required. The cause of which warres was as some wryte, because the king had emprisoned Quene Aleanor his wife for the loue of the Lady Rosamond mencioned before in the last yere, a Damosell of incomparable beautie. But Fabian sayth, that after the takyng of William king of Scottes, the sayde William by the assent of his Lordes spirituall and temporall did homage to king Henry at his Citie of Yorke, where the sayde William graunted by his Letters patentes, that he and his successors kinges of Scotland, should make their homage and fidelitie vnto the king of England as often as they should be necessarily required. And in signe and token thereof, the king offered his Hat and his Saddell vpon the Aultar of Saint Peter in the Church of Yorke, which for a remembraunce of that dede, the sayde Hat and Saddle were there kept many yeres after. And moreouer, the Lordes of Scotland tooke a solemne othe that if their king at any time would withdraw him from his allegiance, they would all arise against him, and be to him as enemies, vntill he were returned vnto his fayth and kepyng of his promise. And for the better confirmation of the sayd composition, the king of Scottes beyng summoned, came afterwardes vnto the kinges Parliament holden at Northampton, and at another season into Normandie.

1176 23 1177 24 Contention for the electiõ of the Pope.

In the. xxiij. yere of his reigne, the king and his sonnes were made agreed, and a new aliaunce by mariage was made with Lewes of Fraunce: For Adela his daughter was fianced to Richard king Henry his sonne.

In this kinges tyme there arose great discorde and variance at Rome for the election of the Bishop thereof. For some of the Cardinalles chose one Octauian: But other some, and the more part chose Alexander. At which time the Emperour, to whose iudgement it was referred, when that Alexander disdeyned to abyde his iudgement, he confirmed Octauian. Then did Alexander flee into Fraunce, and there excommunicated out of the company of the faythfull, both Frederick the Emperour, and Octauian the Antipape: And in a counsaile at Claremont, disanulled the actes of the counsaile of Pauie. This Schisme continued almost. xx. yeres: But shortly after Alexander Bishop of Rome returned out of Fraunce into Rome, and was receyued of the people contrary to the Emperours minde. Then folowed sundry and great warres betwene the aforesayde Alexander and Fredericke, and therein was great effusion of blood: But in the ende, Fredericke the Emperour was driuen to the worse. And at the last by perswasion and entreatie of sundrie noble personages, the Emperor submitted himselfe to Alexander Bishop of Rome, and came vnto him to Venice, where, of a long time the Pope would not speake with him, but caused him to attend: But at the last a tyme was appoynted him to come to the Popes presence, where he so behaued and humbled himselfe, that he suffered him to treade vpon him, and to set his fete in his necke, and while he so did his Quier sang this verse of the Psalter. *Super Aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem*, that is: Thou shalt walke vpon the Adder and the Basiliske: and shalt treade downe the Lion and the Dragon. But Frederick seeyng the Pope so to vse him, sayd vnto him, I do not this obedience to thee but to Peter: and the Pope aunswered both to me and to Peter. Of this outragious pride, let the Reader iudge. But this is to be noted as a truth, that the sayde Bishop of Rome, stirred and procured mortall and

cruell warres, as before is sayde, without any iust cause, but onely for his priuate election, and would neyther obey to counsaile nor auctboritie, nor yet condiscend to any atonement.

In the. xxiiij. yere also of this king, there chaunced great tempestes of thunder and lightnyng in the middle of Winter: and in the next Sommer folowyng there fell hayle of such bignesse that it slue both man and beast. And in this tyme there arose great discorde and variance among the Nobilitie in Englande. 1177 24

In the. xxv. yere of his reigne king Henrie gaue vnto his base sonne Geoffrey the Bishoprike of Lincolne in a Sinode holden at Northampton, after it had bene vacant a long tyme, who wastfully consuming the reuenues thereof, not mindyng to enter into the ministerie, within short space after resigned it. But the same Geoffrey was afterwards preferred vnto the Archbishoprike of Yorke. 1178 25

About this time, the king restored Robert Erle of Leycester (who as is beforesayd was taken prisoner in the battaile of Saint Edmondes bury) to his Erledome in a Parliament holden at Oxford, and made his yongest sonne Iohn, Lorde of all Irelande. Margaret also the wife of king Henry his sonne was brought a bed of a daughter called Margaret, which liued not aboue three dayes after her birth.

About this tyme also there were a great multitude of Iewes in euery quarter of the realme, and had but one place assigned them to bury in, which was London, whether all the Corses and dead bodyes of their Nation were brought to be buryed, where so euer their chaunce was to die in the Realme. Therefore fynding it to be a great anoyance and discommoditie vnto them, they became suters vnto the king that they might haue a place assigned them to bury in wheresoeuer they dwelt, the which was graunted vnto them.

In the. xxvj. yere of his reigne Lewes the French king came into England to visite the Church and Tombe of Thomas Becket, as he had vowed to do, whome assone as he was landed, kyng Henry with his Nobles met and receyued very honourably. The which done, they went both together to Cauntorbury, and there offered at the Tombe of the sayd Becket, (such was the blindnesse of that time.) And when he had perfourmed his vowe, and had adorned the said Tombe with many riche Iewels, he returned into Fraunce and died as it was sayd very shortly after, leauyng behinde him one onelye sonne named Philip, who succeded him, and as Polidore sayth was crowned king by his fathers life time. 1179 26

In the. xxviij. yere of his reigne, as sayth Fabian, Henry his eldest son, who in the life of his father as aforesaid, was crowned king, died very penitently. 1181 28

In the. xxx. yere of his reigne: Heraclius the Patriarke of Ierusalem came into England to haue ayde agaynst the Sarasens, who had wonne a great part of Christendome which they possessed in the holy lande, and also prayed ayde for the defence of the City of Ierusalem, which shortly after was wonne by Saladyne the Prince of Surrey. But by the report of Peter Disroy a Frenchman, the sayde Citie was wonne by Godfrey du Bulyon, in the yere of our Sauiour Christ. M. xcix. and so continued vnder the rule of. ix. Christian kinges, vntill the last king named Guy of Lesyngham, who lost it, in the yere of our Lord. M. C. lxxxix. and the. xxxvj. yere of his reigne. 1183 30

Then it foloweth in the story: This Heraclius made earnest request vnto the king for aide as is aforesayde, and profered him the kingdome thereof, and the keyes both of the Citie and of the Sepulchre of Christ and deliuered him letters from Lucius the thirde of that name then Bishop of Rome, chargyng him that he should take vpon him that iourney, and to haue minde of the othe that he before tyme had made. The king deferred his aunswere: And Baldwyn then Archbishop preached, and exhorted men to take the Crosse, by whose meanes, many there were that aduowed that iourney. In the ende, the king gaue aunswere and sayd, that he might not leaue his land without keepyng, nor yet leaue it to the pray and robbery of the French men: But he would geue largely of his awne to such as would take vpon him that voiage. With his aunswere the Patriarch was discontent and sayd: We seke a man and not money, well nere euery Christian Region sendeth vnto vs money, but no land sendeth to vs a Prince. Therefore we aske a Prince that nedeth

money, and not money that needeth a Prince. But the king layd for himselfe such excuses, that the Patriarch departed from him discontented and comfortlesse. Whereof the King beyng aduertised, entendyng to recomfort him with some pleasant wordes, folowed him to the sea syde: But the more the king thought to satisfie him with his fayre speeche, the more the Patriarche was out of quiet: insomuch that at the last the sayd Patriarch sayd vnto him: Thou hast hetherto reigned gloriously, but hereafter thou shalt be forsaken of him that thou at this tyme forsakest. Thinke on him what he hath geuen to thee and what thou hast yelden to him againe: howe first thou wast false to the king of Fraunce, and after slue Thomas Becket, and lastly thou forsakest the protection of Christes fayth. The king was amoued with these wordes, and sayde vnto the Patriarch: Though all the men in the land were one body, and spake with one mouth, they durst not speake to me such words. No wonder sayde the Patriarche, for they loue thine and not thee: that is to say, they loue thy goodes temporall, and feare thee for losse of promotion, but they loue not thy soule. And when he had so sayde, he offered his heade to the king saiyng, do by me euen as thou diddest by Thomas Becket, for I had leuer to be slaine of thee, then of the Sarisyns, for thou art worsse than any Sarasyn, and thy people foloweth pray and not a man. But the king kept his pacience and sayde: I may not wende out of my lande, for mine awne sonnes will rise against me, when I were absent. No wonder sayd the Patriarche, for of the deuill they came, and to the deuill they shall, and so departed from the king in great yre. *Fabian.*

Heraclius a stoute Patriarche of Ierusalem.

A note and prowde Patriarche.

And here the olde Historiographers finde a great fault with the king for his refusall of the office made by the Patriarch, declaring that to be the greatest cause of Gods plagues which after ensued vpon him by his children, as the Patriarche prophesied vnto hym, which story is a good lesson to good Princes, not to denie their necessarie helpe to their distressed neighbours, especially the cause pertayning to God.

King Henry the seconde was a famous prince.

The wisedome, discretion, manhoode and ryches of thys Prynce was so spreade and renowmed thorough all quarters that messages came to hym from Emanuell Emperour of Constantinople, Frederyck Emperour of Rome, and Wylliam Archebishop of Treuer in Almayn, and Duke of Saxon, and from the Erle of Flaundyrs, and from the french king, vpon determination of great questions and strifes, to aske counsell and determination thereof of this king Henry, as of one most wise, and schoolemaister of all wisedome and iustice, to haue solution of their questions and doubtes. Moreouer Alphonsus King of Castile, and Sauncius king of Nauerne, beyng in strife for certeine Castelles, and other possessions, submitted them of their fre accorde, and by their othe to abyde the awarde of this king Henry who made a warde and pleased both. Whereby it is not to be presupposed that this king, to whome other Princes did so resort, as to their Arbitrer and decisor, did attend to any slouth or vicious liuyng. Wherefore this Princes actes may be a myrrour vnto all Princes.

1186 The. xxxiij. yere of his reigne, Geoffrey Duke of Briteyn died at Paris, leauyng his wife Constance great with childe, which shortly after was deliuered of a sonne named Arthur.

33

A note worthy to be written in letters of golde.

Among many other thinges in this king memorable, this is one to be noted (folow it who can) that he reignyng, xxxv. yeres, & hauyng so many warres with his enemies, yet he neuer put any tribute, impost, or taxe vpon his subiectes, nor yet vpon the spiritualty, first fruites, or appropriation of benefices, belyke they were not then knowen, but sure it is, they were not vsed. And yet his treasure after his death, beyng weyed by king Richard his sonne, amounted aboue nine hundreth thousand pound, besyde Iewelles, precious stones, plate, and housholde stuffe. Of the which substance, xj. thousand pound came to him by the death of Roger Archbishop of Yorke, who had procured a Bull of the Pope, that if any priest dyed in his prouynce without testament, then he should haue all his goodes.

A Prince of great riches.

Bulles are perillous beastes.

But as there is no felicitie or wealth in this mortall worlde so perfite, which is not darkened with some clowde of combrance and aduersitie: So it happened to this king, that

that among his other princely successes, this incommoditie followed him withall that his sonnes rebelled and stoode in armour against him, taking the parte of the French king against their naturall father. First Henry his sonne whom the father ioyned with him as king, at the coronation of which king, Henry his father took vppon him as Stewarde, or Sewer and set downe the first dishe of Sewer, renowncing the name of a king for that daye. At which tyme the aforesayde Archebishop of Yorke, sitting on the right hande of the yong king, sayd: Sir ye haue good cause this daye to ioye: For there is no Prince in the worlde that hath suche an officer this day. &c. And the yong king disdayning his wordes, sayde: my father is not dishonoured in this doing, for I am a King and a Queenes sonne, and so is not he. And not onely this, but also afterwarde he persecuted his father, as ye before haue heard. Wherefore he escaped not Gods plague from his youth, after he had reigned a fewe yeres, he dyed as aforesayde, teaching vs what is the price and rewarde for the breaking of the iust commaundements of God.

Rebellious & vnnaturall children.

The fatherly honor & loue of a king.

A prowde Prince & an vnthanke full.

God his iust plague.

After him likewise, Richard his sonne (who for his courage was called Cuer de lyon) rebelled against his father in the. xxxiiij. yere of his reigne. And also Iohn his yongest sonne did not much degenerate from his Brethrens steppes. In so much that the aforesayde Richarde, lyke an vnkinde childe, persecuting and taking part with the French king against his father, brought him to suche distresse of body and minde, that for thought of heart he fell into an Ague, and within foure dayes dyed in Normandy when he had reigned. xxxiiij. yeares. ix. Monethes and odde dayes, whose Corps, as it was caryed to be buried, at Founteuerard in Fraunce, Richarde his sonne comming by the way and meeting it, & beginning for compassion to weepe, the blood burst incontinent out of the nose of the dead king at the comming of his sonne, geuing thereby as a certaine monstracion, howe he was the Author of his death.

Kinges it should seeme were not cered and closed in leade at those dayes.

It is written of this King that he first ordeyned that Lyons shoulde be kept in the Tower of London.

RICHARDE THE FIRST.

1189

RIchard the first of that name, and eldest sonne lyuing of king Henry the second, for his valiaunt and lustie courage, surnamed Cuer de lyon, that is the heart of a Lyon, began his reigne ouer thys realme of England the sixt day of Iuly in the yere of our Lorde. 1189. and reigned. ix. yeres and. ix. monethes and odde dayes.

This king Richard prouyded diligently after the death of his father to set good rule in Normandy. For first of all he sommoned a Parliament in Normandy, and caused all the Nobles of that Countrie to sweare fealtie vnto him. After that beyng desyrous to know what treasure his father had left behynde him, and where it was, he commytted to warde Stephen Lieutenant of Aniow, and by that meanes compelled him to bring out all the treasure which he had long before layde vp in dyuerse Castels by the commaundement of king Henry his father.

And whiles he was thus occupied (sayth Polydore) his brother Iohn came vnto him, whom he receyued very curteously, and aduaunced him to many high dignities and preferments, as afterwardes shall be declared.

Then calling to remembraunce the captiuitie of Alianor his mother, which as yet was in durance in Englande, he streight wayes sent ouer hys letters and commaunded that she

should be forthwith set at libertie, committyng the whole order and gouernement of the realme vnto her, who beyng set at libertie, roade throughout the Realme, and shewed great curtesy vnto the people in all places: and as one that in her selfe had felt the grieuous miseries of captiuitie, pitiyng the case of all such as were pressed therewith, losed all captiues and prisoners wheresoeuer she came.

Then enteryng into league with Philip the French king, he receyued againe all the holdes and peeces which his father had lost a little before, at what tyme, also he tooke vnto him Adela sister vnto the French king, which was promised vnto him in his fathers life tyme: But shortly after hauyng a vehement presumption that she had bene carnally knowne of his sayd father, he sent her home againe vnto her brother, but not without an honourable dowrye, and manye riche and large giftes. And after this he sped him into England, and first of all went vnto Winchester, & then to Saresbury, where he founde no small treasure: For as the fame went, there was found besides apparell, Iewelles, and plate, nine hundreth thousande poundes in coyne. From thence returned he to London, and was the thirde day of the moneth of September folowyng crowned at Westminster of Baldwyn Archbishop of Cauntorbury. Vpon the which day the Iewes that then dwelt in England, and namely in the Citie of London and suburbes of the same, beyng assembled together, a great number of them presumed farther then was lawfull for them to do. For which presumption, they were first rebuked, and after one of them was striken by one of the kinges chiefe officers, which thing beyng seene of the common people, who supposed the same to be done by the kinges commaundement, did therefore in a fury (as persons asmuch hated of the people as the deuill himselfe, for their vsury and other their vnhappie condicions) fall vpon them, and chased them to their houses, and robbed and spoyled them without all pitie, and brent some of their houses, whereof the rumor ranne to Westminster to the kinges heeryng. Wherefore in all haste he sent downe, geuyng streyte commaundement that they shoulde ceasse off that ryot: But the people were in such yre and madnesse, that they refrayned not for all the kinges commaundement, vntill they had executed the full of their malice. And albeit, that this ryot was afterwarde grieuously declared against the Commons of the Citie, yet it passed vnpunished, for the great number of the transgressors. And the sayd day of Coronation, all prisoners that lay in any prison about London at the kinges sute, or for other small and trifling actions, were freely discharged and deliuered.

A riot made vpon Iewes.

A charitable deede which is not of late vsed.

Sone after the king gaue many dignities, namely to his brother Iohn he gaue the Prouynces of Notingham, Deuonshire, and Cornewall, and created him Erle of Lancaster. And then the king ordeyned the Citie of London to be ruled by two Bailifes, whose names and surnames, together with the names of all the Mayors and Shrifes of the Citie of London are regestred in a Table in the ende of this booke, with the seuerall yeres that euery of them was in, aswell of the reignes of euery king, as also the yeres of our Lorde.

The names & surnames of Baylifes, Maiors, and Shirifes of London, are in a Table in the ende of this booke

And here is a meete place to say somewhat of the gouernement of this noble Citie of London, for that in this first yere of the reigne of this famous Prince, the same was gouerned by two Baylifes, as may appere by Fabian. The which Fabian also sayth, that the same before tyme was gouerned by persones graue and wyse, and were named Portgreues, or rather Portgraues, the which is deriued of two Saxon wordes (as he sayth) that is to say, Port, and Greue, or rather Graue, for so are the rulers of the townes in Duchelande called at this day, that is to say, all such Rulers of townes or Countries as are nere the sea, are called Mergraue, as at this day in Andwarpe, the chiefe ruler is called Mergraue, that is to say, the Erle or Lorde of a towne or Countrie ioynyng to the sea, and such rulers as are higher into the lande, and farther from the sea, are called Lantgraue, that is, the ruler or Erle of a Citie or Countrie within the lande so that these wordes Portgraue, which Fabian interpreteth, the ruler of a towne, I do accompt it not so nere the truth, as to enterpret it as it is at this day in London, we call the ruler thereof

thereof not onely Maior, because he is the chiefe ruler of the Citie, but we adde for a more dignitie vnto that state, and call him Lorde Maior: So thinke I of Portgraues, for Port is a towne, and Graue is an Erle, and that they were then accompted as chiefe Lordes or Erles of the Citie, and were of no lesse estimation then the ruler is nowe, although peraduenture not so glorious. And the name of the Shirifes of London at this day, which are vnder officers vnto the Maior, are in all the Queenes writtes named *Vice commiti*, that is vnder Erles, or vnder Lordes, or vnder rulers.

It was not long after that the king had thus exalted his brother Iohn (as aboue is shewed) but that he also preferred him to the maryage of the Erle of Gloucesters daughter, by reason whereof he was Lord of that Erledome. These great aduaunceméntes made him after vnkinde to his brother and by pryde thereof to couet after the whole kingdome.

This yere also king Richard was assoyled, of the rebellion that he vsed against his father. In recompence whereof (sayth Guydo) he voluntarily tooke vpon him and promised to warre vpon Christes enemies, but to speake truly, it was at the request of the Pope. Absolucion.

And this yere, as sayth Fabian, king Richard gaue ouer the Castelles of Barwike, and Rokesborough to the Scottishe king, for the summe of ten thousand pound, for the exployte of his voyage to Ierusalem.

And about this tyme as sayth Iohn Maior, in his Chronicle of Scotland, there were many robbers and outlawes in England, among the which number, he specially noteth Robert Hood, whom we now call Robyn Hood, and little Iohn, who were famous theues, they continued in woodes, mountaynes, and forestes, spoilyng and robbing, namely such as were riche. Murders commonly they did none, except it were by the prouocation of such as resisted them in their rifelynges and spoyles. And the sayde Maior sayth, that the aforesaid Robyn Hood had at his rule and commaundement an hundreth tall yomen, which were mightie men and exceedyng good archers, and they were mainteyned by suche spoyles as came to their handes: And he sayth moreouer, that those hundreth were such picked men, and of such force, that foure hundreth men who soeuer they were, durst neuer set vpon them. And one thing was much commended in him, that he would suffer no woman to be oppressed, violated or otherwise abused. The poorer sort of people he fauoured, and would in no wise suffer their goodes to be touched or spoyled, but relieued and ayded them with suche goodes as hee gate from the riche, which he spared not, namely the riche priestes, fat Abbottes, and the houses of riche Carles. And although his theft and rapyne was to be contemned, yet the aforesayd Aucthour prayseth him and sayth, that among the number of theeues, he was worthie the name of the most gentle theefe.

Robert Hood otherwise called Robin Hoode.

Robin Hood had an hundreth tall yome waityng vpon him.

A worthie vertue in a theefe.

A gentle theefe.

But in an olde and auncient Pamphlet I finde this written of the sayd Robert Hood. This man (sayth he) discended of a noble parentage: or rather beyng of a base stocke and linage, was for his manhoode and chiualry aduaunced to the noble dignitie of an Erle, excellyng principally in Archery, or shootyng, his manly courage agreeyng therevnto; But afterwardes he so prodigally exceeded in charges and expences, that he fell into great debt, by reason whereof, so many actions and sutes were commenced against him, whereunto he aunswered not, that by order of lawe he was outlawed, and then for a lewde shift, as his last refuge, gathered together a companye of Roysters and Cutters, and practised robberyes and spoylyng of the kinges subiects, and occupied and frequented the Forestes or wilde Countries. The which beyng certefyed to the King, and he beyng greatly offended therewith, caused his proclamation to be made that whosoeuer would bryng him quicke or dead, the king would geue him a great summe of money, as by the recordes in the Exchequer is to be seene: But of this promise, no man enioyed any benefite. For the sayd Robert Hood, beyng afterwardes troubled with sicknesse, came to a certein Noury in Yorkshire called Bircklies, where desiryng to be let blood, he was betrayed & bled to death. After whose death the Prioresse of the same place caused him

to be buried by the high way side, where he had vsed to rob and spoyle those that passed that way. And vpon his graue the sayde Prioresse did lay a very fayre stone, wherein the names of Robert Hood, William of Goldesborough, and others were grauen. And the cause why she buryed him there, was, for that the common passengers and trauailers knowyng and seeyng him there buryed, might more safely and without feare take their iorneys that way, which they durst not do in the life of the sayd outlawes. And at eyther ende of the sayde Tombe was erected a crosse of stone, which is to be seene there at this present.

Little Iohn.

Gerardus Marcator in his Cosmographie and discription of England, sayth that in a towne or village called little Moraine in Scotland, there are kept the bones of a great and mightie man, which was called little Iohn, among the which bones, the huckle bone or hip bone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Boethus, that he thrust his arme through the whole thereof, and the same bone being conferred to the other partes of his body, did declare the man to be. xiiij. foote long.

1190

2

Taxes, tolles Subsedies.

But before the king tooke his iourney, great preparation was made for money. At that time it appereth that taxes, tolles, exactions, and subsidies, eyther were not knowen, or not so much then had in vse as of late tymes they haue bene: By reason whereof, this king was driuen to make other shift, by sellyng Lordships, Castels, Offices, Liberties, Priuileges, Bishoprikes, &c. And as he sayd himselfe, he woulde haue solde London also, if he coulde haue found any able to buy it. Vpon this occasion it came that diuerse Bishoppes, namely such as were best monyed, purchaced to their Bishoprikes dyuerse Lordshippes, as Godfrey Bishop of Winchester, purchased Wargraue, and Menes. And Hugh Bishop of Durham purchased the Lordship called Hadberge with all the appurtenances, for fiue hundreth Markes. &c. And also he purchased the whole Prouince of Durham of the king to be his awne, and himselfe to be made Erle of the same, wherupon the old wryters as Houeden Cestrensis, and other, rebuke the sayde Bishop in their Chronicles, the king also iestyng at the same, saiyng, that of an olde Bishoppe, he had made a yong Erle.

Bishops became great purchasers.

The Bishop of Durham was made Erle of Durham.

1191

3

Now when king Richard had appoynted all things for his iourney, and the same beyng in a redinesse, he then commytted the custodie of his realme of England into the handes of foure men, that is to say, two Prelates, and two lay men, of whom the two Prelates, which were Hugh Bishop of Durisme, and William Bishop of Ely, were the chiefe and principall. These two fallyng at varyance amongest themselues for superioritie, at length this order was taken by the king: That the Bishop of Durisme (who a little before had purchased of the King certeine free Lordshippes, and also to remaine as Iustice without controlment or checke as aforesayd) should haue vnder hys custodie, from Humber to the Scottishe sea: The other Bishop, which was the Bishop of Ely, should haue all the South partes besides: But the sayde Ely beyng more ambicious, so practised with the king, and by the kings Ambassadors sent his letters to the Pope, that at the last he obteyned the auctoritie Legantine ouer the whole realme of England.

Contention for superioritie.

And as soone as the king had thus set the realme of England in an order, he then sayled into Normandy, where he settyng that country also vnder safe keping, did shortly after mete with the French king called Philip the second, and after with Frederick the Emperor, & they together set forward on theyr iourney vntill they came to Turon, and there they passed away the winter. In the which time eyther of them with other made assurance for the continuance of that great iourney. And at the spring time of the yere, these three great Princes set forwarde on their voyage toward the holy lande. That is to say, king Richard by the sea, and the Emperour and king Philip by land, and appoynted to meete together in the land of Scicill. But king Richard, as sayth an olde written Chronicle, before his departure called all his Lordes and knightes vnto him, and did swere them for euermore to be true vnto him, and to take his part. And in token thereof he

he gaue to euery of them a blewe Lace or Ribband to be knowen by, and hereof (sayth that olde Chronicle) began the first occasion of the order of the Garter.

In this meane time in England, the Iewes in dyuerse places of this realme, as Lincolne, Staunford, and Linne were robbed and spoyled: And at Yorke to the number of foure hundreth of them and mo, did cut their master vaynes, and so bled to death, as sayth Fabian.

These two kings according to their appoyntment met in Scicill, where grudge began to kindle betwene them. And the cause thereof as Reynulph sayth, first began for that king Richard denyed vnto king Philip the halfe of his winninges in Cypres according to the couenant assured betweene them at Turon. But king Richard sayde that the conuention stretched no farther then to such goodes as should be wonne within the limmites and boundes of the holy lande. Another cause of grudge was, by reason that the French king ayded not the Erle of Campayne beyng in distresse and neede. Wherefore the sayd Erle beyng therewith discontent, sayd to the Frenche king: Sir hetherto I haue done according to my duetie: But hereafter I will doe as neede compelleth me. For your grace hath hetherto cherished mee but for mine, but now I will go to him that is more redier to geue then to take, and so departed vnto king Richarde where he was right well enterteyned. And the third cause was, as saith Reynulph, that king Richard at his first entring into Scicill maryed the sister of the king of Nauerne, where before he had promised the sayde French king to haue maryed his sister Adela. But the French Chronicle chargeth king Richard to be in great fault, namely that he was a breaker of promise in all that he couenaunted with king Philip, and also that he solde the Isle of Cipres which he wan before he came vnto Syria vnto the Templers, for thirtie thousande Marke, and after tooke it from them againe by strength, and exchaunged it with Guy of Lesyngham that was the last christened king of Ierusalem, for the same kingdome, and therefore the kings of England were long time after called kings of Ierusalem. Also that he should take from a knight of the Duke of Ostrich ỹ said Dukes Baner, beyng first set vpon the walles of Acon at the skalyng thereof, and in dispite of the sayde Duke, did treade it vnder his feete, and did vnto it all the dispite that he might, and set his awne Banner in the same place. And also that where Conradus Marques of Tyre was trayterously slaine by two of his awne seruauntes, king Richard should lay the charge of the fault therof vnto the French king. And for these grudges and sicknesse, with also feare of treason (as sayth the French Chronicle) to be wrought betwene Saladine the Soudane and king Richard: king Philip returned first into Appulia, and then to Rome, whether he had vowed a pilgrimage, and from thence into Fraunce.

King Richarde charged by the French men with many great offeces.

But howsoeuer the breach was betwene the foresayd two kinges, great pitie it was, for as long as they continued in amitie together, so long they did many valiaunt and famous actes, as in winnyng of Acon, and dyuerse other Cities, and many mo had like to haue bene done, if they had not disseuered themselues. And not long after the departure of the Frenche king, king Richarde at the next spring folowing returned also. Who in his returne, driuen by distresse of weather about the partes of Austria, in a towne called Sinaca, was there taken by Leopold Duke of the same countrie, who solde him to the Emperour for three score thousand Markes (though all wryters do not agree vpon the somme) and for no small ioy thereof, the sayd Emperor wryteth to the French king these Letters folowyng.

1192
4
Contention is the cause of losse and hinderance.

1194
6
King Richard taken prisoner in Austriche.

Henry by the grace of God Emperour of the Romaynes euer most noble, to his welbeloued and especiall friend Philip the famous king of France sendeth gretyng, with further declaration of his syncere loue: Forasmuch as, the Empyre doubteth not but that your kingly magnificence, is alwayes right ioyous to heere of any such thing with the which the Almightie power of our creator hath adorned and aduaunced vs and our Romaine Empyre, we thought good by the tenor of these presentes to declare vnto your noblenesse that the enemye of our Empire, and perturber of your Kingdome the king of Englande, as he

Henry ỹ sixt of that name Emperour, and sonne of Frederick.

was passyng the sea in his returne homewardes from the laude of promes, it chaunced (the ship in which he was, beyng wrecked) that he was dryuen by the winde into the coast of Histria, vnto a place which is betwene Aquileia and Venice, whether the sayde king by the sufferance of God after his Shipwreck with a fewe other escaped. Wherevpon our faythfull friend the Erle Maynard of Goorce, and the people of that coūtry, hering that he was in their land, & diligently considering, what prodicion spoyle and treason the sayde king had vsed in the laude of promes, did pursue him entending to take him captiue: And after they had put the king to flight, they tooke. viij. of his knightes prisoners. And afterwardes the sayde king went forwarde to a Borough in the Archebishoprike of Salsburge named Frisors, where Fredericke of Betsow, as the king was postyng toward Austria in the night season, tooke sixe of his knightes prisoners. And our welbeloued cosyn Leopold Duke of Austria laiyng wayte by euery way did take the king captiue at Dena in a village nere therevnto, in a simple house. Now therefore seeyng he is in our possession, and hath bene alwayes the cause of molestyng and troubling of you, we considerying the premisses, thought good to signifie thus much vnto your noblenesse, assurying our selues that the same will be right pleasant and acceptable newes vnto you, and an occasion of ioy and gladnes. Geuen at Rithout, the fift Kalendas of Ianuary.

Richard Ceur de lion, why he was so called.

It is read of this Richarde that durying the tyme of his imprisonment, he should slay a Lion, and teare the heart out of his body, and thereof it came that he was called Richard Ceur de Lyon, that is, the heart of a Lion. But of the learned it is thought that this is but a fable, but rather that he was so called for his inuincible courage and strength. The time also of his imprisonment, his brother Ihon by the setting on of the French king, made great war within the land, and tooke by strength the Castell of Windsore, of Notyngham and others, and the French king made strong warre in Normandy.

Howbeit, as touching the returne of king Richard out of Syria, and his taking by Leopald Archeduke of Austrich, the matter is farre otherwise reported by Polidore after this maner: When he had comforted the christian men in Syria, with such words as are before rehearsed, he then hauing prepared his Nauie for that purpose, sent away before him his wyfe Berengaria with her sister Ione and a great part of his army into Sicill, which from thence sayled into Englande: and then he himselfe followed with the rest, which were but a fewe in number, minding to sayle into Thracia: but by tempest his chaunce was to be driuen into Dalmatia, where he arryued and chaunged his apparell, because he would not be acknowne, and determined with him selfe to go home into England through high Almayne, trauayling at his ease, sometime on horseback, and sometime on foote. And when he was come to the Countrie of Austriche, he remembring the breche that was betweene him and the Duke of the same countrie for casting downe his banner from the walles of Acon at the wynning therof: And therefore mistrusting that the saide Duke would be reuenged on him for the sayde dishonour, and being also aduertised by his espialles, that the fame of his comming was now bruted abroade throughout all the Countrie, he beganne to feare himselfe, and therefore trauayled very circumspectly, sending euer hys spialles before to search the wayes that he should passe by. But yet could he by no meanes escape that which was by desteny appointed to happen vnto him. For as sone as he was entered into the Citie of Vienna, which is the chiefe Citie of that Countrie, he was by his tongue knowne to be an Englishman. And because he was more delicate and deyntie then beeame a person being so homely appareled, he was thereby suspected of manye to be the king himselfe, & the rather because it was a constant rumor, that he was come into the Countrie. The duke heeryng of this, beset the house by and by wherein he was lodged with men of armes, that none should escape out, and then sent he other into the house to view and see what maner of guestes were within. When king Richard perceyued that the house was thus beset rounde about with harnessed men, in such wise that it was not possible for hym to flie, he caused himselfe to be apparelled lyke a king, and hauing the same

same constancie of minde which he euer vsed in all his martiall affaires, he shewed himselfe vnto the souldiours, now being entred the house, demaunding of them what the matter was, that they in such forcible wise came vnto him, who aunsered that they came to take him. To whome he answered againe, how it was not seemely for a king to yeelde himselfe prisoner vnto any but to the Duke himselfe, and therefore if the Duke himselfe would come, he would be content to yeelde himselfe vnto him. Then came the Duke, whome the king met and delyuered him his sworde, and so yeelded himselfe vnto him, who being glad that he had gotten such a praye vnlooked for, had him home with hym to hys house, geuing him verie fayre wordes all the waye as he passed, and then delyuered him vnto certeyne noble men of his Countrie to be safely kept. &c,

In this meane time that the king was so occupied in the warres with the Sarasens as is aforesayde, the Bishop of Elye of whome mencion is made before, being first authorised by the king as gouernor of this realme, & after made the Popes Legate, tooke then not a little state vpon him in the absence of the king, in such ambicious and prowde sort that he made all the realme crye out vpon him. This Bishop whose name was William Longchampe a Norman borne, and commyng of a base stocke, after he had aspired to the Bishoprike of Ely, and then to be Chauncelor of England, and after the Popes Legate, hauyng now in the absence of the king the whole rule and gouernement of the Realme in his awne hande, grewe out of measure in suche pompe and pride, that he became intollerable both to the Clergie, and to the Laiety. First he beginneth to assemble a generall counsaile together at London. The colour and pretence was for Religion, but in verye deede, as sayth the olde storyes, the cause was his awne pompe and ambicion, with importunate oppression of the Clergie. And no lesse troublesome was he also vnto the Layty, wonderfully oppressyng the Commons, abusyng the kinges auctboritie, and aduaunsyng vaine glory. His vse was to ride with a thousande horses continually, so that the noble mennes sonnes were glad to become his slaues. And with the best Barons, Erles, and Peeres of this realme, maryed he his Cosyns, Neces and kinswomen (I will not say his daughters) and for all that, his Grandfather was but a poore Ploughman, and his father a Cowheard. And hauyng so tirannously abused his office, fearyng least he shoulde haue bene called to his examination, he fled with a fewe of his trusty seruauntes to Doner Castell, mindyng to haue stolen ouer the sea: And commyng in the night in a womans apparell, with a peece of cloth vnder his Arme, and a met yard in his hande, vpon suspicion (as God would haue it) beyng knowen what he was, his Kerchefe was pulled off his head, & his shauen crowne appered on his head. And then was he drawen along the sea vpon the sandes, with a great wondering of the people: Some rated him, some reuiled him, some bespatteled him, some drawyng him by the armes, some by the legges from place to place, his awne seruauntes not beyng able to helpe him. And at the last they brought him into a seller, where they shut him fast in, and so couered him from the people with shame ynough, vntill the counsaile of the realme sent for him, and after was brought to the Tower of London, and there imprisoned, examined, depriued, and banished the realme: And at the length restored againe by king Richard, and after beyng sent to Rome by the way there dyed. 1197.

1195

William Longchampe Bishop of Ely, a prowde Prelate.

The prowde Bishop of Ely glad to hide his head.

Gods iust plague.

But Polidore sayth, that king Richarde beyng moued therevnto by the dayly complaintes of his nobles, depriued him of the Gouernorship by hys letters, and placed in his steede William Archebishop of Roan, which was the cause that he would haue fled the realme, neither maketh he any mention that he was restored by the sayd king.

And after this, king Richard beyng prisoner, sent Hubert bishop of Sarisbury into England to haue the guydyng thereof, and also to treate with the Lordes and Commons for the kinges deliuery, and for his raunsome: But for the payment of the sayd raunsome all the Wolles of the white Monkes and Chanons in England were solde, and Ringes and Crosses of Preiates, with vesselles and Chalices of all Churches throughout the realme,

and. xvij. Shrines were scraped and spoyled of the golde and siluer, and rich and poore payed dyuerse summes of money to their great losse.

King Richard was raunsomed for a hūdreth thousande pounde.

Now to returne to king Richarde, at the length he was raunsomed for an hundreth thousande pounde, as Polichronicon, Fabian, and Cooper say, from the couetous captiuitie of the Emperour, and beyng deliuered, he returned againe into England, and landed at Sandwiche, and so came to London, where when he had arested him a little while, he then roade with a certeine number of knightes to Notingham, and wanne the Castell by force, and after that the Castell of Tykhill. And shortly after called a counsaile of his Lordes at Winchester, where by auctoritie of the sayd counsaile he depriued Iohn his brother (then beyng in Fraunce) of all honour, and tooke from him all such landes as he before had geuen vnto him, for that in his absence he ioyned with the Frenche king agaynst him, and also sought to haue possessed the Crowne and realme of England into his awne possession.

Iohn y^ brother of king Richard depriued of all honour for rebellion.

1196

And shortly after, that is to say, in the viij. yere of his reigne, he caused himselfe to be crowned againe at Winchester. After which coronation he called a Parliament, by auctoritie whereof, he resumed againe all patentes, and annuities, fees, and other grauntes before his voyage by him solde and graunted, and caused the parties to be contented with such reuenues and profites as they had receyued of the sayde offices or landes, in the tyme of his absence: And spared not for any sufficiencie of wrytyng, that by him before was made.

A Parlamēt wherein patentes & fees were reuoked, which the king had made & granted before his goyng to Ierusalem.

When the king by these aforesayd meanes had gathered some money, he then in the moneth of Iuly sayled into Fraunce, and besieged a Castell called Arques, and sped there, as sayth *Polichronica*, dyuersly, which worde diuersly may well here be spoken. For who so readeth the Frenche Chronicle, shall finde that the French king was victor, although the Englishe booke sayth otherwise, but who had the victory in dede is vncerteine. But the French Chronicle sayth, that king Richard so scarred the French kinges host, that he tooke the kinges Sumpter horse and parte of his treasure. And shortly after a peace was concluded.

Arques Castell.

Then Iohn which had turned to the French king against his naturall brother, seeyng the fame and honour of his brother, and weakenesse and feblenesse of himselfe, made meanes vnto Alianor his mother, by whose mediation he was reconciled againe vnto his brother the king, and after became his true knight.

Iohn was againe reconciled to king Richard his brother.

When the king and his brother Iohn were thus agreed, they road ouer the land to visite the countries, and to see how they were guyded by the kings officers. Among other, two there were, which shewed that they would do many things to the kinges profite, the one was Abbot of Cadonence in Normandye, and the other was named William with the long bearde, as sayth Reynulphe.

Two Promoters.

The Abbot warned the king of the fraude of his officers, whereby he thought by the punishment of his officers, he should winne great fauour of the people. Then this Abbot gate a warrant of the king, and went to London, and there called before him diuerse officers, and caused them to make there accomptes before him. But he dyed shortly, so that his purpose tooke small effect.

And William with the long bearde shewed vnto the king the outrage of the riche men, which (as he sayde) spared their awne, and pilled the poore people. It is sayde that this William was borne in London, and purchased that name by the vse of his beard. He was quicke of witte, and somethyng learned, bolde of speche, and graue of countenance, & toke vpon him greater matters then he could compasse, and some cruelnesse he vsed, as apered in the accusyng of his awne brother of treason, the which was a Citizen of London, and had shewed to him great *loue* and friendship, euen bringyng him vp in his youth.

William with the long bearde.

A Libertyne.

This William stirred and excited the common people to desyre and loue fredome and libertie, and blamed the excesse and outrage of riche men. By such meanes he drue to him many great companies, and with all his power defended the poore mennes causes against the riche, and accused diuerse to the king, shewyng that by their meanes the king

An hipocrite.

lost

lost many forfeytes and escheates. For this cause, gentlemen and men of honour hated him, but he had such comfort of the king, as he kept on his purpose. But afterward, the king heeryng of the congregations that this William made, commaunded him to ceasse off such doynges, that the people might exercise their artes and occupacions: By reason whereof, it was left for a while, but it did not clearely ceasse. For within a while after, they folowed him more then they did before. And then he preached vnto them, the which Sermon is at length set out in Reynulph, the. vij. booke, and. xxx. Chapter, and likewise in Fabian. But after his Sermon, he was sent for to the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, but he came with such a multitude folowyng him, that the Lordes were contented to remit him at that tyme with faire and pleasant wordes, and secretly commaunded certeyne personnes to espie when he was voyde of company, and then to take him and put him in sure kepyng. The which accordyng to the commaundement at tyme conuenient (as they thought) set vpon him to haue taken him: But he with an Axe resisted them, and slue one of them, and after fled into Saint Mary Bow Church in Cheape, and tooke that for his sauegard, defending himselfe by strength. A murderer.

But within a litle while after, by meanes of the heades and rulers of the Citie, the people minished, so that ere it were long he was left with a few personnes, and so was taken, but not without shedding of blood. After which taking, he was arreigned before the Iudges, and there he and. ix. of his adherentes had iudgement to die, and were hanged the day folowyng. But yet the rumour ceassed not, for the common people raysed a great cryme vpon the Archbishop of Cauntorbury and other, and sayd, that by their meanes, William that was an innocent of such crymes, as were obiected and put against him, was a defender of the poore people against extorcioners and wrong doers, and that hee was by them put wrongfullye to death, affirmyng him an holy man, and a martyr in such wise as foloweth. They sayde that a man beyng sicke of a feuer, was cured by vertue of a cheyne which this William was bound withall duryng the tyme of his imprisonment, which by a Priest of the kindred of the sayd William was openly declared and preached. Whereby he brought the people into such an errour that they gaue credence to his wordes, and secretly in the night conueyed away the lebet that he was hanged vpon, and scraped away the blood of him where he was headed and quartered, so that they made there a hollow place, by fetchyng away of that earth, and sayd that sicke men and sicke women were cured of diuerse sicknesses by vertue of that blood and earth. By these meanes, and spreadyng abroade the fame thereof, that place was the more visited by women and vndiscrete personnes, of the which some watched there all night in prayer: so that the lenger this continued, the more outcry and slaunder ranne vpon the Iudges and Iustices that put him to death. William with ye long bearde hanged. Ignorance ye mother and begetter of Superstition and errour.

Howbeit, at the last, when his dedes were declared, as the sleayng of a man with his awne hand, and vsyng of his Concubine within Saint Mary Church of Bow, in the time of his there beyng, as he openly confessed at the houre of his death, with other detestable crymes, somewhat cooled the hastie flame of the hoate Pilgrimage: But not clearely vntill the Archbishop accursed the Priest that brought vp the first tale, and also caused that place to be watched, that such Idolatrie should there no more be vsed. A whoremonger.

Reynulph in his. vij. booke and. xxxj. Chapter maketh mencion that about this tyme a Prince of Wales, whome he called Rees or Rice dyed, in whose prayse this that followeth is written, by the sayde Aucthor.

O blesse of battaile, chylde of chiualrie, defence of Countrie, worship of armes, Arme of strength, hand of largenesse, eye of reason, brightnesse of honestie, bearing in brest, Hectors prowesse, Achilles sharpnesse, Nestors sobernesse, Tydeus hardinesse, Sampsons strength, Hectors worthynesse, Eurialus swiftnesse, Vlixes fayre speech, Salomons wisedome, Aiax hardinesse. O clothing of naked, the hungries meate, fulfilling the request of all that desyred. O Eloquence, felow in seruice, honest of deede, and sober in worde. Glad of semblaunt and loue in face, goodlye to euerye man, and right- Rees or Rice a Prince of Wales.

full to all, the noble Diademe and bewtie of Wales is now falen, that is, Ryce is dead. All Wales groneth, Ryce is dead, the name is not lost, but deferred. The blisse of Wales passeth, Ryce is dead. The enimie is here, for Ryce is not here. Now Wales helpeth not it selfe, Ryce is deade and taken away. But his noble fame is not deade, for it is alway newe in the worlde wyde. If a man aske what is the ende? It is ashes and dust: here is he hid, but he is vnhilled, for fame dureth euermore, & suffreth not the noble Duke to be hid from speeche. His prowesse passed his maners. His wisedome passed his prowesse, his Eloquence exceeded his wisedome, and his good counsayles passed his Eloquence. Hetherto Reynulph.

1197 9

In the Mouth of Aprill and in the. ix. yere of his reigne, when the king had prouyded to sende foorth twentie thousande pounde to the Emperour, for full payment of hys raunsome, the pledges which had lyen for the same came sodainely into England, and shewed vnto the king, that after hys departing the Emperor sent them vnto the Duke of Ostrich, to remayne with him vntill the money were payde. And they sayde also that the Duke was accurssed of Innocent the thirde, then Bishop of Rome, by reason of hys wrong done to king Richarde, and that his Prouince was vexed with manye mischiefes. And as the Duke roade foorth on a day in his disport, being saint Stephens daye, he hurt his foote in such wise with a thorne, or other venym which rankled and grewe so sore, that lastly he must die or cut it of. But in hope of recouery, he continued vntill in the ende there was none other way but death. Then he sent for his Bishops, and desyred to be assoyled of the sentence of the Churche which he stood in. The which was denyed him, except he would sweare to stande and abyde the ordinance and iudgement of holy Church, touching the wrong that he had done to king Richard. The Duke sware and was assoyled: and shortly after, the two Bishops, pledges for the money, were set at their libertie.

King Richard sayleth into Normãdy against the Kinge of Fraunce.

Now king Richard calling to mind that his vttermost day of the truce taken betweene the Frenche king and him drewe nere at hand, he therefore made him readie and sayled into Normandy: where before his comming, the Frenche king, by occasion of the Normans (as sayeth the Frenche booke) was entered the Countrie of Burges, towarde whome king Richarde sped him with all possible speede, so that both hostes laye parted wyth the ryuer of Osson or Ossyne. Then to follow the Frenche booke, for so much as the Englishe Chronicle speaketh little or nothing of this act, let wise men that reade thys Chronicle conster it after it after their discretions: For although the Frenchman wrote it to the honour of his countrie men, it will the rather redound to their dishonor. For thus sayth the sayd Chronicle, these two hostes thus as is abouesayde liyng together without skirmishe or assault, king Richard contrary to the minde and opinion of his Lordes, with a few accompanyed and vnharnessed, came to the French kinges tent, and there in presence of his Lordes did homage to the French king for the Duchie of Normandie, and Counties of Angeow and of Poyters, and there sware to the king to kepe peace duryng his life: And after. viij. dayes met againe and finished the sayde peace with an assured othe on either partie, and after departed as friendes, eyther resortyng into their awne country: but it semed a faynt peace, for within foure monethes next folowyng, king Richard with his hoste entered into the Prouynce of Berry, and layde siege to the Castell of Wyersone, and gate it by strength. And after went to the Castell of Noryncourt, which was deliuered to him by appoyntment.

A tale tolde by a French Chronicler of king Richard.

Wyersone Castell.

When the French king heard of the wynnyng and ouerthrow of the Castell of Wyersone, he in dammagyng of king Richard, layde siege to the Castell of Aubeuyle, and assayled it egerly: But it was so strong and so well defended by the Normans, that the French king was holden off. When king Richard had garnished & fortefied the Castell of Norincourt with all thinges necessary to the warre, he drue him toward Aubenyle to remoue king Philip from that siege, and fell vpon the Frenchmen vnwarily. But the Frenchmen quit themselues so knightly, that they chased king Richarde and his people, and tooke a Norman knight prisoner, named Guy de Thonars, a man of great

Noryncourt Castell.

hardinesse. And then king Philip returned to the towne and Castell of Aubeuile, and assaulted it more sharpely, so that in the ende the Souldiours of the towne yelded it with the Castell for a summe of money. And when he had possession of the towne, he threwe downe the Castell plaine with the ground, and after strengthened the towne with Frenchmen, & then went to the Castell of Gysors, and from thence to the Castell of Norincourt: And assayled it in so cruell maner, that shortly he wan it, & toke therein. xv. knights, and. xxiiij. yomen with plentie of victuall and Armour. Gysors Castell.

In this time and season, king Richard gathered againe a new strength, and allyed himselfe with Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, and Reignold Erle of Dampmartyn and of Boleyn. By whose meanes (as sayth the Frenche booke) king Richard wasted sore the Countrie of Fraunce, and brent therein some Townes and villages, and tooke therein many riche prayes. *Fabian.*

In the. x. yere of his reigne, and about the begynnyng of the moneth of October, king Richard entred into the country of Vnequecyne with a strong host, and made there cruell warre in destroiyng of the country, & assaulted the Castel of Gysors, & threw to the ground a strong hold called Courcellys, and brent thereabout many villages. Wherewith king Philip was so sore amoued, that with a small number of knightes he pierced the hoste of Englishemen, and entred the Castell or towne of Gysors. But of his men were taken a great number, chiefely such as were men of name, with the which prisoners and manye riche prayes the king departed, leauyng the Frenche king within Gysors. Castell of Gysors assaulted.

It was not long after that king Richard was thus departed, but king Philip callyng to mynde the losse and dishonour that he had receyued by that warre, assembled a great army, and entred the Duchie of Normandye, and wasted the country from Newesborough to Beawmont le Rogier. And that done, he returned into Fraunce, and lycenced his knightes eche man to go into his awne countrie.

When the Frenche king had thus taken his pleasure in the spoyle of a great peece of Normaudy, then king Richard with his army entered the former countrey of Vnequecyn, and Bewuocyne, and there tooke as he before had done many rich prayes, and so came away, whome the bishop of Bewuays beyng a good Knight and hardie of his handes, with a companye of knightes and other, folowed to haue reskewed the prisoners that king Rychard had taken. But they themselues were discomfited, and a great many of them taken and slaine. At the same tyme the Erle of Flaunders wyth the helpe of the Englishmen, toke the towne of S. Omer from the French king. Vnequecyne a countrie in Fraunce. The Bishop of Bewuays take prisoner.

Sone after Christmasse next folowyng, king Richard besieged a Castell nere vnto Lymogis. This Castell in the French tongue is called Chalons, & in the English boke it is named Gayllard. But Reynulph calleth it Caulx. Castell of Chalons otherwise called Gaillard, or Caulx.

The cause of this siege (as sayth most wryters) was for certeine riche treasure that was founde within the Seigniory of king Richard, the which one Wydomer vicount of Lemonke had founden, and withholde the same from king Richard, and for his sauegarde fled into the aforenamed Castell, and defended it manfully from the first weeke of Lent, vntill the sixt day of Aprill. Vpon the which day, king Richarde walking vnwisely aboute the Castell, to espie the feblenesse thereof, one named Bertrand Guedon marked the king, and wounded him in the heade (or as some wryte) in the arme, with a venemous quarrell. After which wounde receyued by the king, he commaunded sharpe assault to be made to the Castell, in the which assault the Castell was wonne. King Rychard wounded to death.

Then the king caused inquirie to be made who it was that did hurt him, the which being founde, was brought vnto the kinges presence, and named himselfe as aforesayde, but after some wryters, he was called Peter Basile. Then the king demaunded of him, why he did so lye in waite rather to hurte him, then any other of the company? and he aunswered, because thou slewest my father and my brethren (sayd he) and I entended to aduenge their death what soeuer became of me. Then the king forgaue him his offence, and suffered him to go at libertie. And all the other of the Souldiours that were taken in that The king forgaue his death but other reuenged it.

Castell

Castell were forthwith hanged. But Reynulph sayth, that after king Richard was dead, the Duke of Flaundirs which then was present, caused the sayd Bertrand to be flaine quicke, and after hanged.

Bertrand y^t slue king Richard is put to death.

And within three dayes after the king was hurt, he dyed that is to say, the. ix. day of Aprill, and was buryed as he himselfe willed at Fount Ebrard or Eucrard at the Feete of his father. Howbeit his hart was buryed at Roan, and his bowelles in Poytiers, when he had reigned. ix. yeres, ix. monethes and odde dayes, leauing after him none issue.

KING IOHN.

AFter the Death of king Richarde, reigned his brother Iohn Erle of Morton, yongest sonne of Henry the seconde, called Iohn without lande, who at the tyme of hys brothers death was in Normandy, where immediatly after the death of hys sayde brother he possessed his treasure, and was proclaymed king of England the. vj. day of Aprill 1199. & then sent Hubert Archbishop of Cantorbury into England to make prouision for his coronation. And vpon Easter day next following, he was gyrde with the sworde of the Duke of Briteyn, and sone after came into Englande, where he was crowned king at Westmynster, vpon holye Thursdaye then next following of the aforenamed Hubert.

1199

Coronation of king Iohn at Westminster.

But in this meane time the French king helde a counsayle at Cenamanna in Turon, where (to the derogacon of king Iohn) Arthur the sonne of Geaffrey Plantagenet, and Nephew to the sayde Iohn, was made duke of Briteyn: who incontinently after, with a great armie entered the Countrie of Angeou and tooke possession thereof. And king Philip with his people entred the Duchy of Normandy, and layed siege vnto the Citie of Eureux, and wanne it with all the strong holdes there aboutes, and stuffed them with victuall, and strengthned them with his awne knights, and that done wasted and spoyled the Countrie, vntill he came to the Citie of Meaux, where met with him the aforenamed Arthur, and did to him homage for the Countrie of Angiers. On the other side, the Britones which fauoured Arthur tooke and kept for his behoofe (as sayth Polidore) these townes, Gorneium, Butauentu and Gensolium: and following also the good successe of victorie, recouered againe the Citie of Angiers, the which king Iohn had taken from Arthur the yere before.

Arthur the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet.

In the Moneth of May following, Alianour sometime wyfe to king Henry the second, and mother to king Richard the first came into Fraunce, to the French king to Meux aforesaid, & made him homage for the Countrie of Poyters as her inheritaunce. And sone after the French king returned into Fraunce, & the Duke of Briteyn with hym, which as yet was within age.

Alianor the mother to king Richard the first did homage to ye French king for the county of Poyters.

King Iohn heryng of thys warre in Normandy, and losse of the Countries aboue named, was greatly moued, charging ỳ French king with breche of truce, whervpō he assembled a counsaile and asked ayde of his Lordes and commons, to wynne agayne theaforesayde landes, and there was graunted vnto him as some write three shillings of euery Plough land thorough England beside the subsidie of the spirituall lands. And when all things were in readinesse that was meete for that voyage he then on Saint Iohn Baptistes daye following sayled into Normandy, and came to Roan, where as he was royally receyued, & shortly after a truce was concluded betweene the French king and him for one yere following. And then there came vnto hym the Erle of Flaundyrs, and all other the Lordes of Fraunce that were of king Richards bond and friendship, and were sworne vnto him.

A subsedy of thre shillings of euerye plough land.

King Iohn sayleth into Normandy with a great power.

Not

Not long after, king Philip taking homage of Arthur for the Duchye of Normandie and all other the possessions of king Iohn beyond the sea, promised him helpe against king Iohn. After this king Ihon and the Frenche king spake together about an houres space. And the Frenche king asked so muche lande for himselfe, and Duke Arthur, that king Iohn would none graunt, and so departed in wrath. Philip the French king aydeth Arthur against king Iohn.

The same yere a Legate came vnto King Iohn into England and commaunded him vnder paine of interdiction of his land, that he should deliuer the Archebishop which he kept in Prison. And the king denyed so to do, vntill he had payed him sixe thousand Markes for his raunsome, because he was taken in harnesse in the fielde, and had before sworne that he would neuer weare harnesse agaynst any Christian man. This was ye Archbishop of Bewuays that was taken by king Richard the first in the last yere of his reigne.

1200

At this time a deuorcement was made, betwene king Iohn and Auis his wife, daughter to the Erle of Gloucester, because they were in the thirde degre of kindred. And after by the Counsaile of the Frenche king: King Iohn maried Isabell daughter of the Erle of Angolisme, fianced before vnto Hugh Erle of March, and had by her two sonnes, Henry and Richard, and three daughters, Isabell, Alianor, and Iane.

At this tyme fell strife betwene king Iohn, and Geoffrey Archbishop of Yorke for diuerse causes. First because he woulde not suffer and permit the Shirife of Yorke in such affayres as he had to do for the king, within his diocesse. Secondly, because he did also excommunicate the sayd Shirife. Thirdly because he would not saile with him into Normandy, to make the mariage betwene Lewes the French kinges sonne, and his neece. &c. Variance betwene king Iohn and Geoffrey Archbishop of Yorke.

Polidore sayth, that the cause of this fallyng out of king Iohn with his base brother Geoffrey Archebishop of Yorke, was for that he had reproued him for his great exactions and payments which he layde vpon his people without all measure, by reason whereof he was so much offended with him, that he spoyled him of all that he had, and then banished him out of the court: And such (sayth the aforsayd Author) was the kinges displeasure conceyued against him, that he could not by any meanes be pacified, neyther entreated to receyue him to grace againe, vntill it was a yere after: But here Polidores saiyng is not to be hastily credited of the reader, for truly such was the blindnesse of the tyme, that Polidore had no good opinion of king Iohn, and therfore wryteth very vehemently against him in his History, which vehemency or fonde malice I thought meete rather to suppresse, then to make any mention thereof.

Also in this yere as sayth Reynulph, William king of Scottes did homage to king Iohn at Lincolne, or as some write at London, and sware in the presence of a Legate of Rome, and. xiij. Bishops, to be true liege man to him, and to his heyres kinges. But Hector Boethus sayth, that this homage was done for the landes of Northumberland, Comberland, and Huntingdon, which the Scottishe king helde of the king of England, and not for the realme of Scotland, the which is not true. Homage of William king of Scottes.

At the same time king Iohn, earnestly requested the sayd Scottish king to ayde him agaynst Philip of Fraunce, but he made many excuses that he could not so do, specially without the consent of his Peeres and Commons, that done he hastened himselfe home againe into Scotland.

This yere in the moneth of December were seene in the Element about ten of the Clocke in the night time, in the Prouince of Yorke fiue Moones, one in the West, another in the East, the thirde in the South, the fourth in the North, and the fift in the middest of the Element. The same tyme also in the spring season king Iohn sayled into Normandy, and shortly after went vnto Paris, where he was very honourably receyued of the Frenche king, from whence after he had made a new league with him, he went vnto Chinon, but the sayde league continued but a while. For it was not long after, but that the French king required of king Iohn that he shoulde depart with all his landes in Normandy, and Pictauia, and else where within the dominion of Fraunce, vnto Arthure his nephew, and that incontinent, or else he woulde warre against him, and foorthwith made great prouision for warre, and ioyning with him the sayd Arthur, with a great army and puyssance, A straunge sight.

1201

se t vpon certeyne of his townes and Castels in Normandy, and put him to much vnquietnesse. When king Iohn heard of this, he forthwith assembled a counsail, and prayed an ayde agaynst the French king, which was graunted vnto him. And with all spede possible prepared an army & sailed ouer, and gaue an onset on his enemies with such force (as by the prouision of almightie God the geuer of all victory) the French king and his complices had such a repulse at the English mennes handes, that they pursuyng the French men, in their flight did so nerely folow them into their holde, and so enforced vpon them, that they not onely tooke the sayde Arthur prisoner, with manye other of the Frenche men, but also gaue such an ouerthrow to the rest, that none was there left to beare tydynges home.

King Iohn sayleth again into Fraunce with a power against the French king and Arthur deke of Briteyne, and had a great victory.

This Arthur was sonne to Geoffrey Duke of Briteyn, which was the elder brother of king Iohn, and so thys Arthur was king Iohns Nephew. And to make the matter more euident, king Henry the second had eyght children, one Wylliam which dyed in his childhood, the second Henry, which also dyed in his youth, after he was crowned king, hys father being alyue, the third Geoffrey Duke of Briteyn, which also dyed in hys fathers life time, leauing behinde him two children, Arthur and Brecca, the fourth Richarde the first, surnamed Cuer de lyon, the fift Iohn who succeeded Richard hys brother, with three other daughters named, Elianor married to the king of Spaine, Ione Countesse of Tholouse, and Mawde Duches of Saxon, that afterwards was Empresse.

The pedegre of Arthur Duke of Briteyn.

The sayde Arthur being thus taken in warre, was brought before the king at the Castle of Falesie in Normandy, who being exhorted with manye gentle wordes to leaue the French king, and to enclyne to his Vncle, aunswering agayne stoutly and with great indignation, required the kingdome of Englande with all there to belonging to be restored to him, as to the lawfull heyre of the Crowne: by reason whereof, prouoking the kinges displeasure against him, he was sent to the Tower of Roane, where at the length, whether by leaping into the diche, thinking to make his escape, or whether by some other priuie hande, or by what chaunce else it appereth not certaine by stories, he finished his life, by the occasion whereof, the sayd Iohn was had after in great suspicion, whether iustly or vniustly God knoweth.

Arthures most stowte aunswere.

Arthures death.

Thys yere as sayeth Fabian there were chosen in London. xxxv. of the most substanciall and wisest Citizens, which were called the counsaile of the Citie, out of the which number yerelye the Baylifes, and afterwarde the Maiors and Shirifes were chosen.

Counsaile of the Citie.

1202

This yere as Historiographers write, king Iohn for lacke of good prouision to be made in tyme, lost all his holdes and possessions in Normandie, through the force and power of the French king.

King Iohn lost al that he had in Normandy.

And after these losses came other troubles vpon him as great or greater enemies, that was the Pope and his Cardinalles, by occasion of chosyng the Archbishop of Cauntorbury which afterwarde shall be at large declared.

Troubles & vexations encreace vpon king Iohn.

And this yere also (as sayth Reynulph) happened many great and wonderfull tempestes, with lightninges and thunder, and the same also was of long continuaunce, and in that tempest there fell hayle of the greatnesse of Hennes egges, the which destroyed fruite, corne and cattell, besyde manye other hurtes that the same did. And the same time also there were seene spirites in the ayre (as the aforesayd auchour sayth) fleyng lyke fowles bearing fyre in their billes, and did set diuerse houses on fyre.

And in the sayde yere in the moneth of Iuly dyed Queene Alianor the kinges mother, and shortly after dyed also Hubert Archebishop of Cauntorbury: whose deceasse after it was knowen to the Monkes of Cauntorbury, before his body was yet cõmitted to the earth, the yonger sort of ỹ Monkes there gathered themselues together at midnight, and elected their Subprior Reignold: without the kinges licence or yet his knowledge, and they preuilye placed him in the Metropoliticall seate, singyng *Te deum* at midnight. And because the King shoulde not make their election voyde, they charged him foorthwith to go to Rome to the Pope for his confirmation, and made him to sweare that he should kepe all thinges secrete by the way as he went, & not to make their doyngs knowen to any man before he came

Hubert Archbishop of Cãterbury deceassed.

Arregant and craftie Monkes.

to

to the Pope. But he contrarye to his othe, assoone as he came into Flaunders, opened abroade all the matter and vttered their counsaile. Wherevpon the Monkes beyng not a little agreeued with him, sent to him preuily that without delay he should go forwarde of his iourney. And so soone as he was departed, the next day folowyng they sent to the king, desiryng of him his gracious licence Canonically to choose their Archbishop. The king most gentely and fauourably graunted their peticion, requiring them instantly, and desiryng that for his sake they would shewe fauour to Iohn Gray then Bishop of Norwiche, and president of his counsaile as they did in deede, erecting him into that seate of high Primacie.

Nowe when this their election was presented vnto the king, the king gaue vnto them his great and heartie thankes, and of his awne costes and charges he sent his messengers vnto Rome to the Pope to haue the same election ratefied. 1203 5

After the former elections made as aforesayde, the suffraganes of Cantorburye beyng not a little offended at the sayde elections, sent spedilye to Rome, to haue them both staied, for that they were not called to neither of the elections: By reason whereof there grewe a great tumult.

This yere sayth Fabian by reason of fowle weatheryng, wheate was solde for. xv. shillinges the quarter, which was then thought a great price, and euen so it was if ye consider the value of their money, which was then valued at. xx. pence the ounce of siluer, and now it is currant with vs at fiue shillings the ounce, and so after that rate, when they payed. xv. shillinges for a quarter, the same was of our money. xlv. shillings a quarter.

And in the Sommer next folowyng, king Iohn maryed his bastarde daughter vnto Lewlyn Prince of Wales, and gaue with her the Castell and Lordship of Elyngsmer, beyng in the Marches of Southwales.

This yere the Suffraganes of the Prouynce of Cauntorbury of the one side, and the Monkes of Cauntorbury on the other syde, came before the Pope with their lewde elections. First the Monkes presentyng Reignold their Subprior, desired that their election might be confirmed. The Suffraganes likewise complayned that the Monkes woulde presume to choose the Archebishop without their consent, and therefore desired by diuers reasons the first election to be of none effect. The Pope decisyng the matter betwene them both, pronounced with the Monkes, chargyng the Suffraganes and Bishops to medle no more with that election, but to let the Monkes alone. 1206 8

The Suffraganes discharged by the Pope, from the election of the Archbishop.

The Monkes of Cauntorbury now hauyng the whole election in their awne handes, fell also at a square among themselues, the yonger sort with the elder. The yonger sort which had chosen Reignold their Subprior, would haue that election to stande. The olde sort of Monkes replied againe, saiyng: that the first election was by stealth and by night, and by the yonger part also without the consent of the elder Monkes, and also done without the kinges licence or appoyntment, and without the due solemnitie therevnto belongyng. And as concernyng our election, say they, it was done in the cleare day light, by the which it had auctoritie, and in the presence of oure liege Lorde the king, and his consent and counsaile, beyng to the same.

This Allegation thus proponed, the Subpriors proctor, or man of law, stood foorth and proued the former election to be good, and this latter to be voyde and of no value, after this sort. Whether the first election (sayth he) were iust or vniust, ye ought first by the lawe to haue condemned it, before ye should haue presumed to the seconde: But this ye did not, therefore is this your latter doyng no election at all, the first therefore is rather to be ratefied than yours.

When they had thus multiplied talke vpon both sydes, with many friuolous allegations a long time, and could not agree vpon one person. Pope Innocent condemned both these elections, commaunding them to chose Stephen Langton, then Cardinall of Saint Chrisogone for the Archebishop of Cauntorbury. The Monkes then aunswered, that they durst not so do, without the consent of their king, and also for that it was preiudi-

Stephen Langton named Archbishop by the Pope.

ciall to their auncient liberties. The Pope by and by (sayth the story) as one in a fury, takyng their wordes out of their mouthes, sayd thus vnto them, we will you to knowe it, that we haue full power and auctoritie ouer the Church of Cantorbury: neither are we wont to tary the consent of Princes, therefore we commaund you vpon paine of our great cursse that ye chose him onely whom we haue appoynted you.

The Popes great curse is of great force forsooth.

The Monkes at these wordes were abashed and terrefied (although they much murmured in their hearts) yet consented all in one, & thervpon sang, *Te Deum*: only did Doctor Helias Brantfield withdraw himselfe from that election, whom the king had sent for the admission of the Bishop of Norwiche.

Thus was Stephen Langton in the high Church of Viterby by Innocent the Popes awne mouth made Archbishop of Cantorbury. From thence foorth therefore (sayth Mathew of Paris) the Pope could do no lesse, but mightely defend him from all vexation and daunger, considering that he was of his awne preferment.

Matheus Parisiensis.

1207 9

Vpon this occasion king Iohn conceyued an exceedyng displeasur against the Monkes of Cantorbury (as he had good cause) they doyng so many euils against his Princely prerogatiue: Without his licence they elected their Archbishop, and put by the Bishop of Norwiche whom he had appoynted: They wasted a great part of his treasure for the warres, and vtterly against the kings minde they made Stephen Langton their Metropolitane, whom he toke for a grieuous enimy vnto the whole realme, chiefly for that he was alwayes so familiar with the French king. Wherefore in his anger he banished them out of his land to the number of. lxiiij. for their contumacy and contempt of his regall power.

King Iohn banished the Monkes of Cantorbury out of his realme.

The Monkes of Cauntorbury thus beyng banished, the king forthwith sendeth messengers to the Pope with his letters, wherein he doth sharpely and expressly quarell with the Pope: First, for that he so vncurteously did adnihilat the election of the Bishop of Norwich, & set vp one Stephen Langton, a man vnknowne to him, and brought vp amongst his enimies along tyme in the kingdome of Fraunce, consecrating him Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and letting the other go. Also, which is more, it redowneth, sayth he, to the subuersion and derogation of the liberties apperteining to his crowne, that his consent being not asked before of the Monkes, which should haue bene done, they notwithstanding rashly presumed to promote and preferre the same election. Wherefore he cannot maruaile he sayth, ynough, that neither the sayde Pope, nor the court of Rome doth consider, and reuolue with themselues, how necessary his loue and fauour hath bene alwayes hetherto vnto the See of Rome: and that they fixe not the eye of reason vpon thys, what great fruite and reuenues hath proceeded hetherto to them oute of the realme of Englande, the lyke whereof hath not bene receyued out of any other Country besides, on this side the Alpes. He addeth moreouer & sayth, that for his liberties, he will stand, if neede be, vnto death, neyther can he be so remoued and shaken off from the election of the bishop of Norwich, which he seeth to be to him so commodious and profitable. Finally thus he concludeth, saiyng: that in case in this his request he be not heard, he will so prouide by the seas, that there shall bee no such gadding nor coursing ouer any more to Rome, suffering the ryches of the lande anye more to be exported ouer, whereby he should himselfe be the lesse able to withstand his enimies. And seing he hath of his awne at home both Archebishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of the Church, both of Englishmen and of other, sufficiently prouided and instructed in all kinde of knowledge, therefore he shall not neede to seeke for iustice and iudgement any farther abroad. Now when these letters came to the Popes intelligence, he directeth letters to the king agayne in this forme.

King Iohns letters to the Pope.

1208 10

Innocent Pope, seruaunt of the seruants of God, to oure welbeloued sonne in Christ, the king of England, health & Apostolicall blessing: where as we haue written to you heretofore exhorting and entreating you after an humble, gentle, and diligent sorte, concerning the matter of the Church of Cauntorbury, you haue written to vs againe after a threatning sort, and vpbrayding manner, both spitefully, and also frowardly. And where as wee more and aboue that our right and duetie required, haue borne and geuen to you:

The Popes letters written to King Iohn.

you

you againe for your parte haue geuen to vs not so much as by right and duetie ye are bound to doe. And though your deuocion (as ye say) hath bene to vs very necessary, yet consider againe, that oures also is not a little oportune and expedient for you. And where as we in suche lyke cases haue not shewed at any time the lyke honor to any Prince, as vnto you, you agayne haue so much derogated to our honour, as no Prince else hath presumed to doe, but you alone, pretending certaine friuolous causes and occasions I cannot tell what, why you would not condiscend to the election of Stephen Langton Cardinall of Saint Chrisogono chosen by the Monkes of Cauntorbury, for that the sayde Stephen, as you say, hath bene conuersaunt and brought vp among your enimies, and his person to you vnknowne. But you know what is the Prouerbe of Salomon: The net is cast: but in vayne in the eyes and sight of the fliyng birdes, with much other matter more in the same epistle, wherin he falleth into commendation of Stephen Langton his Cardinall, declaryng howe learned he was in the liberall artes, and in diuinitie, insomuch as he was prebentuted at Paris, also come of an honest stock, and an English man borne, and not vnknowen to the king, seeyng the King had written thrise to him before, &c. Moreouer, declaryng in the sayde letter, howe the messengers of the King had specefied to him another cause, which was, for that the Monkes of Cauntorbury which had to do in the election, came not to him before for his consent, declaryng moreouer in the sayd letter, how the sayde Messengers of the king intreated in the kinges behalfe, that forsomuch as the Popes letters wherein the king was commaunded to send his Proctours to Rome for the same matter, came not to the kinges handle, neither did ỹ Monkes direct any such letters or message to the king to haue his consent, therefore, that the Pope consideryng the same, would graunt so much for the regard of the kinges honour, that the Monkes of Cauntorbury should proceede, not without the kinges assent therein: And forasmuch as that hath not bene done as yet, therefore they desyred some delay therein to be geuen sufficient for the doyng thereof. Wherevnto he sayde, that he had graunted and fulfilled his request, in sendyng his messengers and letters once or twise for the same purpose, although he sayd it was not the maner of the See Apostolike, who hath the fulnesse of power ouer the church of Cantorbury, to wayte for Princes consentes in such elections, who then coulde not be suffered to do that which they came for. &c. Wherefore in the knittyng vp of his letter, he concludeth in these wordes.

And therefore, seeyng the matter so standeth, we see no cause why we should require or tary for the kinges fauour or consent any more therein, but intend so to proceede in this matter, neither enclynyng on the right hande, neyther yet on the left, according as the canonicall ordinances of the holy fathers shall direct vs: that is, that all impediments and delayes set asyde, so to prouide that the Church of Cauntorbury be no lenger destitute of her Pastour. Wherefore, be it knowen to your discretion or kingly prudence, that forsomuch as this election of Stephen Langton, hath orderly and concordly thus proceded without fraude or deceite vpon a person meete for the same: therefore we will not for no mannes pleasure, neyther may we without daũger, of fame and of conscience, differre or protract any lenger the consummation of the sayde election. Wherefore my welbeloued sonne, seeyng we haue had respect to your honour aboue that our right and duetie requireth. studye to honour vs so muche as your dutie requireth againe, so that you may the more plentifully deserue fauour both at Goddes handes and oures, least that by the doyng the contrary. you bring your selfe into such a pecke of troubles, as afterward ye shall scarce rid your selfe of againe. For this know for a certeine, in the ende it must needes fall out, that he shall haue the better, vnto whom euery knee heauenly, earthly, and infernall creatures do bowe, whose turne I serue in earth, though I be vnworthie. Therefore settle not your selfe to obey their perswasions whiche alwayes desyre your vnquietnesse, whereby they may the better fishe in the water when it is troubled, but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which vndoubtedly shall turne to your prayse, glory, and honour, for it should not be much for your safety in this cause to resist God and the

Church, in whose quarrell that blessed Martyr and glorious Thomas hath of late shed his blood, especially seeyng your father and your brother of famous memory then kings of England did geue ouer those three wicked customes into the handes of the Legates of the See Apostolique. But if you will yelde your selfe humbly into our handes, we will looke that you and yours shall be sufficiently prouided for, that no preiudice may aryse hereupon to you ward.

Geuen at Laterane the tenth yere of our popedome.

1209 ¶ Not long after this letter was sent out, there folowed especiall charge and commaundement sent into England vnto certeine Bishops there, requyryng them by auctoritie Apostolicall, that if the sayd king would not receiue the aforenamed Prior of Cãtorbury and his Monkes, that then they should enterdict the king throughout all his realme. For the executing whereof, foure Bishops were appoynted by the auctoritie of the popes Bulles, that is to say, William Bishop of London, Eustace Bishop of Ely, Walter bishop of Winchester, and Gyles Bishop of Herford. Which sayd foure Bishoppes went vnto the king, and shewed them their commission from the Pope (as is abouesayde) willyng him to consent therevnto. &c.

William bishop of London, Eustace Bishop of Ely, Walter bishop of Winchester Giles bishop of Herford.

But the king refused the same, and would by no meanes graunt theyr request: Wherevpon, they departyng from his grace, went the morow after the Annunciation of our Lady, and pronounced the sayde generall interdiction throughout the realme of England: so that the Church dores were shut vp with keyes and other fasteninges, and with walles. &c.

The Bishops enterdicted yᵉ king and all the realme.

Nowe when the king heard of this, he began to be moued against them, and tooke all the possessions of the foure bishops into his handes, appoynting certeine men to kepe the liuyngs of the Clergie throughout the realme, that they should enioy no part thereof. Which thing when the Bishops vnderstoode, they cursed all them that kept or should meddle with Church goodes, against the will of them that ought them: and vnderstanding for all that, that the king nothing regarded their doyngs, they went ouer the sea to the Archbishop of Cauntorbury and informed him what had happened. Who heeryng the same, willed them againe to returne to Cauntorbury, and he would come thether to them, or else sende certeine personnes thether in his steede, that should do asmuch as if he were there himselfe. Then when the Bishoppes heard this, they returned againe into Englande to Cauntorbury, which tydynges came shortly to the king, that they were come againe thether, and because he might not himselfe trauaile to them, he sent thether Bishops, Erles, and Abbottes, to entreate them that the king might receyue the Archebishop Stephen, and the Prior and all the Monkes of Cauntorbury, promisyng in his behalfe, that he should neuer take any thing of the church goodes against the will of them that owe them, but would make amendes to them of whome he had taken any goodes, and the Church should haue all her fraunchesse in as ample maner as in Saint Edwardes time the Confessor.

This king was in a great perplexitie.

When the forme of agrement was thus concluded, it was ingrossed in a payre of indentures, which the foresayde foure Bishops to the one part thereof set to their seales, and the other part the sayd Erles, Bishops, and Abbots, caryed to the king. When the king saw the order thereof, he lyked it well, sauyng he would not agree to make restitution of the Church goodes. So he sent to the foure Bishops againe, that they should put out that poynt of restitution: But they vnnswered stoutly that they would not put out one worde. Then the king sent to the Archbishop, by the foure Bishoppes, that he should come to Cauntorbury to speake with him, and for his safeconduit to come and go againe at his will, he sent his Iustices as pledges, that is to say, Gilbert Peltwyn, William de la Bereuer, & Ihon Lefitz: which thing this done, the Archbishop Stephen came to Cauntorbury & the king heeryng thereof came to Chilham, from whence he sent his Treasurer bishop of Winchester to him, to haue him put out of the Indentures the clause of restitution aforesayde, who deniyng to alter any worde of the same, moued the king in such sort, that immediatly was proclaymed throughout England at the kings commaund-

Pledges sent for Stephen Langton.

ment,

ment, that all those that had any Church liuing, and went ouer the sea, that they should come again into England at a certein day, or else lose their liuyngs for euermore. And further in that Proclaymation, he charged all Shirifes within the Realme to enquire if any Bishoppes, Abbottes, Priors, or any other Church men, from that day forwarde, receyued any commaundement that came from the Pope, that they shoulde take his or theyr body, and bryng it before him. And also that they should take into their handes for the kinges vse all the Church landes that were geuen to any man through the Bishop Stephen or by the Prior of Cauntorbury from the time of the election of the Archebishop. And further charged that all the woods that were the Archbishops, should be cut downe and all solde.

A proclamatiō published by the king against the mind of Stephen Langtō.

When tidynges came to the Pope that the king had thus done, being moued thereby with fiery wrath, he sent to the king two Legates, the one called Pandulph, and the other Durant, to warne him in the Popes name, that he should ceasse off his doynges to holy Church, and amend the wrong that hee had done to the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and to the Priors & Monkes of Cantorbury, and to all the Clergie of England. And further that he should restore againe the goodes that he had taken of them agaynst their will: or else they should cursse the king by name: and to do this, the Pope tooke them his letters in Bulles patent.

Pandulph & Durant the Popes Legates.

These two Legates commyng into England, resorted to the king to Northampton, where he helde his Parliament, and saluting him sayde: they came from the Pope of Rome, to reforme the peace of holy Church. And first they sayd, we admonishe you on the Popes behalfe that ye make full restitution of the goodes that ye haue rauished of holy Church and of the land. And that ye receyue Stephen the Archbishop of Cauntorbury into his dignitie, and the Prior of Cauntorbury, and his Monkes. And that ye yelde againe vnto the Archebishop all his landes and rentes without any withholdyng. And sir yet moreouer, that ye shall make suche restitution to them as the Church shall thinke sufficient.

1210

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Then aunswered the king, as touching the Priour and hys Monkes of Cauntorbury: all that ye haue sayde I will gladly doe, and all thing else that ye would ordeyne: But as touching the Archebishop, I shall tell you as it lyeth in my hart. Let the Archebishop leaue hys Bishoprike, and if the Pope then shall intreate for him, peraduenture I may like to geue him some other Bishoprick in England: And vpon this condition I will receyue and admyt him.

Then sayde Pandolph vnto the king: holy Church was wont neuer to disgrade an Archbishop without cause reasonable, but euer she was wont to correct Princes that were disobedient vnto her.

What, how now, quoth the king? threaten ye me? Nay sayd Pandolph, but ye haue openly tolde as it standeth in your hart: and nowe we will tell you what is the Popes will, and thus it standeth: that he hath wholy interdicted and accursed you, for the wrongs ye haue done to holy Church, and to the Clergy: and for as much as ye dwell in your awne malice and will come to none amendment: ye shall vnderstand that from this tyme forwarde, the sentences vpon you giuen haue force & strength. And all those that you haue commoned withall before this time, whether that they be Erles, Barons or Knights, or any other whatsoeuer they be, we assoyle them safely vnto thys day. And from this time forward, of what condition soeuer they be, we accurse them openly and specially by this our sentence, that doe with you common. And we assoyle moreouer Earles, Barons, Knightes, and all other maner of men of their homages, seruice and fealties that they should doe vnto you. And thys thing to confirme, we geue playne powre to the Bishop of Winchester, & to the Bishop of Norwich. And the same powre against Scotland to the Bishop of Rochester and of Sarisburie. And in Wales, we geue the same power to the Bishop of Saint Dauid and Landaff and of S. Asse.

A stout speech of a straunger to a king in his awne realme.

The Legats cursse the king.

And moreouer we send throughout all christendome, that all the Bishops beyonde the sea, shall accursse all those that helpe or counsell you in any maner of neede, that ye haue

haue to doe in any parte of the worlde. And that they also assoyle them against you, how many soeuer they be. And further we assoyle them by the auctheritie of the Pope, and also commaund them to warre with you, as with him that is enimie to the Church.

Then the king heeryng thys, answered, what may ye doe to me more? If I had knowne this to be the cause of your comming, I would haue kept you back for one yere. Pandolphe the Cardinall answered: full well we thought at our first comming, that ye would haue bene obedient to God and to holy Church, and to haue fulfilled the Popes commaundement, which we haue shewed and pronounced to you as we were charged therewith: But now if ye had wist the cause of our comming, ye would haue made vs tarie one whole yere, which ye might as well haue sayde, that ye would haue a whole yeres respite by the Popes lycence. But for to suffer what death that you can ordeyne, we wyll not spare to tell you all the Popes message.

Vpon this occasion Pope Innocent yet once agayne commaunded vpon paine of his great cursse, that no man should obey king Iohn, neyther yet keepe company with him, to common or counsayle with him, yea, his awne familier houshold to doe him anye kinde of seruice, eyther at bed or at boord, in Church, Hall or stable: But what followed thereof? the greater parte of them which after such sort fled from him, by the ordinance of God, of dyuerse and sundrie diseases the same yere dyed. And betwene both nations English and French, fell that yere great amitie, but secret, subtile and false, to the bitter betraiyng of England. Neither was the Pope content onely with this, but moreouer the sayd Pope Innocent gaue sentence definitiue, by counsaile of his Cardinalles, that king Iohn should be deposed and put from his seate Regall, and another put in his rowme. And to the spedy execution thereof, he apointed king Philip the French king, promising to geue him all remission of all his sinnes, and the cleare possession of all the realme of England to him and his heyres for euer, if he did eyther kill him or expell him.

The Pope gaue sentēce against king Iohn that he should be deposed.

A large graunt & an vnmercifull.

Moreouer, he wrote vnto other Nations that they should take on them the liuery or badge of the crosse, and be reuenged on him for the manifolde iniuries done to the Church vniuersall, by that Turke and Pagan king Iohn, as he called him.

Christ tooke the crosse, to geue all men life and not to slay any man.

But for all that the Pope could do vnto him, he ceased not to be auenged on such Bishoppes and Priestes as trayterously had conspired against him, partly by puttyng them to exile, and partly by seasyng vpon their goodes and liuynges. And mistrustyng that his people would not now continue true vnto him, by reason he stood accursed, and also the land was interdicted for his sake, he caused the whole realme to be sworne vnto him againe. And then assembled he an armie intending to warre vpon Alexander the second king of Scottes, for that he receyued many of the Nobles of the Realme that dayly fled vnto him for succour, and by that meanes to be auenged vpon him, for breaking the league that was betwixt them.

And when he had thus prepared for warre, he hastened him shortly after to Northumberland, and marchyng forward from thence toward Scotland, he inuaded the Frontiers of his enemyes, and offered them battaile. But the Scottish king perceiuyng himselfe to weake to resist the power of England, and therfore thinking that it would be little for his profite, if he had then ioyned battaile with him, did by the aduice of his counsayle refuse to fight, and so dismissyng his army, he sent vnto king Iohn, and made great sute to bee at peace with him, the which at the length he bought, though with much a do, and for a great summe of money: But to returne from whence we haue digressed.

The next yere after the aforesayde interdiction, the French king began his attempt in hope of the crowne of England, beyng well manned with the Bishoppes, Monkes, Prelates and Priestes, and their seruauntes to mainteyne the same, braggyng of the letters which they had receyued of the great men there. But beholde the worke of God: The Englishe nauie tooke three hundreth of the Frenche kinges Shippes, well loaden with wheate, wyne, meale, flesh, armor, and such other like, meete for the warre, and an hun-

Philip the French king began to attempt to obteyne the crowne of England.

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dreth they brent within the hauen of Damme, not farre off Bruges, takyng the spoyle with them.

In the meane while the Priestes within England had prouided them a false and counterfeated prophet, called Peter Wakefielde, a Yorkeshire man, who was an Hermite, an idle gadder about, and a pratlyng marchant. Now, to bring this Peter in credite, and the king out of all credite with his people, diuerse vaine persons bruted dayly among the Commons of the realme, that Christ had twise apered vnto him in the shape of a childe betwene the priests handes, once at Yorke, another tyme at Pomfret, and that he had breathed vpon him thrise saiyng, peace, peace, peace, and teachyng many things, which he anon after declared to the bishops, and bid the people amend their naughtie liuyng: Beyng rapt also in spirite, they sayde he beholde the ioyes of heauen, and sorowes of hell, for scant were there three in the Realme, sayde he, that liued christianly. Peter Wakefield a false Prophet.

This counterfeated soothsayer prophecied of king Ihon that he should reigne no lenger then the Ascentiō day next folowyng, which was in the yere of our Lord. 1211. and was the. xiij. yere from his coronation, & this he sayd he had by reuelation. Then it was of him demaunded, whether he should be slaine, or be deposed, or should voluntarily geue ouer the crowne? He aunswered that he could not tell: But of this he was sure (he sayd) that neither he nor any of his stocke or linage should reigne after that day. 1211 / 13

The king heeryng of this, laughed much at it, and made but a scoffe therat: Tush sayth he, it is but an ideot knaue, and such a one as lacketh his right wittes. But when this foolishe prophet had so escaped the daunger of the kinges displeasure, and that he made no more of it, he gate him abroade and prated thereof at large, as he was a very idle vagabond, and vsed to trattle and talke more than ynough, so that they which loued the king caused him anone after to be apprehended as a malefactor, and to be throwen in prison, the king not yet knowyng thereof. King Ihon should appere to be wise and learned.

Anone after, the fame of this phantasticall prophet went all the realme ouer, and his name was knowen euery where, as foolishnesse is muche regarded of the people, where wisedome is not in place: specially, because then he was emprisoned for the matter, the rumor was the larger, their wonderinges were the wantoner, their practises the foolisher, their busye talkes and other idle doynges, the greater. Continually from thence, as the rude maner of people is, olde Gossyps tales went abroade, newe tales were inuented, fables were added to fables, and lyes grewe vpon lyes. So that euery day newe slaunders were layde on the king, and not one of them true, rumors arose, blasphemyes were spred, the enemyes reioysed, and treasons by the priestes were mainteyned, and what lykewyse was surmysed, or other subtiltye practised, all was then fathered vpon this foolishe prophet, as thus sayth Peter Wakefielde, thus hath he prophecied, and thus it shall come to passe, yea, many times when he thought nothing lesse. When the Ascention day was come, which was prophecied of before, king Ihon commaunded his regall tent to be spred in the open fielde, passing that day with his noble counsayle and men of honour, in the greatest solemnitie that euer he did before, solacyng himselfe with Musicall instrumentes & songes, most in sight amongst his trustie friendes. When that day was past in all prosperitie and myrth, his enemies beyng confused, turned all vnto an allegoricall vnderstandyng to make the prophet good, and sayde, he is no longer kyng, for the Pope reigneth and not he: yet reigned he styll, and his sonne after him to proue that prophet a lyer. Ascentiō day which should be the last day of kinge Iohns reign as Peter Wakefielde sayde.

Then was the king by his counsaile perswaded, that this false prophet had troubled the realme, peruerted the hearles of the people, and raysed the commons against him, for his woordes went ouer the sea, by the helpe of his prelates, and came to the Frenche kinges eare, and gaue to him a great encouragement to inuade the lande: he had not else done it so sodeinly. But he was most fowly deceyued, as all they are and shall be that put their trust in such darke drowsye dreames of hippocrites. The king therefore commaunded that he should be hanged vp, and his sonne also with him, least any more false prophetes sh ould aryse of that race. Peter the prophet was hanged with his sonne.

The king thus compassed about on euery side with enemies, and seeyng the great daunger that was like to folowe, and himselfe to be brought to such a streyght, that none other way could be found to auoyde the present destruction both of his person and the realme also, but vtterly to be subuerted, and specially fearyng the French king, was enforced to submit himselfe vnto the Pope, conuertyng his laude into the patrimony of S. Peter, as many other had done before him, and so became a subiect to the See of Rome, thinkyng thereby to auoyde all daungers imminent: for of this he was sure (though not without shame) that beyng vnder his protection, no forayne potentate throughout the whole Empire was able to subdue him. Wherefore he thus submittyng himselfe did enter into bonde to the Pope, the Copye of which bonde foloweth.

King Ihon submitteth himselfe to the Pope.

The copie of the bonde which king Ihon entred into vnto the Pope.

To all Christen people throughout the worlde dwellyng. Ihon by the grace of God king of England, greting to your vniuersity, and knowledging that forasmuch as we haue grieued and offended God, and our mother the Church of Rome, and forasmuch as we haue nede of the mercie of our Lord Iesu Christ, and we may offer none so worthie satisfaction to God and to holy Church, but if it were our awne bodye, as with our realmes of Englande and Irelande, than by the grace of the holy ghost, we desyre to meeke vs for loue of him, that meked himselfe to the death of the crosse, through counsaile of the noble Erles and Barons, we offer and freely graunt to God, and to the Apostles S. Peter and Paule, and to our mother the Church of Rome, and to our holy father Pope Innocent the thirde, and to all the Popes that come after him, all the realmes, patronages of Churches of England and of Ireland, with all the appurtenances for the remission of our sinnes, and helpe and health of our kinnes soules, and all christen soules, so that from this time afterward, we will receyue and holde of our mother Church of Rome, as for ferme doyng fealtie to our holy father the Pope, Innocent the thirde, and to all the Popes that come after him in the maner abouesayde, and in presence of the wise man Pandulph the Popes Subdeacon, we make liege homage, as it were in the Popes presence, and before him were, and should haue done all maner of thinges abouesayd, and thereto we bynde vs and all that come after vs, and our heyres for euermore, without any gainsaiyng to the Pope and eke the warde of the Church vacant, and in token of this thing euer for to last, we will, confirme, and ordeyne, that our speciall renter of our foresaid realmes, sauyng Saint Peters pence in all thinges to the mother Church of Rome, paye by yere a thousand marke of siluer at two times of the yere, for all maner of customes, that we should do for the sayd realmes, that is to say, at Michaelmasse and Easter, that is to wete, seuen hundreth Markes for England, and three hundreth Markes for Ireland, sauyng to vs and to our heyres, our Iustices, and our other franchyses, and other royalties that perteyned to our crowne, and all these thinges that before bene sayde, we will that it be firme and stable without ende, and to that obligation we and all our successors, and our heyres in the maner aforesayde stande bound, that if we or any of our heyres through any presumption, fall in any poynt againe these thinges abouesayd, and be bene warned and will not right soone amend him, he shall then lease the aforesayde realmes for euermore, and this Charter of Obligation, and our warrant for euermore to be firme and stable withoute gainesaiyng, we shall from this day afterwarde be true to God and to the mother Church of Rome, and to Innocent the thirde, and to them that come after him, and the realmes of England and of Ireland we should mainteyne truely in all maner of poyntes against all maner of men by our power, thorow Goddes helpe.

Innocent the thirde bishop of Rome.

Peter pence. Englande made tributary to Rome.

Tribute.

But Sir Thomas Moore knight wrytyng in a booke of his entituled, the supplication of soules, against the supplication of beggers, certeinly affirmeth that there was neuer any such tribute graunted, eyther for England or Ireland. And he sayth further, that neither Rome can shew any such graunt, nor neuer could, & if they could it were right nought worth: for neuer could any king of England geue away the Realme to the Pope, or make the laude tributary, though he would, and that no such money (sayth he) is there payd, nor neuer was. This saiyng I leaue to your iudgemēt. But I maruail much that maister Moore

Moore beyng a great learned man, would not for the auouchment of his credite, and the truth of so great a matter, in reprouing a thing so manifestly written by a great number of Aucthours, as namely Reynulph of Chester, Polydore, and a great number of other, which affirme the aforesayd History to be true, that he doth not allege so much as the testimonie and aucthoritie of some one aucthor, for the prouyng of his assertion: But as aforesaid I leaue this to the iudgement of the reader.

But before the releasement of the interdiction, the king was miserably compelled kneelyng on his knees to geue ouer both his crowne and scepter to the Pope of Rome, for the space of fiue dayes, and as his client, vassall, feedary, and tenant, to receyue it of him againe at the handes of another Cardinall. And to this was he bound obligatory, both for himselfe, and for them which should succede him, paiyng yerely for a knowledge thereof, a thousand Markes for England and Ireland as aforesayde, So was the interdiction discharged the second day of Iuly after sixe yeres three monethes and. xvj. dayes from the first proclaymyng thereof. The miserable estate of king Iohn. The interdiction of this realme released.

In this new ruffiyng, the king easily graunted that Abbots, Deanes, & Curates should be elected frely euery where, so that the lawes of the realme were truely obserued. But against that were the Bishops, alleagyng theyr Canonical decrees, & rules synodall, determinyng the king therein to haue nothing a do, but onely to geue his consent after they had once elected. But among that company, there were some that consented not to that error: A sort also there were of prelates that time which were not pleased that the landes interdiction should ceasse, till the king had payde all which their Clergie in all quarters of the realme had demaunded without reason: yea euery sawcy Sir Ihon for his part, euen to the very breakyng of their hedges, the stealyng of their Apples, and their other occasionall dammages, demaunded allowance which grew to an incredible summe and impossible to be answered.

Notwithstanding that which is vttered before, concerning the bitter malice of the clergie against the king, yet did the Popes Legate and Cardinall *Nicholaus Tusculanus* muche fauour the king hys doinges and allowe his proceedings, wherefore certaine of the Clergie reported of hym that he was exceeding parciall, and regarded not their matters ecclesiasticall as he should haue done, for leauing the accompt of their restitutions, he went with the kings officers as the kings pleasure was to the Cathedrall Ministers, Abbeyes, Pryories, Deanries and great Churches vacant. And there for the next incumbent alwayes he appoynted two, one for the king, another for the parties. But vpon him onely whome the king nominated, he compelled most commonly the election to passe, which vexed them wonderfully: Vpon this therefore they raysed a new conspiracie against the kings person, and we behelde (sayth Houeden) about the same time manye noble houses and assemblyes deuyded in many places: the fathers and the aged men stode vpon the kinges parte, but the yonger sort contrarye. And some there were that for loue of their kindred, and in other sundrie respects, forsoke the king againe: yea, and the fame went that time (sayth he) that they were confederated with Alexander the Scottish king and Leoline Prince of Wales to worke him an vtter mischiefe. A counsell at Oxford the Archbishop called, where as some would not tarry, considering the confusion thereof: the other sorte hauing verie obstinate hearts, reuyled the king most spitefully behinde hys back, and sayde, that from thenceforth, he ought to be taken for no Gouernour of theirs. Their outragious and frantick clamours so much preuayled in those dayes, that it grewe to a greeuous tumult and a most perillous commotion. Alexander the Scottish king. A presumptuous clergy.

In the yere of our Lord 1212 as witnesseth Paulus Emilius and other Histories, Pope Innocent the third held a generall counsaile at Rome called the counsell of Laterane. The chiefe causes of that counsel were these. In the dayes of this Innocent, heresie (as he calleth it) beganne to rise vp very high, and to spreade forth his braunches abroade. By reason whereof many Princes were excommunicate: as Otho the Emperour, Ihon the king of Englande, Peter king of Aragon, Raymond the Erle of Tholouse and a 1212 14 Counsaile of Laterane.

great sort more. And many landes were interdicted, as England, Irelande, Prouance, Tolouse, Aquitane, Sataloni, and such other lyke as is aforesayde. So that it could be none otherwise (sayth Houeden) but with the sharpe Axe of the Gospell (for so the Pope called excommunications) they ought of necessity to haue bene cut of from the church. Therefore was thys counsell prouyded and proclaymed, and Prelates from all Nations therevnto called. And to colour those mischiefes which he then went about, he caused it by his Legates and Cardinalles to be noysed abroade that hys intent was therein onely to haue the Church vniuersally reformed, and the holy lande from the Turkes handes recouered. But all this was but craft and falshoode as the sequele thereof hath manifestly declared. For hys purpose thereby was to subdue all Princes, and to make himselfe riche and wealthy.

The pope to haue the correction of all Christian Princes.

For there he made this Act, and established it by publique decree, that the Pope shoulde haue from thence foorth the correction of all Christian Princes, and that no Emperour should be admitted, except he were sworne before, and were also crowned of him. He ordeyned moreouer that whatsoeuer he were the which should speake euill of the Pope, he should be punished in hell with eternall damnation, *Conradus Vspergensis*, *Hieronimus Marius*. He also ordeyned auriculer confession. Also in this counsaile was first inuented and brought in transubstanciation.

Stephen Longton excõmunicated.

But nowe let vs returne to king Iohn againe, and marke howe the priestes and their adherentes were plagued for their homely handlyng of his Maiestie. In the aforesayd counsayle of Laterane, and the same yere, was Stephen Langton the Archebishop of Cauntorburye excommunicated of Pope Innocent, with all those Bishops, prelates, priestes, Barons and Commons which had bene of counsaile with him in the former rebellion. And when the sayd Archbishop had made instant sute to the Pope to be assoyled, anone he made him this aunswere with great indignation: Brother mine, I swere by Saint Peter, thou shalt not so soone at my hande obteyne the benefite of absolution, for why, thou hast not onely done harme to the king of England, but also thou hast in a great many of thinges iniured the Church of Rome here: and therefore thou shalt tary my leysure. The Archbishop was also at that tyme suspended out of the Churche, and commaunded to say no Masse at all, neither yet to exercise any other ecclesiasticall office, because he would not at tyme conuenient execute the Popes cursse vpon the rebellious Barons: With them the sayd Pope had bene so depely offended and angred a little before, that the great Charter of the liberties of England, with great indignation and countenance most terrible, he rent and destroyed by sentence diffinitiue condemnyng it for euer. And by and by, therevpon curssed all the other rebelles with Bell and Candell. The greater Capteines of them which were the Cityzens of London for that assay, were pronounced excommunicate by name, and remayned still in that state: wherefore they appealed to the generall counsayle.

Also in the sayde yere, those great men were likewise sommoned to appere at Rome in the generall Sinode, which neuer consented to the kinges deposyng: though they were called (they sayd) therevnto by the Archebishop of Cauntorbury and others, and required by other to subscribe to the same, yet could they not of conscience do it, because he had humbled himselfe, and also graunted to kepe peace with all men. Thus was the whole realme miserably then deuided into two factions, through the malice of the Clergie, & so strifes increased in the land euery where. Yet were there of the Lordes and Gentelmen a great number at that tyme that folowed the king, and allowed his doyngs. But they which were on the other syde, not a little suspectyng the state that they were in, fled spedely to the Frenche king Philip, desiryng him that he would graunt vnto them his eldest sonne Ludouicke, and they would elect him to be their king, and that without much tariance. They besought him moreouer, that he would sende with him a strong and mightye power, as were able to subdue him vtterly, that they might (they sayd) be deliuered of such a wicked Tyraunt. Such was the report that those wicked men gaue of their Christian gouernor appoynted to them of God, whom they ought to haue obeyed though he had

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bene euill, euen for very conscience sake. And as certeyne of the Lordes and Barons, were in doyng to chose the sayde Ludouick for their king, the Pope sent thether one Gualo, the Cardinall of S. Martyn, to stop those rashe and cruell attemptes, charg[ing] the French king vpon his allegeance, that he with all power possible, should fauor, [main]teine, and defende king Iohn of England, feodarie and tenant to the sea of Rome. French king thereto made aunswere, as one not contented with that arrogant precept. realme of England, sayd he, was neuer yet any part of Saint Peters patrimonie, neither is it nowe, nor yet at any time shall be hereafter. This spake he, for that he was in hope to obteyne it for hys sonne, by treason of the Barons.

The Barons of England sought to haue Lewes the Frenche kinges sonne to [be] king of Eng[land].

No prince or Potentate (sayde Philip the Frenche king) may pledge or geue away the kingdome (which is besydes the landes) the gouernement of his realmes and whole common wealth, without the lawfull consent of hys Barons, which are bound to defende the same. If the Pope shall introduce or set vp such a president in the Christianitie, he shall at his pleasure bring all Christen kinges and their kingdomes to naught. I like not this example in these dayes begonne. I cannot therefore allowe this fact of king Iohn of England, though he be mine vtter aduersary, but I much lament that he hath so endammaged his realme, and hath brought the noble ground & Queene of Prouynces vnder miserable tribute. The chiefe Lordes and men of his nobilitie standyng by when he vttered these wordes, beyng as it were in a fury cryed with one voyce. By the blood of God, in whome we trust to besaued, we will stick in this article to the losyng of our heades (let the king of England do therin what him liketh) that no king may put his land vnder tribute, and so make his nobilitie captiue seruauntes. With that came in Ludouicke the kinges eldest sonne and sayd vnto them all there present, I beseche you let not my purposed iourney: the Barons of England haue elected me for their Lorde and king, and I will not surely lose my right: But I will fight for it euen to the death, yea so long as heart shall styrre within my breast, and I doubt not but that I shall well obteyne it, for I haue friends among them. His father the king stood still as he had bene in a doompe, and answered neuer a worde, but fared as though he had dissembled the matter.

The French king and his sonne, reasoning about England.

Lodouicke or Lewes the kinges eldest sonne.

About the same tyme, were such treasons and conspiracies wrought by the Bishops, Priestes, and Monkes throughout all the realme, that the king wist not where to become to finde trusty friendes. He was then compelled by the vncertenty of his subiectes to trauaile from place to place, but not without a great army of men, loking euery day when his Barons and their confederates would cruelly set vpon him. At the last he came to Douer, and there loked for aide from other quarters, which loued him better then did his awne people. And thether to him resorted from Flaunders, Brabant and Holland, on the one syde, and from Guyan, Gascoyn and Poyters on the other syde, and from other countries more, a wonderfull number of men. The report went then that the Pope had written to those countries, mightily to assist him for dyuerse considerations. One was, for that he had both submitted himselfe and his dominion to his protection. Another was, because he had taken on him a little before, the lyuery of the crosse to winne againe Ierusalem. The thirde was, for that he had gotten by him the dominion of England and Irelande, and feared to lose both, if he should chaunce to decay. Also in this tyme king Iohn sailyng to the Isle of Wight abode there the space of three Monethes, and remained of purpose for the quieting of him selfe from tumultes, and led there a solitary life, among ryuers and watermen: where as he accompted rather to die then to liue, beyng so trayterously handeled of his Bishops and Barons, and not knowyng iustly howe to be aduenged on them. Vpon the Purification of our Lady therefore, he tooke vpon him the crosse or voyage against the Turkes for the recouery of Ierusalem, moued therevnto rather for the doubtes he had in his people, then for any other deuotion else. And thus he sayde to his familier seruauntes: since I submitted my selfe and my landes, England and Ireland to the Church of Rome (sorowe come to it) neuer thing prospered with me, but it hath gone against me.

King Iohn in great perplexitie.

1213 In the next yere after, Symon Langton was chosen Archebishop of Yorke, but that election was anon after dissolued, for information was geuen to the Pope, that the sayde [illegible]on was brother to Stephen the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which had bene the ge[illegible]ner of all the tumults which were at that tyme in England. And the Pope had [illegible]e hate vnto him, for that he had brought him vp of naught, and did finde him at [illegible] tyme so stubborne: wherfore he placed in his roome Walter Gray bishop of Winchester.

[illegible]pes Legate, cursseth Lewes the Frenche kinges sonne.

In the same yere, Gualo the Popes Legate renued his great cursse vpon Lewes the french kinges sonne, for vsurping vpon king Iohn. Likewise vpon Symon Langton and Geruys Hobruge, for prouoking him to the same, and that with a wonderfull solempnitie. For in that doing, he made all the Belles to be rong, the Candels to be light, the dores to be opened and the booke of excommunications and interdictions publiquely to be reade, committing them wholy to the Deuill for their contumacie and contempt. He also commaunded the Bishops and Curates to publishe it abroade ouer all the whole realme, to the terror of all subiects. The sayde Symon and Geruys laughed him to scorne, and derided much his doings in that behalfe, saiyng: that for the iust title of Ludowike or Lewes, they had appealed to the generall counsell at Rome.

The solemnitie of cursseyng.

The Magistrates of London and Citizens of the same did likewise vilipend and disdeynously mocke all that the Pope had there commaunded and done: And in spite both of him and his Legate, they kept company with them that were excommunicate, both at Table and at church, shewing themselues thereby as open contemners both of him and his lawes. Lewes being at London, and taking himselfe for king, constituted Symon Langton for hys high Chauncelor, and Geruis Hobruge for his chiefe preacher. By whose daylie preachings, as well the Barons as the Citizens themselues, being both excommunicate, caused all the Church dores to be opened, and the seruice to be song, and the sayde Lewes was in all pointes fit for their hands.

Lewes the Frenche kinges sonne came to London and was receyued as king.

Pandulph the Popes Legate made Bishop of Norwich.

About thys tyme was Pandulph the Cardinall collecting the Peter pence, taking great paines therein. And for his great labours in those affayres for holy Church, and for other good matters, he was made Bishop of Norwiche to the augmenting of his dignitie and expences.

The Vicoũt of Melun.

It chaunced about this time, that the Vicount of Melun, a verye noble man of the realme of Fraunce, which came hether with Ludowike to fall deadly sicke at London, and also mooued in conscience to call certayne of the Englishe Barons vnto him, suche as were there appointed to the custody of that Citie, and thus he sayde vnto them. I lament your sorowfull case, and pittie with my hart the destruction that is comming towards you and your Countrie. The daungerous snares which are prepared for your vtter confusion, are hidden from you, you doe not beholde them, but take you heede of them in tyme. Prince Ludowike hath sworne a great othe, and. xvj. of his Erles and noble men are of counsell with hym, that if he obteyne the Crowne of England, he will banishe all them then of seruice and depriue them of lands & goodes, as many as he findeth now to go against their liege king, and are traytours to his noble person: And because you shall not take this tale for a fable, I assure you on my faith liyng now at the mercy of God on my death bed, that I was one of them, which was sworne to the same. I haue great conscience thereof, and therefore I geue you thys warning, I pittie poore Englande, which hath beene so noble a Region, that nowe it is come to extreme miserie. And when he with teares had lamented it a space, he turned againe vnto them and sayde: my friends, I counsayle you earnestlye to looke to your selues, and to prouide remedie in tyme, least it come vpon you vnwares. Your king for a season hath kept you vnder: But if Lewes preuayle, he will put you from all. Of two extreme euilles, choose the more easie, and kepe that secrete which I haue tolde you of good will. With that he gaue ouer, and departed this lyfe.

A good warnyng.

When this once was noysed among the Barons, they were in great heauinesse, for they sawe themselues

themselues betrapped euery way, and to be in exceding great daunger. And this dayly augmented that feare which then came vpon the Barons: They were extremely hated of the Pope and his Legates, euery weeke came vpon them newe excommunications. Dayly detriments they had besydes in theyr possessions and goodes, in their landes and houses, corne and cattell, wiues and children, so that some of them were driuen to such nede that they were enforsed to seeke prayes and bootyes for susteynyng their miserable lyues. For looke what Prince Lodouicke obteyned by his warres either territories or Castelles, he gaue them all to the French men in spight of their heades, and sayd, that they were but Traytours, lyke as they had warnyng before, which grieued them worst of all. At the last they perceyuyng that in seekyng to auoyde one mischiefe, they were ready to fall into another much worsse: They began to cast their wittes together, consentyng to submit themselues wholy and humbly to their late souereigne Lorde king Iohn. And for that they were somewhat in doubt of their lyues, for the treason before committed, many of the friendes of them, which were of most credite with him, made sute for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after instant and great sute made for them.

A greate plague came vpon the Barons of this realme.

And here I thinke mete to put in remembraunce such certeine seuerall matters as happened to be done in this Realme, in all the tyme and processe of the former history, which of purpose I deferred, because I thought best and most cõmodious for the reader to haue the whole story of this king Iohn or rather his tragedy together and in one place, then in seueral yeres to haue set out the same in sundrie partes as they chaunced. And therefore nowe I will returne to the order that I kept from the first yere of this king vnto the fift yere of his reigne, where I began with the story aforesayde, in the yere of our Lorde a thousand two hundreth and three.

In the. vj. yere of his reigne (as sayth Fabian) at Oxenfoord in Suffolke was taken in the sea a monstruous fishe, which was in the forme and shape of a man, and was kept sixe monethes aliue vpon the land, and fed with rawe fleshe and fishe. And because they could haue no speach of it, they cast it into the sea againe. 1204 6

And in this yere both the Welsh men, and Irishe men rebelled, for that as some write that the king would haue set taskes vpon them to haue ayded him against the French king. And after he had pacified the Welshe men, he was compelled to demaund an ayde and taske of all England for the quieting of Irelande. And besyde that taske he demaunded of the white Monkes of England sixe thousande Markes, the which they denyed, makyng their excuse by their generall head, wherewith the King was sore displeased, and at his returne out of Irelande, he sore troubled and vexed them, and tooke of them much more then he required first, and caused many of the Monkes to forsake both their houses and the realme. And after that he had prepared his armie and all thinges that belonged to the same, he with a great number of shippes sayled into Ireland and shortly subdued them, and settyng all thinges in good order, he returned againe into England. 1205 7

In the. viij. yere of his reigne, and the first day of the moneth of October his first sonne Henry by name was borne by Isabell his seconde wife at Winchester. 1207 8

In the. ix. yere of his reigne, he graunted to the city of London, that where before tyme the same Citie was ruled by two Baylifes, that now they should elect among themselues a Maior and two Shirifes, which should haue the rule and gouernaunce of the sayd Citie, and from thence foorth the name of Baylifes should ceasse. 1208 9

Some write that the cause of this alteration of Officers was, because the purueyers for the kinges houshold, beyng then a great dearth of corne, would haue taken vp of the prouision of the Citie to serue the king withall: The which thing Roger Winchester and Edmond Hardell then Baylifes, would in no wise suffer them to do: Wherevpon the king taking great displeasure with them, depriued them of their offices, and afterwardes committed them to warde: But yet beyng at the length pacified againe, in the steede of two Baylifes, he gaue the Citizens auctoritie yerely to choose amongest themselues a Maior and

and two Shirifes, which should haue the gouernment of the Citie: The first Maior was Henry Fitz aleyn, and the first Shirifes, Peter Duke, and Thomas Neele.

1209 — 10 And in the. x. yere, London bridge which before was made of Timber and repayred by a Colledge of Priestes, was nowe begonne to be builded of stone.

Nowe to conclude, in the. xvij. and last yere of his reigne, the Barons submitted themselues vnto him as is abouesayde in the ende of the story, and then Kinge Iohn with a great armye went into Suffolke and Norffolke, and there hee afflicted suche as had sworne to his enemies, with great and grieuous mischiefe. After that, he destroyed the two Abbeyes of Peterborough, and Crowland for the great treasons which they also had wrought against him, and so he departed from thence to Lincolneshire. And in this yere the. xvij. day of Iuly dyed Pope Innocent the thirde, and was buryed in a Citie called Perusum, in Italy, where as he had trauayled to make a peace betwene the Genouayes, and the Pyses, for his awne commoditie and aduauntage. After him succeded one Cintius, otherwise called Honorius the thirde, a man of very great age, yet liued he in the Papacie ten yeres and a halfe and more. When this was once knowen in Englande, a great reioyce had all they which were king Iohns enemyes, speciallye the priestes: yet had they small cause as will appere hereafter. They noysed it all the realme ouer, that this new Pope would set a new order, and not rule thinges as the other Pope did: thinking thereby, that he would haue done all thinges to their commoditie, but they founde it otherwise, for he made all them which were excommunicate to pay double and treble, before they could be restored againe to their former lyuinges.

Innocent the thirde dyed.

And in the same selfe yere, King Iohn came to Swinestedes Abbey, not farre from Lyncolne, he rested there two dayes, where as certeyne wryters report that he was most trayterously poysoned, by a Monke of the same Abbey, beyng of the order of Saint Barnard, called Simon Swynested, and as Caxton sayth in his booke called *fructus temporum* and *Polichronicon* also sayth the same, the aforesayde Monke named Simon, hearyng the king vpon an occasion to talke of breade, should say that if he liued a yere lenger, he would make that lofe of breade beyng then of the value of one halfepeny woorth twelue pence, meanyng that he woulde so persecute his rebellious people, that he would not leaue one of them to be the owner of a plough. The Monke heeryng the king thus speake, conceyued of the king a very euill opinion, insomuch that forthwith the Monke went to his Abbot shewyng him the whole matter, and what he was mynded to do. He alleged for himselfe the prophecie of Cayphas, saiyng: it is better that one man dye, then all the people should perishe. I am well content, sayth he, to die & to become a martyr, so that I may vtterly destroy this Tyraunt. With that the Abbot wept for gladnesse, and much commended his feruent zeale as he take it. The Monke then beyng absolued of his Abbot for doyng of this act aforehande, went secretly into a Gardeyne vpon the backesyde, and findyng there a most venemous toade, he so pricked him, and pressed him with his penne knife, that he made him vomit all the poyson that was within him. This done, he conueyed it into a cup of Wine, and with a smilyng and flatteryng countenance he sayd thus to the king, if it shall lyke your Princely Maiestie, here is such a Cup of Wine as ye neuer dranke before in all your life tyme, I trust this wassall shall make all England glad. And with that he dranke a great draught, the king pledging him. The Monke anone after went to the Farmory, and there dyed, his guttes gushing out of his belly, and had continually from thence forth three Monkes to sing Masses for his soule, confirmed by their generall Chapter. The king within shorte space after, feelyng great griefe in hys body, asked for Simon the Monke, and aunswere was made that he was departed this lyfe: Then God haue mercy vpon me (sayde the king) I suspected as muche. With that he commaunded his Chariot to be brought, for he was not able to ryde. So went he from thence to Slaford Castell, and from thence to Newarke vpon Trent, and there within lesse then three dayes he dyed, when he had reigned. xvij. yeres. vj. monethes and odde dayes, and was honourably buryed at Worcester, with all his armed men attendyng vpon the buryall.

Simon Swinestede a Monke poysoned king Iohn.

The death of king Iohn.

King

King Iohn thus departing as is aboue said, left behind him foure sonnes, and three daughters. First Henry who succeeded him in the same kingdome, the second, Richard king of Almaine, ỹ third, William of Valentia, the fourth Guyde Disnay. He had also another sonne, who after was made Bishop. Of his daughters, first was Isabell maried to Frederick the Emperor, the secõd maried to Williã Marshal erle of Worcester, the third to ỹ erle of Leicester. The discription of king Iohn.

Roger Houeden sayth, that this king Iohn was a mightie and valiaunt prince, but not fortunate as many were. Not altogether vnlike to Marius ỹ noble Romain, he tasted fortune both wayes, but much in mercy. In warres sometime he won, & sometime againe he lost: He was also very bounteous & liberal vnto straungers, but to his awne people, for their daily treasons sake, he was a great oppressor, for he trusted more to foreynes then to them.

HENRIE THE THIRDE.

SO soone as king Iohn was dead and buryed, as is sayde before, the Princes, Lordes and Barons, so many as were of his part, aswell of Straungers as of them that were borne here, by counsaile of the Legate Gualo, gathered themselues together, and all with one consent proclaymed Henry his sonne beyng then of the age of ix. yeres, for king of this realme of England. And for that onely cause was king Iohn buryed at Worcester, and not by testament, for that oneley place of the realme in those dayes appered most sure and safe, where they which were friendes to the Crowne, might best deliberate with themselues in that matter, what was best to be done. So went they from thence to the towne of Gloucester, with William Marshall Erle of the same, and there was this yong king annoynted and crowned king by the Legate Gualo, assisted by Peter Bishop of Winchester, and Ioseline the Bishop of Bathe, with other which then were in the realme, and called Henry the thirde, and this was done in the feastfull day of the Apostles Simon and Iude. 1216. After the which coronation he was committed to the tuicion of Henry Bishop of Winchester aforsayd, or as Polidore writeth, to William Erle of Gloucester. 1216

The Court of Rome at that tyme, not beyng slacke in their affayres, sent hether with all spede, and commaunded that they should manfully stande by the yong king, and to defende England with armour and his excommunications against Lewes the French kinges sonne, and his complices. And then Honorius the Pope not onely confirmed his Legate Gualo, or Swalo, but also committed to his discretion, all that apperteyned to that office of his, no appellations to the contrary admitted. Vpon this auctoritie, the Legate beyng bolde, compelled the Prelates of Englande to be sworne true to the yong king: and those that refused to take that othe, he punished very sore. And Henry or after, some writers Peter, Bishop of Winchester, was not all behinde in that commission for his parte, who put a grieuous taxe vpon the beneficed men and Priestes of his diocesse, to helpe the king in his warres against Lewes, which was not all amisse. Such as were great beneficed men, and might well pay, those Gualo reserued to his awne auctoritie, and in the ende for great summes of money dispensed with them. Some that were obstinate and frowarde, he disgraded: some he excommunicated, and sent to Rome for their absolutions, not leauing one.

one Priest vnpunished that had taken part with Lewes, hauing euery where his searchers and spyes to finde them out.

And in this time, diuers of the chiefe of the Barons forsooke Lewes the French kinges sonne, namely the Erles of Penbrooke, and of Chester, with all their retinue, and submitted themselues to the yong king.

Sone after the coronation of the king, certaine commissions were sent out into all places of England to gather strength of men to withstand the aforesayde Lewes, and to put him and his Frenchmen with other Alyaunts out of the land, which then had vnder their rule and custody, the Castelles of Berkhamsted, of Hartford and dyuers other. And for that Lewes would not cease of his warre and returne into Fraunce, therefore theaforesayde Legate Gualo accurssed him first by name, and after al such as him maintained or fauoured in this warre against king Henry. Then theaforenamed Erles accompanied with Wylliam Erle Marshall of Englande, Wylliam le Bruize Erle of Ferreys with many other went to Lyncoln, and wanne the Towne vpon the straungers, where was slaine a Frenchman called Erle of Perches with many other Souldiours. And there was taken of Englishmen, Serle Erle of Winchester, and Homffrey de Bohan Erle of Hartforde with dyuers other men of name.

Gualo or Swalo as some called him, y Popes Legate cursseth Lewes the French kinges sonne.

Lewlyn prince of Wales.

And in this while Lewlyn or Llaellen Prince of Wales, for that he ayded the parte of Lewes was accurssed and his lande enterdicted.

After the Towne of Lyncolne was thus wonne from the Frenchmen, Lewes with the other parte of his Souldiours, drewe towarde London: for so much as worde was brought to him that his father had sent him a new company of Souldiours the which should land in England shortly. Truth it was that such an ayde of Souldiours was made by the French king, and committed to a Captain called Eustace the Monke, the which was encountered vpon the Sea, with a captaine or Master of the fiue Portes called Hubert at Burgh, and gaue to him battayle, and discomfited hym at length, and sent the head of the sayde Eustace vnto the king.

Eustace a Monk made capitaine of an army.

When Lewes heard of these tydings, and considered howe daylie hys strength minished, he was more inclinable vnto peace: so that in conclusion, he toke money sayth Reynulph and yeelded vp hys Castelles and strengthes which he helde, and after was assoyled, and so returned into Fraunce; But of this money that Lewes receyued there are dyuers opinions. The Englishe booke named it a thousand Marke, and the Frenche booke sayth. xv. thousand Marke.

1217 / 2 Now, after that the straungers were auoided, then inquisition was made to knowe what persons had fauoured the partie of Lewes against the king, and there was founde a great multitude, of the which the king pardoned a great number of the laye Fee: But the spirituall were put to such fines, that they were compelled to lay that they had to pledge to please the king, and besides that, to sue to Rome to be assoyled.

Reynulph Erle of Chester tooke his iorney to Ierusalem,

And this yere Reynulph Erle of Chester, for considerations him mouing, toke his iourney into the holy land. But one writer sayth, that he tooke that iourney vpon him, bicause he had contrary to his allegeance made homage vnto Lewes aboue named, and for malice which he bare vnto king Iohn, entended at the time of that homage doyng, to haue made the sayde Lewes king of Englande.

1218 / 3 And at this tyme was a Parliament holden at London, wherein was graunted two shillyngs of euerye Plough lande, through Englande, which was for the charge that he before had with Lewes at warre. And this Parliament king Edwards lawes were again restored, & *Magna carta* confirmed.

1219 / 4 This yere also king Henry began to build the new worke of the Church of Westminster, which was that part where now all the kings are buried in.

This yere Alexander king of Scottes maryed dame Iane the sister of king Henry. And this yere was great harme done in England by violence of a whirle winde, and fiery dragons were seene fliyng in the ayre.

Shortly after proclamations were made in London, and throughout all England, that all straungers should aduoyde by Michaelmasse next folowyng, except such as came with Marchandise, and to make sale of their wares vnder the kinges safeconduyt. Which Proclamation was chiefly made to aduoyde Foulkes de Brent and his complices, which kept the Castell of Bedford against the kinges will and pleasure.

Of this Foulkes it is written by Polidore and others, howe that about this season, he assemblyng together a great rowte of Ruffians and Robbers issued out of the Castell of Bedford which he then helde, and wasted and destroyed all the Countrie, with the townes and villages thereabout, but specially the towne and Abbey of Saint Albon.

This yere also king Henry was the seconde tyme crowned at Westminster the. xvij. day of May. And the sayd yere Reynulph Erle of Chester returned out of the holy lande, and began to buylde the Castelles of Chartley and Beston. King Henry crowned againe the second time.

1220 — 5

At this tyme also was holden a generall counsaile of the Bishops, and Clergie of the Realme at Oxford. In the tyme of which counsayle, a man was taken, which shewed himselfe to be Christ, and hee reprooued manye abuses, which the Clerkes at those dayes vsed, as sayth Fabian. And to approue that he was Iesus the sonne of God, and that he was come to reforme those abuses, he shewed the Carectes and woundes in his bodye, handes and feete, lyke vnto Iesus that was nayled on the Crosse. Then was he examined, and found a false dissembler: Wherefore by the iudgement and aucthoritie of that counsaile, he was iudged to be nayled vnto the Crosse, and so deliuered to the executioners, the which at a place called Adurbury, or Alburbury, nayled him vnto a Crosse vntill he was dead. A counterfeater of Iesu Christ.

1221 — 6

This yere the men of Caithnes in Scotland burned their bishop, because he cursed them for not paiyng of their Tithes. For which cause the king of Scottes did hang foure hundreth of the cheefe doers, gelded their children, and disheuerited the Erle of that Countrie. *Cooper.*

And in this tyme there was a great conspiracie in London against king Henry, made by one Constantyne the sonne of Arnulph, with the which conspiracie ỹ king was so offended that he had thought to haue ouerthrowne the walles of the Citie of London: But shortly after, the sayde Constantine was taken and condemned, and was hanged drawen and quartered: This Constantine was borne in the Citie of London, & taken by Hubert Brough, who offered the same Brough at the tyme of his taking, to haue let him scape xv. thousand markes: But Brough refused it.

1222 — 7

This yere Iohn king of Ierusalem came into Englande, and required an ayde of king Henry to recouer againe Ierusalem, which the Turkes had wonne from him: But shortly he returned without any great comfort.

This yere the king began the foundation of Sarisbury Minster, and laide the first stone of the Church.

And this yere the king layd siege vnto the Castell of Bedford that Foulkes de Brent had so long holden by strength: This siege began vpon the Euen of the Assention of our Lorde, and so continued vntill the day of the Assumption of our Lady next folowyng. In the whiche tyme many strong assaultes were made, and great losse of men on both parties. But finally, about the aforesayde day of Assumption, it was taken by fierce assault: Where in was taken Foulkes de Brent, and about the number of. lxxx. Souldiours, whereof the more part were put to death, and the sayde Foulkes after he had lyen a certaine of tyme in prison, was for his finance deliuered, and banished the land. And in this time came the Gray Friers first into England.

1223 — 8

About this time a Parliament was holden, in the which was graunted to the king and his heyres kinges of this realme by the Barony of England the warde and mariage of their heyres.

This law for wardes was first made by king Edgar, in the yere of our Lorde. 962. But the mariages of them was added by king Edwarde the Confessor in the yere of our

Lorde. 1056. And here is to be much lamented that Wardes are bought and solde as commonlye as are Beastes, and mariages are made with them that are many tymes very vngodly, for dyuerse of them beyng of yong and tender yeres, are forced to iudge by another mannes affection, to see with another mannes eye, and say yea with another mannes tongue, and finally consent with another mannes hart. For none of these sences be perfited to the parties in that minoritie, and so the election beyng vnfree, and the yeres vnripe, eche of them almost of necessitie must hate the other, whome yet they haue had no iudgement to loue. And certeinely the common bergaynyng and selling of them is to be abhorred, beside the shamefull polling that many vse, which if they consent not to suche as are their sellers, they shall be handeled as the common saiyng is, lyke Wardes, and striped almost out of al they haue, when the same should do them most good. God graunt the Maiestrates maye take some good order therein, for surely it is nedefull, for many do so vse them, as the same is not sufferable in a Christian realme. For who seeth not daylye, what innumerable inconueniences, deuorces, yea and some murders haue of suche mariages (or rather no mariages at all) proceded, the present time sheweth to many examples, which minister sufficient cause for vs to bewayle the same: But the greatest iniury is to God who hath made that free, namely matrimony, which the lawe of the realme maketh bonde, the redresse whereof belongeth onely to the Prince, in whome like as the same God hath caused moo vertues to meete than in any other creature of her callyng, so we doubt not, but that his Godhead will when his good pleasure shall be, vouchsafe not onely to preserue her highnes with the encrease of vertue and wisedome, but also to moue her heart to the Godly redresse of these and many other enormities and abuses, to the great comfort of all her graces louyng and obedient subiectes.

1224 9 This yere Richarde the brother of king Henrie, did very valiauntly in Fraunce, and ouerthrewe great numbers of Frenche men, and recouered Poyters, and kept the Gascoynes in due obedience.

1225 10 In the. x. yere of the reigne of this king, the Plees of the Crowne were pleded in the Tower of London. And at this tyme the souldyours that kept dyuerse Castelles and holdes in Poyters in Fraunce, were compelled to yelde and geue vp the same into the hands of Lewes the French king, which of long tyme before belonged vnto the kinges of England.

1226 11 The Shiriualtie of Lõdon & Middlesex graunted to the Citie in fee farme.

The king at this time bearing great fauour to the Citie and Citizens of London, graunted vnto them the Shriualtie of London and Middlesex in Fee farme for three hundred pounde by the yere. And he graunted also that all the weares in the Thames should be plucked vp and destroyed for euer. And also by his Charter ensealed, he graunted that the Citizens of London shoulde passe tolle free throughout Englande. And that if any Citizen were constreyned in any Citie, Borough or Towne in Englande to pay any tolle, that then the Shrifes of London to attache any man comming to London of the sayde Citie Borough or Towne where such tolle was payde, and hym and his goodes to with holde and keepe vntill the Citizens of London were restored of all suche money as they payde for the sayde tolle, with all costes and dammages susteyned for the same. And the same yere also he graunted to the sayde Citizens of London free wareyn, that is to say, that the Citizens haue free libertie of hunting in a certeyne circuite aboute London.

Citizens of London are toll free thoroughout England.

Free wareyn graunted to the Citie of London.

1227 12 This yere the king confirmed the Charter and liberties of the Citie of London, & also certain liberties and priuileges he graunted to the Shriefes of London, as hauyng of Clercks and other,

Also about this time a Parliament was holden at London, in the which it was ordered that the English Grote should be coyned of a certaine weight and of the one side the kings picture, and one the other side a crosse as large fully as the Grote, to aduoyd clippyng. And at thys tyme was vsed to be coyned that standard and finenesse that was called sterling money, which before as ye maye reade was first coyned in the Towne of Sterlyng in Scotland, and therefore it taketh the name of Sterlyng.

1228 13 This yere the Towne of Lymosyn with diuers holdes in Pierregot and Aluerne in the

Countrie of Guyan, were geuen vp to the aforenamed Lewes the french king. Wherefore the king sent ouer his brother Richarde Erle of Cornewal shortly after, and landed at Burdeaux with foure hundred Shippes. But some other writers saye, that the king himselfe sayled with an armie into Briteyne against Lewes the french king, where after spoyling the Countrie, a peace was concluded betweene the sayde two inges.

And in this yere dyed Stephen Langton Archebishop of Cauntorburie, and the great Deane of Paules, Maister Richard Wethirshed was his successor. And the kings Maiestie still continuing his fauour to the Citie of London did graunt that the Citizens should vse one common seale. Stephen Langtō died.

At this time there was an order taken in the Citie of London that no Shriefe should continue in the Shriualtie lenger then one yere, the cause was, that they were had in suspicion to be great Brybers and takers of rewardes. 1229 14

This yere was graunted to the king a fiftene of the temporaltie, and a disme and a halfe of the spiritualtie to recouer his landes lost in Normandie, Guyan and Poyteau. And about this time also Hubert of Burgh being then chiefe Iustice of England had displeased the king in such wise, that he was compelled to flee the kings sight. And after by the labour of Bishyp Edmond of Pountney he was againe restored to the kings fauour. And at this time in London, was great hurt done by fyre. 1230 15 Hubert of Burgh chiefe Iustice of England fled England.

Vpon complaint brought before the king by the friendes of Lewlyn or Lluellen Prince of Wales, that Wylliam le Bruce should conspire against the king, or as some say, for that he kept vnlawfully the wyfe of the aforenamed Lewlyn, or Lluellen: he was after long imprisonment hanged. Also at this tyme dyed Reynulph Erle of Chester, Lyncolne and Huntyngdon. And his sisters sonne named Iohn, sonne vnto the Erle of Anguish who was his heyre, and helde that Lordeship after him. This Iohn of most wryters is called Iohn Scot, for so much as his father was a Scot. This foresayde Reynulph had no childe, albeit he had foure sisters. The eldest was named Mawde, and was maried to Dauid Erle of Anguishe, and was mother to the aforesayde Iohn Scot. The seconde was named Hawes, and was maried vnto the Erle of Arundell, the thirde Agnes, which was maryed to the Erle of Darby. And the fourth named Mabely, which was maryed vnto the Erle of Winchester called Quinacie. This Reynulph dyed at Wallingforde, and was buryed in the Chapter house of the Monkes of Chester, and ordeyned the aforenamed Scot to be his heyre, for that he would not haue so noble a Lordeship run, or be deuided among so many distaues. And this yere dyed Maister Wethershed Archebishop of Cauntorbury, whose successour was Edmond of Pountney. 1231 16 William de Bruse hāged. Iohn Scot.

And at this time beganne great variaunce betweene the king and his Lordes, because he put out of his seruice certeyne Englishe men and trusted straungers aswell in his counsaile, as in other offices.

About this time the king began the foundation of the Hospitall of Saint Iohn without the East gate of Oxforde. 1232 17

This yere the king put from him the straungers, and restored the Englishmen to their offices: and the same yere also the Iewes dwellyng in Norwich were accused for steling of a child whom they purposed to haue crucified.

And this yere Frederick the second of that name Emperour of Almain, maried the sister of king Henry named Isabell. In the which yere also fell wonderfull sore weather, with such thunder and lightnyng as the like had not bene sene. And there folowed an earthquake to the great feare of the inhabitauntes of Huntyngdon. 1233 18

This yere the king maryed Alianor the daughter of Raymond Erle of Prouince, and the bishop of Cantorbury maried them in his Church of Cantorbury. And shortly after she was crowned at Westminster as Queene of England, where in the fielde of Westminster now called Tothyll liyng at the west ende of the Church, were royall pastymes, and goodly Iustice kept by the space of. viij. dayes. 1234 19

And this yere at a Parliament was made the statute of Merton, in the which yere also were seene as it were hostes of men fighting in the ayre.

1235 — 20 — About this time dyed Iohn Scot before named Erle of Chester without Issue: Wherefore the king consideryng the great Prerogatius belongyng to that Erledome, gaue vnto the sisters of Reynulph other possessions, and tooke the Erledome into his awne handes.

The foundation of Saint Katherens Hospitall.

This yere also Queene Elianor founded the hospitall of Saint Katheryns besydes the tower, for the relefe both of men and women.

1236 — 21 — Shortly after a Legate named Octobone came into England to reforme the Clergie, but the youth of the Clergie lyked him not, and it chaunced him that as he passed through Oxfoorde, the schollers picked a quarrell vnto his seruauntes, and fought with them, and slue one of them, and put the Legate in such feare, that for his sauegard he tooke the Belfrey of Osney, and there held him vntill the kings ministers came from Abingdon, who with strength mixed with fayre wordes deliuered him, and conueyed him after with a conuenient companie to Wallyngforde, where he accursed the misdoers, and punished them in such wise, that the Regentes and maisters of that Vniuersity, were compelled in the ende, to go barefooted, through Chepe to Paules at London, and there to aske of him forgeuenesse, and had that trespasse wyth great difficultie so forgeuen.

Octobone a Legate from Rome, euill vsed of the youth of the Vniuersitie of Oxford.

And about this tyme, Sir Simon Mountford maryed the kinges sister, named Alianor countesse of Pembrooke, and he gaue with her to the sayde Sir Simond in the name of a dowry the Erledome of Leycester.

1237 — 22 — The yere folowyng a Clercke of Oxford that feyned himselfe mad, and before tyme had espyed certeyne secret places of the kinges Court, came by a window toward the kinges Chamber, at his manor of Woodstocke, entendyng to haue slaine the king in his bed. But he was espied by a woman and taken and conueyed to Couentry, and there arreyned of that dede: Where after lawfull profes of his malicious entent made, he for the same, was there hanged, and drawen. Polidore wryteth that the king as hap was had chaunged his bed that night, and so escaped the daunger of the treason.

1238 — 23 — This yere on Candlemasse day the king created Sir Simond Mountford Erle of Leycester.

Edward called Lōgshank named Edward the first borne at Westminster.

And this yere also the. xxvj. day of Iune was borne at Westminster, Edward that was after surnamed Longshanks, who after his father was king.

1240 — 25 — In the. xxv. yere of the reigne of this king, a Citizen of London whose name was Gerard Bat, which had bene chosen Maior of London, was chosen againe. And after his election, was presented vnto the king: But the king hauyng some information of his euyll dealyng the yere before, sayde that he would not admitte him to that office, vntill suche tyme as he came to Westminster, with which aunswere the sayde Gerard and his companye returned to London. It was not long after or the king came to Westminster, where accordyng to their duetie, they wayted to knowe his pleasure. Then the king called vnto him the sayd Maior, and after certeine questions to him ministred, he caused him to be sworne in his presence. After which othe, the king charged him by the vertue of the same, that he should not take of the bakers, Brewers, and other victuallers of the City fortie pound, which other of his predecessors, and he himselfe the last yere had done. And also that he incontinently after his commyng to London should restore vnto the sayd victuallers and other Citizens, al such money as he had with wrong in the former yere taken of the Commonaltie of the Citie. But because the sayde Gerard alleged for him certeine considerations, besechyng the king to pardon him of that restitution: The king in displeasure swore a great othe that he should not that yere be Maior, nor at any tyme after. And so the Commons certefied of the kinges pleasure, chose in his place or steede Reyner de Bungay. And afterward the king went into Wales, whereof Dauid Prince of Wales heryng, met him at Ruthland, and submitted himselfe vnto the kinges grace. After this he sayled into Normandy with a goodly army to recouer Guyan, and other Countries, but returned without any good successe. And the same yere were first chosen with-

Dauid prince of Wales submitted himselfe to the king.

in

in the Citie of London Aldermen, which then had the rule of the same, and of the seuerall wardes thereof, and were then yerely chaunged, as nowe the Shirifes of London are chaunged. Aldermen first appointed in London.

The king this yere prepared a goodly armye, and sayled into Fraunce, and warred vpon the Frenche king. The cause of this warre (as sayth the French Chronicle) was made by the styrryng of a Frenche man, named the Erle of Marche, because he refused to doe homage to Alphons, brother of Lewes the tenth of that name, and surnamed, S. Lewes, then king of Fraunce. 1242 27

This Lewes the yere before had maried his brother Alphons vnto the daughter of the Erle of Tolouse, and had geuen to his sayd brother the Erledome of Poyters, with all the landes of Aluerne. By reason whereof, he would haue caused the sayde Erle of March to haue done homage vnto the said Alphons for such landes as the sayd Erle helde of the Erledome of Poyters. But for that the sayd Erle knew well that the right of Guyan belonged to the king of England, he therefore, and for other alliaunces made betwene king Henry and him, refused the doyng of that homage, and after came to king Henry, and moued him to make warre vpon the French king. By reason whereof the king sayled ouer as aforesayde, and landed with a strong power at Burdeaux. And as the French Chronicle affirmeth, this Erle of Marche maryed the mother of this king Henry.

In this time the French king warred vpon the landes of the Erle of March, and had wonne two Castelles of his, named Founteynes, and Villiers, with diuerse other which I here omit. And when he had beaten downe some of them, and had manned some with newe Souldiours: he then went vnto a Castell named Mawcome, or Mawcoune, and brake a Bridge after him, because he was enformed that the king of England was nere vnto him. At the sayd bridge was a small skirmishe, and little harme done. Then the French king tooke the way ouer the riuer of Tharent, toward Tailborough, wasting and destroiyng the Countrie as he went, and so foorth towarde the towne called Saincs. Nowe king Henry with his power made towarde him in all that he might. In kepyng this course the vauntgarde encountered with the Erle of Boleyn, which was vpon the Frenche kinges partie, and that time the Erle of Saincs, bare the banner of the Erle of Marches, beyng the vauntgard of the king. But betweene these two Erles was a sore fight, so that many vpon both parties were slaine, among the which the sayd Erle of Saincs was slaine. Then came on both strengthes on eyther syde, so that both the kinges fought in that battaile, and a great slaughter of men vpon both sydes: But in the ende the Frenche men were victors, and tooke prisoners. xx. men of name, as knightes and men of higher degree, and three Clerckes of great fame and riches, besyde other to the number of fiue hundreth meane people (as sayth the French booke.) But of these men of name, nor yet of the three Clerckes, no mencion is made what they payed for theyr raunsomes.

Then the Erle of March, by meane of his sonne, was reconciled to the French king, and restored to his landes, except three Castelles, which were named Mespyn, Cretaine, and Easterday, the which the French king reteyned in his possession. And sone after came vnto the French king the Lordes of the Castelles of Mirable, and of Mortaygne, submittyng themselues also vnto the kinges grace, besechyng him of pardon, that they had so to his high displeasure fauoured his enemie the king of Englande. And after came in dyuerse other Lordes and Capitaines, that he was in possession of all the Countrie of Guyan and Poyters, vnto the riuer of Gerond.

I haue rehearsed the more of this Chronicle of Fraunce, to the entent that the readers may the better perceiue the pride and boldnes of the French men, for in all their wrytyng, when they come to any matter that soundeth any thing to theyr honour, it is written at the length, and in most shewyng maner, to their honour and worship: But if it sound any thing to their dishonour, then shall it be abreuiated and hid, that the truth shall not be knowen, for they euer delight to tell of winnyng, but neuer of losyng. Now after this euill fortune, king Henry returned againe into England.

Griffith

1243 28 Griffith the sonne of Lewlyn Prince of Wales being prisoner in the Tower of London, purposyng to breake prison and so to escape, fell ouer the wall of the inner ward, and there brake his neck. And this yere the Plees of the Crowne were pleaded in the Tower

1244 29 of London. Thys yere a Maior of London and a Shriefe were both deposed from their romes, bicause they were both proued periured, and other were chosen in their places.

And this yere also Robert Grosthed Bishop of Lyncoln complayned to the king of the waste of the goodes and patrimony of the Church within this Reâlme of Englande, which daylie were consumed by alyen Bishops and Clerkes of thys lande, which shortly after were auoyded.

Thys yere a Iewe digging in the grounde to enlarge his Vineyarde founde vnder a stone a Booke, wherein was written in three languages, Greeke, Hebrewe and Latyne of three worldes that should be, of the which he appointed Christ to be the beginning of the thirde worlde, which was expressed in this maner. In the beginning of the thirde worlde, Gods sonne shall be borne of a mayde. &c. by the occasion whereof, the sayde Iewe was conuerted to the fayth of Christ.

1246 31 At thys tyme dyed Frederyck the second of that name Emperour, who afore as ye haue heard marryed Isabell sister vnto the king. Of the which Frederyck menciō is made before in the. xxiiij. yere of king Henry the second. After whose death much strife ensued about the election of the Emperour, some chose the Duke of Thorynge, some the Erle of Holland, and some chose the kinges brother Richard Erle of Cornewall: which caused strife that endured long after, so that the onely Emperour of Almayn was not of all men allowed, vntyll Radulphus Duke or Erle of Habspurge in Almayn, was chosen by one assent vnto that dignitie, and therevnto admytted by Gregorie the. ix. of that name in the yere of our Lorde. 1273. And so that variance continued. xxvij. yeres, to the great empouerishing of Italy, and the landes of the Empire.

The liberties of London are seazed.

In Englande thys yere happened so mightie an earthquake, that the lyke hath not beene heard of. And thys yere the king seased the Fraunchise and liberties of the Citie of London vpon the Euen of S. Bartholomew the Apostle for a iudgement that was geuen by the Maior & Aldermen agaynst a Wydow named Margaret Viel, and the rule of the Citie was committed vnto Wylliam Hauerell and Edwarde of Westmynster, till our Lady daye next following. At the which time the Maior and the Shriefes were againe restored to their offices.

1247 32 In the. xxxij. yere of thys kings reigne the Wharfe of London called Queene hithe was taken to Farme by the commonaltie of the Citie of London to pay yerely therefore fiftie pound, the which then was committed to the Shriefes charge, and so it remayneth to this time.

Queene Hithe taken of the king in farme.

1248 33 At thys tyme dyed Robart Grosthed Bishop of Lyncoln who was a wise and a learned man. Innocent the Pope at that tyme grieued greatly the Church of England with sore and weighty taskes and payments, whome this Grosthed did sharply rebuke by an Epistle for hys doings. And amongst many other his abuses this was one, he gaue vnto a childe a nephew of his, a Prebend which fell in the Church of Lincoln, & sent the child vnto the bishop, charging him to admit the same childe, and to see him estalled. But this Bishop boldely denyed his admission, and wrote vnto Innocent the Pope againe, that he could not, nor woulde receyue any suche vnto cure of soule, that could not rule himselfe. Therefore this Robert was summoned to apere before the Pope, and thervpon accurssed. Then he appealed from Innocents Court, to Christes awne throne.

1249 34 This yere the Maior and Aldermen, and Citizens of London, who in tymes past were wont to ryde by lande the morowe after the day of Simon and Iude to present their Maior at Westminster where he tooke his othe, did nowe take Barges, euery company a seuerall Barge decked with Banners, Streamers, and Flagges very richly, and so rowed by water to Westminster, and vse the same still to this day.

This yere also the king summoned a Parliament at London, in the which it was enacted that a coyne of a certeine weight of siluer called a grote should be stamped, and that it

it should haue on the one syde the picture of the kinges face, and on the other a crosse extended in length to the extreme partes therof, to the entēt there should be no deceyt vsed by diminishing or clipping ỹ same.

Shortly after the king gaue in mariage his daughter Mary, but some called her Margaret, vnto Alexander the king of Scottes, at the Citie of Yorke, and there did receyue of him homage for the kingdome of Scotland, in like maner as many of his progenitors had done dyuerse and many tymes before, as in this worke hath and shall appere. 1250 35 King Henry maryed his daughter Mary to the king of scots, who did homage vnto him for all Scotland.

This yere was a great wynde vpon the day of Simon and Iude, which did much harme in many places of England.

And in this yere the king graunted vnto the Shirifes of London that they should yerely be allowed seuen pound for certeyne priuileges or ground belongyng to Paules Church, the which at this day is allowed by the Barons of the Kinges Eschequer, vnto euery Shirife, when they make theyr accompt in the office of the Pipe. 1252 37

The king also graunted to the Citizens for their more ease, that where before time they vsed yerely to present their Maior vnto the kinges presence, in any such place as he should bein then in Englande: that nowe from this time forwarde, they should for lacke of the kinges presence beyng at Westminster, present their Maior so chosen to the Barons of his Eschequer, and there to be sworne and admitted, as he before times was before the king. The Maior of London to be presented to the Barons of the Exchequer.

And at this tyme, the water of the Thames sprang so high that it drowned many houses about the water syde, by meane whereof much marchaundise was perished and lost. And this yere also the king graunted vnto the Citizens, that hereafter they should paye no skauage or tolle for Beastes by them bought, as they had vsed before tyme. Citizens of London are free of toll & skauage for beastes.

And nowe sayth Fabian, by the procurement of Sir Richarde Erle of Cornewall, for displeasure which he bare towarde the Citie, for exchaunge of certeine ground to the same belongyng. The king vnder colour that the Maior had not done due execution vpon the Bakers for lackyng of theyr syzes, seazed the liberties of the Citie. That is to say, that where the Maior and Communaltie of the Citie had by the kinges graunt the Citie to ferme, with dyuerse customes and offices for a stynted and an asserteyned summe of money: nowe the king placed officers in them at his will and pleasure, the which were accomptable vnto him for all reuenues and profites that grewe within the sayd Citie. But within foure dayes folowyng, the Citizens agreed with the sayd Erle, for sixe hundreth marke. After which agreement with him concluded, they were againe restored to their liberties. 1253 38 The liberties of London seazed. Money saueth many sores.

In this tyme and yere was Sir Edwarde the kinges sonne and heyre maryed vnto Alianor the kinges sister of Spaine, or as some other write, to the daughter of Alphons king of Castile. To whom the king his father gaue the Principalitie of Wales, with the gouernance of Guyan and Irelande, whereof beganne that the kinges of Englande ordeyned their eldest sonnes Princes of Wales. And in the same yere the king and Queene landed at Douer, and so came to London, and were lodged at the Tower, where he sent for the Maior and Shirifes of London, with whome he reasoned greuously for the escape of one called Iohn Gate: This Iohn had murdered a Prior allyed to the king. The Maior excused himselfe, and burdened the Shirifes therewith, saiyng that vnto them belonged the keeping of all the Prisonnes and prisoners that were within the Citie of London. And so the Maior returned home: But the Shirifes remayned there as prisoners by the space of a moneth after or more. And in their places, and for them were chosen Stephen Oystergate, and Henry Walmode. But howe the olde Shirifes passed out of the kinges daunger, I know not. Edward the kinges eldest sonne maryed to Alianor ỹ kinges sister of Spaine.

This yere the Ladie Alianor wife vnto Prince Edward came through London, where she was honourably receyued of the Citizens, and the Citie hanged with riche clothes of Silke and Golde. And there was present the Prince her husband, who conueyed her through 1254 39

through London vnto Saint Iohns without Smithfielde, and there was lodged for a whyle, and after remoued to the Sauoye.

Liberties of London againe seazed. Money maketh al whole.

And not long after, the king seazed the liberties of London for certeyne money which the Queene claymed for her right of the Citizens, so that in the ende they payed vnto her foure hundreth Markes and had theyr libertyes againe restored.

Iewes condemned for crucifiyng of a childe.

And about this time were brought vnto Westminster an hundreth and two Iewes from Lincolne, the which were also accused of the crucifiyng of a childe at Lincolne in despite of Christes religion, which Iewes were after sent vnto the Tower of London. Of the which afterward. xviij. were conuict and hanged, and the other remayned long in prison.

Queene of Scottes brought a bed in England.

And this yere the king of Scottes and the Queene his wife came into England to the king to his Manor of Woodstocke, where he disported hym for a season, and then returned againe home, leauyng his wife with her mother vntill she were brought a bed and lighted of her childe. And shortly after the King and the Queene, and the Queene of Scottes, came to London, where they were honourably receyued, and so conueyed to Westminster.

1255

40

Richard erle of Cornewall made king of ye Romaines.

This yere certeyne Lordes that came out of Germany made their homage vnto Sir Richarde Erle of Cornewall and brother vnto the king, the which as then stoode king of Almaine, and of Romaines. And shortly after he departed from the kinges Court, and sped him with his wife, and Sir Henry his sonne vnto the sea syde, and after tooke shippyng in Iarnesey, and landed at Dordrite in Holland. And soone after, he was crowned king of the Romaynes in the Citie of Aquis Granum.

Lewlin the son of Griffith Prince of Wales rebelled.

And now the kyng of England set forward toward Wales for to subdue Lewlyn or Lluellen the sonne of Griffyth the which with his Welsh men rebelled against the king, because Sir Edwarde his sonne, to whome he had a little before geuen the Erlèdome of Chester, would haue chaunged some of their skittishe condicions. And for to bring his purpose the better about, he sent for an army of Souldiours into Ireland, and taryed for their commyng at his Castell of Brecknocke. But the yere passed so farre on, that he could do no good that yere, and therefore returned to London.

The Abbot of Waltham & the Citizens are made friendes.

And this present yere, where there had beene a great and long sute betwene the Abbot of Waltham, and the Citizens of London, about certein toll to be payde at the fayre there holden: It was agreed that from thence foorth the Citizens of London should come and go toll free, and that the distresses taken for the same should be restored, and if any were perished by keping, then the Abbot to make them good.

1256

42

Variance betwene ye king and the Citizens of London by reason of a slaunderous Bill.

Nowe approched great vexation and trouble to the Citie and Citizens of London, as after shall appere. It so chaunced by the meanes of some euil member, that bare no good will to the Citizens of London, that a certeine grieuous Bill of complaint was made and written in a great roll of Perchment, and the same Perchement was enclosed in greene waxe, and was east or left in the kings Wardrobe at ỹ Castell of Windsore, into the which Wardrobe, the kinges grace did often vse to come, & in this roll was written certeine most heynous articles and complaints against the Maior and rulers of the Citie, for the misgouernement of the same. And this Bill the king found, and after he had read and perused the contentes thereof he grewe into great displeasure therewith. And therevpon he sent Mancell one of his Iustices to London, and there commaunded him the next holyday folowyng, that by the kings auethoritie he should call a folckmote at Paules crosse, where then was present Sir Richard de Clare Erle of Gloucester, and diuerse other of the kinges counsaile. In which place the sayde Iohn Mancell caused the sayde roll to be read to the people that were there assembled, and after the readyng thereof, he stoode vp and shewed the people the kinges pleasure and minde was that they should be ruled with iustice, and that the liberties of the Citie should be mainteyned in euery poynt. And if the king might know those personnes that had wronged the Communaltie of the Citie, they should bee grieuously punished to the example of other. And then the sayd Iohn

A folkemot was an assebly of people to say yea or nay to that which should be declared vnto them.

Mancell charged openly the Maior, to commaund that euery Alderman in hys warde should the morrow following, assemble his Wardmote. And that all those Wardmotes should assemble in one place, and chose of themselues without any counsell or aduise of any of their Aldermen. xxxvj. persons, and them to present before the Lordes and him, at the same houre the next day in the Bishops Pallace at Paules. Then vpon the morrow all thing was done according to his commaundment. And when the sayde. xxxvj. persons were presented before the saide Iohn Mancell, Henry Baa and other Iustices: the sayde Mancell sayde vnto them that they vpon their othe should certefie all such persons as they knewe guiltie in the Articles before shewed vnto the commonaltie, whereunto the sayde. xxxvj. Citizens aunswered, that it was contrarie to their liberties to be sworne so many for any matter of trespasse betweene the king and any of the Citizens, wherefore they required a sparyng. With which aunswere the sayde Iohn Mancell being discontented, warned them to appere before the kings Counsayle at the Guildhall vpon the morrow following, where they kept their day, and thether came the sayde Iustices, Iohn Mancell and Henry Baa, Sir Henrye Wengham Chauncelour of England, Philip Louell vnder treasorer, and dyuers other of the kings counsayle.

A Wardmote is ye assembly of the people of the Warde for like purposes is said before of a folkemote.

Then the sayde Iohn Mancell, exhorted the sayde persons to be sworne, and vsed vnto them many perswasions, but all was in vayne, for they excused themselues still, that it was contrarie to their othe, and against the libertie of the Citie. Wherefore the kings counsell departed from the hall somewhat discontēted, & shewed vnto the king the demeanor of the said Citizens.

Vpon Candelmas euen, the Maior being warned that the king should come to Westmynster, he with the more parte of the Aldermen came vnto knights Bridge, and houed there to salute the king, and to know his further pleasure. But when the king came neere that place, and heard of their being there, he sent vnto them a Squire of houshold, and charged them that they shoulde not presume to come in his sight: wyth which message, they beyng greatly discomfited, returned home to the Citie.

The king cōmaunded the Maior out of his sight.

Shortly after, Mighell Tony and Adam Basyng returned from the Courte, whome the Maior before had sent thether, that by such friendes as they could make to vnderstande the cause of the kings wrath and displeasure. They brought worde, that the king was well minded vnto the Citie, but he was in full purpose to haue such persons chastised, that had oppressed the commonaltie of the same.

The next day following came vnto the Guyldhall, Iohn Mancell with other of the kings counsell the which to the people there assembled, vttered manye fayre and pleasaunt wordes: among the which he declared that the kings minde and will was, to correct all suche persons as had oppressed the commonaltie of this his deerest beloued Citie: and asked of the commons whether they woulde be agreeable to the same: who incontinently beyng a multitude whereof many were without discretion, and knew full little what that question meant, cryed, yee, yee, yee. And after that graunt thus had of the Commons, the sayde Iohn Mancell discharged the Maior, Shirifes, and Chamberleyn of their offices and delyuered the custody thereof, vnto the Constable of the Towre, & put in the rome of the Shirifes, Michaell Tony and Iohn Adrian. And moreouer all rolles and tolles and tallages before made, were deliuered vnto the sayde Iohn Mancell, the which he there sealed and deliuered them vnto the Chamberleyne. Now when the Commons had well marked and considered whereaboutes he went, they returned home to their houses altogether confounded and amazed.

The answere of a folkmote.

The liberties of the Citie againe seazed.

Then the sayd Iohn Mancell with diuerse of the kingēs counsaile, kept their dayly courtes, and called before them. xij. wardes of the Citie. Of euery of the which. xij. wardes was taken three men, so that of those. xij. wards there were. xxxvj. men empaneled and sworne for to enquire of the aforesayd articles, and what personnes in the Citie had offended them. This Court thus kept and holden at the Guyldhall, no man was called to aunswere, nor no question put vnto any person by the sayd enquest, or by any

other. And soone after, that is to say vpon the first Sonday in Lent, the Maior, Aldermen and Shirifes, with the sayd enquest, and foure men of euery ward were charged to appere at Westminster, before the king: at which apperance they were countermaunded vntill the next day folowyng. At which season they cõmyng into the kings Exchequer found sittyng there, the Erles of Gloucester and of Warwick, Iohn Mancell, Henry Baa Iustices, the Constable of the tower, then Custos of the Citie, & diuerse other of the kings counsaile. Then was called Raufe Hardell that yere Maior, Nicholas Bat, Nicholas Fitz Iosue, Mathewe Bokerell, Iohn Tolesham and Iohn le Minour, Aldermen. Then sayd Iohn Mancell, that the king by his lawes and inquisition of the Citizens of the Citie, had found them culpable, that they had wronged and hurt the communaltie of his Citie by diuerse meanes, as by the sayde inquisition apered, and forthwith caused it to be read before them. And when the more part thereof was read he sayd vnto them, thus may you see that the communaltie of the Citie hath bene by you most grieuously oppressed, and by your meanes and counsaile the common weale of the same destroyed as by alteryng of the tolles and other good auncient customes, turnyng them to your singuler aduauntage and lucre. All which matters the sayde Raufe and his company denyed, and that the commons was not by any such meanes by them nor none of them grieued or hurt, and that they offered to be iustified and iudged by the law and customes of the Citie.

Howe the Maior and Citizens appered in the Exchequer.

Then Henry Baa Iustice asked them whether they would holde the aduenture of the enquirie that they had heard read before, or else stande vpon the saiyng of the other wardes, that had not yet bene sworne, but they kept them to their first aunswere. Then Iohn Mancel demaunded of the Maior what was their law and custome. The Maior aunswered and sayd, that for trespasse of a Citizen done against the king, he should defende him by. xij. of the sayd Citizens, and for murder and sleayng of a man by. xxx. Citizens, and for trespasse against a straunger by the othe of sixe and himselfe. Then after many reasons made by the sayde Iohn Mancell, and also by the Maior and Aldermen, day was geuen them againe to appere the next day folowyng before the king and his counsaile.

Vpon the day folowing, the king with many of his Lordes sittyng in the said Exchequer, the aforesaid inquisition was read. And that done the Maior and Aldermen were called by name, and two Aldermen more, which the day before were not called, that is to say, Arnold Thedmare, & Henry Walmode.

When Raufe Hardell had heard the king speake in the matter, he tooke such feare, that he and Nicholas Bat without any farther answere, put them in the kinges grace, sauyng to them their liberties and Fraunchises of the Citie. But the other sixe besought the king of his rightwisenesse, that they might then be demed after the lawes and customes of the Citie. Then was layde to their charge, that besyde many wronges by them done to the king, and to the communaltie of the Citie: they had altered the kinges Beame, and ordered it to the aduauntage of themselues, and of the riche men of the Citie. Whereunto the parties aunswered and said, that the alteration of the Beame was not done by them onely, but by the aduice and consent of fiue hundreth of the best of the Citie. For where before the Weyer vsed to leane his draught toward the Marchandice, so that the buyer had by that meane. x. or. xij. pound in a draught to his aduauntage, and the seller so much disaduauntage, nowe for indifferencye and equalitie of both persons or Marchauntes, was ordeyned that the Beame should stande vpright in the cleft thereof, enclinyng to neyther partie, as it doth in weiyng of Golde and Siluer, and the buyer to haue of the seller allowed vnto him for all thinges * foure pounde of the hundreth.

* This is that allowance y^t Grocers call Cloffe.

After these reasons and sundrie other by them made, the king commaunded that in the morning next folowyng, a folkemote should be called at Paules Crosse, and so that court was dissolued, and the Maior and the other returned to London.

A folkemote againe called.

The next day the folkemote beyng assembled at Paules crosse, these sixe Aldermen heeryng the murmuration of the common people, and knowyng that neither the Aldermen, nor the worshipfull of the Citie, should haue any saiyng in the matter, fearing their cause,

wēt-

wēt into a Canons house of Paules, where at that time the sayd Iohn Mancell and other sent from the king taryed the assembling of the people, and shewed vnto them that they entended not to pleade any lenger with the king, but were contented to put themselues fully in the kinges grace and mercye, sauyng alway to them and all other Citizens their liberties and Fraunchise of the Citie.

After the which agreement the sayd Iohn Mancell with other came vnto the Court of Folkemote, where was rehearsed vnto the People a faire and pleasant tale, promisyng to them their liberties should be wholy & inuiolately preserued by the king, with many other thinges to the great comfort of them. And lastly it was demaunded of them, whether the law and custome was such or was the day before rehearsed or no? Wherevnto like vndiscrete and vnlearned men, they cryed and aunswered rudely, nay, nay, nay, notwithstandyng the sayde lawe and custome had before this time beene vsed tyme out of mynde. But to this, neither Maior, nor Alderman, nor other of the chiefe of the Citie that might replie nor impugne or make any reason for the defence of their auncient lawes and customes. Rude and rashe people.

It was not much to be marueyled that the king was thus offended against the Citie, for by such euill disposed people as he had about him, the land was euill ruled, and much mischiefe was vsed: Whereof ensued much sorow after, as appereth in the sequele of this historie, as sayth Fabian.

Then Iohn Mancell called the Maior and Aldermen before him and charged them to be at Westminster the next day folowing to geue attendance vpon the kinges grace. The next day the Maior and Aldermen tariyng the kinges comming in the great Hall at Westminster, lastly the king came into Saint Stephens Chappell, where a while he had communication with his Lordes, and after went into the Chequer Chamber, and there sate him downe and his Lordes about him. Anon after the Maior and Aldermen were called into the sayde Chamber, and shortly after called by name, and commaunded to stande nere to the barre. Then Henry Baa Iustice sayde vnto the Maior and the seuen Aldermen, that forsomuche as by forme of the kings lawes they were found culpable in diuerse articles touching transgression agaynst the king, therefore the Court awarded that they should make fine and raunsome, after the discretion of the sayde Court: But for that they had put them in the kinges grace and mercy, the king hath commaunded the fine to be put in respyte, ỹ ye be not pained so grieuously as ye haue deserued. A iudgement geuen against the Maior & Citizens in the Chequer Chamber in the presence of the king.

After which iudgement geuen, they kneled downe, and then the Maior with weping teares, thanked the king of his bountie and goodnesse, and besought him to be good and gracious Lorde vnto the Citie and to them as his faythfull subiectes. Wherevnto the king made nō aunswere, but rose streight vp, and went his way, leauyng them there. And assoone as the king was departed, they were all arested and kept there till they had found surety, and euery Alderman of them discharged of his ward and office that they had within the Citie, but shortly after they put in sureties, and so returned heauilye to London.

Anon after that, was William Fitz Richard by the kinges commaundement made Maior, and Thomas Fitz Thomas, and William Grappisgate Shirifes.

After this, day by day, the Chamberleyn was called to an accompt before the sayde Iohn Mancell of all such tolles as was gathered in the tyme of the Mayralie of Iohn Tolysham, and of Raufe Hardel, and there were present to here the sayd accompt diuerse of the Communalty of the Citie, but none of the heades: By the which accompt no fault could be found against any of the Personnes that were conuict before the king. By reason whereof, diuerse of them were shortly after admitted againe to the kinges fauour and restored to their offices, but not without payment of money, whereof the certeintie is not knowen.

And in this yere wheate was so scant, that it was solde at London for. xxiiij shillinges a quarter, and scanter shoulde haue beene, if plentie had not come out of Almaine: For in Fraunce and Normandie it fayled likewise. By meane of this dearth and scarsitie, much poore people dyed for hunger, and many of diuerse countries of England, came vnto the Citie, and nere thereabout for comfort of victuall: For it was then better chepe England in the time of scarsitie is beholdyng to straungers.

in London then in many shires of England there aboutes. And shortly after was the sayde Iohn Mancell made knight and chiefe Iustice of England.

Insanū Parliamentum, or mad Parliament.

Also this yere the king helde a Parliament at Oxenford, which was called *insanum Parliamentum*, that is to say, the mad Parliament. For in this Parliament were made many actes against the kings prerogatiue and pleasure, for the reformation of the state of the lande, which after turned to the confusion and hurt of the land, and the death and destruction of many noble men, so that by occasion thereof began that hatefull strife, called at this day the Barons warre, whereof ensued much trouble and mischiefe, as after shall appere.

Barons warre.

Then as is aforesayde, to aduoyde the enormities, and to reforme the euill rule that was then vsed in the lande, by such euill persons as daylie were about the king, manye and diuers ordinances were made: wherevnto the king (somewhat against hys wyll) and Sir Edward his sonnes and others agreed. And for that these actes should be holden firme and stable, there were at this Parliament chosen. xij. Peeres, which were named Douze perys, to whome authoritie was giuen by vertue of this Parliament to correct all such as offended in breaking of these ordinances, and such other, as by the sayde. xij. peres, shoulde afterward be deuysed and ordered touching and concerning the same matter and purpose. Of which. xij. Peeres the names ensue.

The twelue Peeres commonly called le Douze Peres.

The Archebishop of Cauntorbury, the Bishop of worcester, Sir Roger Bygot then Erle of Norffolk and Marshall of Englande, Sir Symon de Mountforde Erle of Leyceter, Sir Richard Clare Erle of Gloucestre, Sir Humffrey Bothum Erle of Herfford of Warwike and of Arondell, Sir Iohn Mancell chiefe Iustice of Englande, Sir Roger Mortymer, Sir Hugh Bigraue, Sir Peter de Sauoy, Sir Iames Audely, and Sir Peter de Mountford. And for that the kings brother on the mothers syde, that is to saye Sir Eym Erle of Wynchester, Sir William de valaunce, Sir Godfrey de Lyndsey and Sir Guy de Lyndsey, woulde not assent to the aforesayde ordinances, they withdrew them towarde the Sea side with such stuffe as they had, and would haue departed the land, if they might then haue had shipping: for lack whereof they were fayne to returne, and so went to Wynchester. But it was not long after, that they were lycenced to depart the lande, with a certaine companie, and a certaine summe of money to paye for their costes, and their day set by Bartholomewtyde to aduoyde vpon payne of imprisonement, which day by them was kept.

It was not long after the finishing of thys Parliament but that strife and variaunce beganne to kindle betweene the king and the Erles of Leycester and Gloucestre, by meane of such officers as the sayde Erles had remoued, and put other in their romes. Among the which Iohn Mancell was discharged of hys office, and Sir Hugh Bygot then admitted for him. And bicause the aforesayde peres heard of the murmure of the Courte, fearing that the king should be aduertised shortly to alter from his promise, therfore they entending to make their partie the stronger, the next day following, the king being at Westmynster, the Erle Marshall, the Erle of Leycester, with dyuers other came vnto the Guildhall at London where the Maior, Aldermen and commonaltie of the Citie were assembled, where the sayde Lordes shewed an instrument, or wryting, at the which hanged many labelles with Seales, as the kings seale, Sir Edward his sonnes, with manye other of the nobles of the lande, the which was the content of the Articles which were made and ordeyned at Oxenforde, wylling the Maior and Aldermen (considering the saide actes were made vnto the honour of God, fidelitie vnto the king, and profite of the realme,) that they would also in vpholding of the same, set to also their common Seale of the Citie. After which request thus to the Citizens made, and after aduise and counsell among themselues taken, they desyred a sparing of the Lordes, till they might speake with the king, and know his pleasure in that behalfe. But finally no sparyng at that tyme might be graunted, so that in the ende, by the labour that the lordes made, with helpe of such solicitors as they had within the Citie, the common Seale was put to, and the Maior and diuerse of the Citie

sworne to mainteyne the same, their allegeance saued to the king, with preseruation of the liberties and fraunchises of the Citie and so departed.

Then day by day, the *Douze Peeres* assembled at the newe Temple, where they kept their counsailes and Courtes for the reformation of the olde griefes, and remoued from the king diuers of his Menyall seruauntes, and set in their places and office such as pleased them.

And vpon the. ix. day of August, proclamation was made in diuerse accustomed places of the sayd Citie, that none of the kinges takers should take any thing within the liberties of London, without the will of the owner, except two Tonne of Wine, which the king accustomably had of euery ship cōmyng from Burdeaux, paiyng but fortie shillynges for a Tonne. By meane of which Proclamation, nothing was taken by the kinges officers, but it were streight payed for within the Citie & libertie of the same, which vsance continued but a while. This is called the Buttelerage.

In the. xlij. yere, the king helde a Parliament at Westminster, and another (or else proroged the same) to Winchester. And in this yere, Sir Hugh Bygot Iustice, with Roger Tuckley, and other, kept his Court at Saint Sauiours, and there held their Plees called *Itineraii.* The which is to meane the traueylyng or the way Plees. For ye shall vnderstand, that at those daies they were kept in diuerse places in Englande, which nowe beene holden at Westminster, and Iudges ordeyned to kepe a circuite, as nowe they kepe the Sizes in time of vacation. At this sayd Court, these Iudges punished sore Baylifes and other officers, that before them were conuict for diuerse trespasses, & specially for takyng of amerciamentes otherwise then the law permitted them to do. For the which the sayde chiefe Iustice emprisoned them, and after seassed them at grieuous fines. Also he sommoned the Citezens of London to come to the same Court, for Tolles that they had taken vpon the further syde of the water. But it was answered that the tolles that they there toke, were taken lawfully as they were redy to proue in places & Court conuenient to the same, which was within the precinct of their libertie. But notwithstanding that aunswere, the saide Sir Hugh charged them vpon a quest of xij. knightes of Surrey to enquire of that matter and other, the which acquited the sayde Citizens, and shewed that the sayd Toll belonged to them of ryght. 1257 42

After this, the sayde Sir Hugh with other, came vnto the Guyldehall, and kept his Court and Plees there, without all order of lawe, and contrary to the libertyes of the Citie, and there punished the Bakers for lack of Size, by the Tomberell, where beforetymes, they were punished by the Pillorye, and ordered many other thinges at his will, more then by anye good order of lawe. A Tomberell was a kinde of Pillory made fourre square that turned round about.

This yere came vnto London from beyonde the Sea Richard king of Almaine, and Erle of Cornewall, with his wife and children, which had beue there and taken possession of that kingdome, as before is shewed. Against whose commyng the Citie of London was richely hanged, with clothes of Silke and Arras, and ioyously he was receyued of the Citizens.

And in the. xliij. yere of his reigne in the Parliament holden at Westminster was reade in the presence of all the Lordes and commonalty at sundrie times, all the actes and ordinaunces before made in the Parliament holden at Oxenford, with certeyne other articles by the aforesayde. xij. Peres therevnto added. After the readyng of which articles, there beyng reuested the Archbishop of Cauntorbury with other, to the number of. ix. Bishops besyde Abbots and other, denounced all them accurssed that attempted in worde or deed to breake the sayde Statutes or any of them. 1258 43

In this Parliament also was graunted a taske called the Scutage, that is to say. xl. shillinges of euery knightes fee through the realme of England, the which extended to a great summe of money. For after dyuerse wryters, there be (saith Fabian) in England in the possession of the Spiritualty and of the Temporaltie, or at those dayes were, ouer A taske called Scutage.

&

& aboue. xl. thousand knightes fees, which after that rate should extende to fourescore thousand pound.

A folkemote.

The sixt day of Nouember folowyng, the king came to Paules, where by his cōmaundement was assembled the Court of folkmote, where the king fearing rebellion of his nobles, did according to the former ordinances made, aske licence of the commonaltie of the Citie, for to passe the sea, and promised there in the presence of a great multitude of people, that he would be good and gracious Lorde vnto the Citie by the mouth of Sir Hugh Bigot his chiefe Iustice, and to mainteine their liberties vnhurt: For the which the people for ioy made an exceedyng shoute.

Vpon the. viij. day of Nouember the king roade through the Citie towarde the sea syde. And vpon the day of Saint Brice, or the. xiij. day of Nouember, he tooke his ship, and so sayled vnto Burdeaux, where when he had taryed a season, he road vnto the French king, then beyng king Lewes vnto Paris. Of whom he was honourably receyued, and was lodged in his awne Pallace, by the space of a whole weke, makyng to him great feastes, and geuing to him and his, many costly and riche giftes. And from thence king Henry roade vnto Saint Denice, where of the Abbot and Couent he was receiued with procession, & taryed there by the space of a moneth. In which season a maryage was concluded, betwene Iohn Duke of Briteyne, and one of the kinges daughters. And at his departing, he gaue to the Abbot a Cuppe of Golde, and a Bason with an Ewer of Siluer. And for his more consolation certeine Lordes and other noble men of Fraunce gaue attendaunce vpon him, to conuey him, and shewe him a part of Fraunce, with all disport of huntyng and hawkyng, and other many pleasures of the Countrie.

And in this time, the French king assembled his Parliament at Paris, where he shewed vnto his Lordes, that his conscience grudged with the withholdyng of all such landes as Philip the second wanne from king Iohn in Normandy, vpon the which he desyred their faythfull and fruitefull counsaile, where after many reasons and argumentes made, it was concluded for a finall concorde to be had betwene king Henry and him, that if king Henrie with the agreement of his Lordes would resigne into the Frenche Kinges handes, all such title and right as he had in the whole Duchie of Normandy, Angeow, Poyteau, and Mayne for him and for his heyres for euer, that then the French king of his great bountie and grace, should geue vnto the king of England, and to his heyres kinges, the Lordship of Guian, Angeou, and Mayne, and by rightfull title, euer after to be called the Duke of Guian, and besydes that, he should bee admitted for a Peere of Fraunce: To all which condicions, as appereth by the French Chronicle, king Henrie at his returne from his disport was agreable, and with consent of his Baronnye, and in their presence, with also the Barony of France, did his homage vnto the sayde Lewes for the Duchie of Guyan, and after made his othe according to the same. And after great giftes receyued on eyther syde, king Henry returned vnto Burdeaux.

Of this peace speaketh Guido, and sayth, that king Henry sayled into Fraunce, and asked restitution of the French king, of such landes as Philip the second his ayle had with extort power taken from king Iohn his father. But because he found the French king straunge in his answere, and also had little trust in his Lordes to haue their ayde, he fell to agreement with the French king, and solde him his title that he had in Normandy, Gascoyne and Guyan, the which extended vnto the yerely value of twentie thousand pound, taking for the same title three hundreth thousande of small Turon money, whereof a pound is in value after sterlyng money but two shillings and three pence, or there about, so that he should after that rate haue for his sayde title, after the value of sterlyng money. xxxiiij. thousand. vij. C. fiftie pound.

A variaunce betwene Sir Edward the Prince and the Erle of Gloucester.

While king Henry was thus occupyed in Fraunce, dissention fell in England, betweene Sir Edward the kinges sonne, and Sir Richarde Erle of Gloucester. For the appeasing whereof, a Parliament, that is to saye, a counsaile of his Lordes was called at Westminster, which continued by the space of three weekes and more. To the which counsaile

the Lordes came with great companies, and specially the sayde Sir Edwarde, and the Erle of Gloucester, the which entended to haue lodged within the Citie. Wherefore the Maior went vnto the Bishop of Worcester, and sir Hugh Bigot, and sir Philip Basset, to whome the king with the Archbishop of Cauntorbury had taken the rule of the lande in his absence, the which went vnto the king of Almaine to haue his aduise in that matter: Where it was concluded, that neyther the sayd sir Edward, nor the Erle, should come within the Citie there to be lodged, nor none that helde vpon eyther of the parties. And further it was prouided, that all such as were within the Citie, and was of the age of. xv. yeres and aboue, should be in harnesse to watch and kepe the City both day and night and that the gates should be shut vpon the day, & certaine men in harnesse to kepe euery gate of the City. And sone after, for ỹ safegard of the Citie, and sure keepyng of the peace within the same, the king of Romaines, with the sayd Sir Hugh came into the Citie, and there were lodged with their companies, and suche other as they would assigne to strength the Citie if neede required.

Shortly after the king came to London from beyond the sea, and was lodged at the Bishop of Londons Palace. After whose commyng, by his assignement, the Erle of Gloucester was lodged within the Citie, and Sir Edward his sonne was lodged in his awne Palace at Westminster. And soone after the king commaunded him to be lodged at S. Iohns without Smithfield Barres in the Suburbes of London, and al the other Lordes were lodged in other places without the Citie. And the king of Romaynes remoued againe to Westminster.

In the which tyme an order was taken betweene the sayde partyes, and a new assembly or Parliament was appoynted in the *Quindena* of Saint Iohn Baptist. And from that tyme to the entent that all thinges might be set in an order, it was proroged vnto the feast of saint Edward, at which tyme all thinges were in quiet, and so continued a tyme.

A Iewe drowned in a Preuy.

And here Fabian telleth a tale of a Iewe, saiyng that at Tewkesbury there fell a Iewe into a Iakes or Gonge vpon a Saterday, which was his Sabboth day, and would not for reuerence of his Sabboth day be plucked out, whereof heeryng the Erle of Gloucester that the Iewe did so great reuerence to his Sabboth day, thought he would do asmuch to his holy day, which was Sunday, and so commaunded him to be kept there vntill Monday at which tyme he was found dead.

1259
44

This yere the king kept a great feast at Westmynster and there made diuers knights. Among the which Iohn Duke of Briteyn which had maried one of the kings daughters was there made knight. And soone after was Sir Hugh Spencer made chiefe Iustice.

A folkemote.

And sone after this he commaunded a Folkemote to be called at Paules Crosse, where he in proper person with the king of Almayne, the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and many other nobles came: where the king commaunded the Maior that euery striplyng of the age of. xij. yeres and aboue shoulde the next day be sworne before hys Alderman, to be true to the king and to his heyres kings of England, and that the gates of the Citie should be kept with harnessedmen, as before by the king of Romanes was deuysed.

About this time also, at a Fayre kept at Northhampton variaunce fell betweene the Londoners and the men of the Towne, so that betweene the Citizens of London and them continued long sute and plee, and it was for a man of Northhampton that then was slaine, to the great vexation and trouble of both partes: But in the ende the Citie of London had the better.

The Barons also at this tyme with the consent of the peres discharged Sir Hugh Spencer, and admitted for him Sir Philip Basset to be chiefe Iustice, vnwitting to the king. By reason whereof, another grudge and displeasure began to kindle betweene the king and his Lordes, and encreased more and more. But by the pollecie of the king of Almayn, and some prelates of the lande, it was set in quiet for a while, but it continued scantly to the ende of the yere.

1260
45

And this yere the Barons admitted and made the Shirifes of diuers shires of England, and

Gardians and kepers of Counties and Shires.

and discharged such as before the king had admytted, and named them Gardians and keepers of the Counties and Shires. And besydes that, the sayde Barons would not suffer the Iustice, that the king had admitted to keepe the Plees and lawes called Itinerarij, but such as were of their admyssion. Wherewith the king was greuously discontented, in so much that after that time, he labored that he might make frustrate and vterly voyde the aforesayde statutes and ordynances: In so much, that vpon the second Sunday in Lent next following, the king commaunded to be read at Paules crosse a Bull of the graunt of Vrban, Bishop of Rome and the third of that name, as a confirmation of another Bull before purchased of hys predecessour Alexander the thirde, for to assoyle the king and all other that before had sworne to the maintenance of the aforesayde Articles made at Oxenforde. And after caused the absolution to be shewed throughout the realme of Englande, Wales and Ireland, geuing strayte charge to all his subiects, that none to be so hardie to disobey the sayde absolution. And if anye person were founden disobedient to his commaundement that he were streight way committed to prison, and not to be raunsomed nor delyuered vntill the kinges pleasure were further knowne.

A folkemote.

In the Month of Iune next following, the king of Almain tooke shipping and sayled into Almayn. And king Henry at a Folkemote holden on S. Peters daye in the Month of Iuly following had lycence to sayle into Fraunce. And the next day he departed from London towarde the sea syde, with the Queene and other Lordes, his two sonnes Sir Edward and Sir Edmond being then in Guyan. When the king had bene a while in Fraunce, he returned vnto Burdeaux, where he fell sicke, by occasion whereof, he taried in those parties vntill December next folowyng. And in this meane time dyed Richard Clare Duke of Gloucester, and Sir Gilbert de Clare his son was Erle after him. To whom the father gaue great charge that he should vpholde the former ordinaunces.

1262

46

Murder vpon murder.

And it happened soone after, that a Iew fell at variance with a Christian man at Cole Church in London besyde the great Conduit in Chepe, and wounded the Christian man within the same Church. Wherefore the people of the Citie in a fury, pursued the sayd Iewe to his house, and there slue him, and after fell vpon the other Iewes, and slue and robbed many of them.

And shortly after the king landed at Douer, and came to London in the beginnyng of Ianuary folowyng. And this yere about the. vj. of December began a great frost, and continued the space of one moneth and more, in such wise that the Thames was so frosen that men passed ouer on horseback. And in the same Winter the kings Palace at Westminster perished by fyre, namely a great part thereof, which happened by negligence.

Variance betwene the Constable of the Tower and the Citizens of London.

About this time also a displeasure and variance began to growe betwene the Constable of the Tower, and the Citizens of London, for that the Constable contrary to the liberties of the Citie, tooke certeine shippes passyng by the tower with wheat and other victuall, and caryed the same into the tower, makyng the price thereof at his awne will and pleasure. Wherevpon great harme had ensued, had not bene the polecie of wyse men: Which thing was shewed vnto the kinges counsaile, by whose direction, the matter was committed vnto Sir Philip Basset then chiefe Iustice, and other, to set an order and rule betwene the sayd parties. Then before them were brought all euidences and priuileges for the aduauntage of both parties: Where finally after long plee and argument, it was firmely demed and iudged, that if the Constable or any other officer of the Tower, would at any tyme take wheate or other victuall to the vse of the king, or of the Tower, that he should

An order made betwene the Constable of the Tower and the Citizens of London.

come vnto the market holden within the Citie, and there to haue it two pence in a quarter within the Maiors price, and other victualles after the same rate: And if he, or any of his officers would do contrary to that ordinaunce, that then the shirifes should make report vnto the kinges counsaile, and to withstande him in all that they might, so that the kinges peace were kept.

At this tyme was spread many tales, and there arose among the people a mutteryng and murmuryng, that shortly there would be warres betwene the Lordes and the king, for the

Bull

Bull of dispensation before mencioned. But by the helpe and mediation of good wise men, these murmours and grudges were so appeased, that the king agreed againe to the maintenance of those statutes, and sent his writtes wherein the sayd articles were comprised, into all the Shires of England, geuing straight commaundement to all men to obserue and kepe the same, and such other as were to them adioyned by the discretion of the Erle Marshall, the Erle of Leycester, Sir Philip Basset, Sir Hugh Bigot and others, the which shortly after was reuoked and denied. Whereupon the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, fearyng what after might ensue, made him an errand to Rome, and so by licence of the king and of the Lordes he departed the land, and by that meanes kept him out of the realme vntill the trouble was appeased and ceassed.

Then vpon a midlent Sunday the Maior and the commons beyng present at a folkemote holden at Paules Crosse before Sir Philip Basset, and other of the kinges Counsaile, the Maior was sworne to be true vnto the king, and to his heyres kinges. And the next day after at the Guyldhall, euery Alderman in the presence of the Mayor tooke the same othe. And vpon the Sonday folowyng, euery strippyng of the age of xij. yeres and aboue, before his Alderman in his warde was newly charged with the same othe. A folkemote.

Then the displeasure betwene the king and the Barons began to breake forth, which by a long time had bene couered and hidden, insomuch as diuerse of the Barons assembled themselues in the marches of Wales, and gathered vnto them strong power, and sent a letter vnto the king, vnder the Seale of Sir Roger Clifforde, besechyng him to haue in remembraunce, the othe and manifolde promises that he had made for the obseruing of the statutes made at his towne of Oxenforde, with other ordinaunces made to the honour of God, for fayth and allegeance to his person, and for the weale and profite of his realme: Willyng him further, to withstand and defye all such persons, as will be against the sayd actes, sauyng the Queene and her children.

After the which letter thus sent, and receauyng of it no answere, the sayd Barons, with Baner displayed went agaynst suche as they knewe that helde against the sayde actes. And first at Hertford they tooke the Bishop of that see, and as many of his Chanons as were aliauntes borne, and tooke suche treasure and Cattaile as they there found, and bare it with them. And after went and sent vnto such manours as the sayd Bishop and Chanons had, and robbed and spoyled them, and some of them, they threwe to the grounde and consumed with fire, and put the sayd Bishop and Chanons in safe and sure keping, and set others in their places: and after went into other partes of the realme, where they supposed to finde any of their enimies, keping still theyr course towarde London, bearing before them a Banner of the kings armes, and goyng on theyr iourney, much people drewe vnto them. And in their passage, euer as they found any that they knewe to be against the maintenance of the sayde actes, those they imprisoned and spoyled their places and houses, were they spirituall or temporall men, and in dyuerse of the kinges Castels they set in such men as they lyked, and put out such as the king had placed there before, and gaue vnto them an othe, that they should be true and faythfull to the king, & kepe those Castels to his vse & to the weale of the realme. Barons begin to sturre.

About Midsommer folowing, they drewe nere to London, and sent a letter to the Maior and Aldermen vnder the seale of Sir Simon Mountford, requiring to knowe of them, whether they would obserue and mainteine the actes and statutes made at Oxenford or not, or else they would aide and assist such personnes as entended the breche of the same, and sent vnto them a copie of the same actes with a *prouiso*, that if there were any of them that should seeme to be hurtfull to the realme or common weale of the same, that they then by discrete persons of the land should be altered and amended. The which Copie the Maior bare vnto the king beyng then at the Tower, accompanied with the Queene and the king of Almaine, which lately was returned from beyond the sea, and Sir Edward his sonne and other of hys Counsaile.

Then the king entendyng to knowe the minde of the Citie asked the Maior what he

thought of those ordinaunces and actes, knowyng well that before his commyng thether, he had counsayled with the Aldermen, and some of the Commons of the Citie.

The Maior then abashed with that question, besought the king that he might common with his brethren the Aldermen, and then he would declare vnto him both his and their opinions. But the king sayd, he would here his aduice without more councell. Then the Maior boldely sayde, that before tymes, he with his brethren and commonaltie of the Citie, by his commaundement were sworne to mainteyne all actes made to the honour of God, to the fayth of the king, and profite of the realme, which othe by his lycence and most gracious fauour they entended to obserue and kepe. And moreouer to aduoyde all occasion that might growe of grudge or varyance betweene his grace and his Barons within the Citie, they would aduoyde all aliauntes and straungers out thereof, if his grace were so contented. With the which aunswere, the king seemed to be pleased, so that the Maior with his fauour departed, and sent aunswere to the Barons, accordyng to the sayd communication, their liberties alwayes vpholden and saued.

Then shortly after, forsomuch as dyuerse noble men of the land, which helde against those statutes, were ridden toward Douer, and there entended to haue taken shipping for feare of the Barons, the king sent after them diuerse persons of his houshold, and of the Citizens of London to reforme and enduce them to retorne and tary with the king.

And in this tyme all aliauntes and straungers, the which were taken suspect of any fauour borne to the one part or to the other, were aduoyded the Citie. But it was not long after that Sir Edwarde the kinges sonne, set them or many of them in offices within the Castell of Windsore: Then watch was kept dayly within the Citie, and in the nightes a certeine were appointed to ryde about the Citie, with a certeyne number of footemen to attend vpon them to searche all the Citie ouer, but of that ensued harme: For while the ridyng watch was in one part of the Citie, some euill disposed personnes vnder the colour of watchmen, and to search for straungers, robbed and spoiled many houses within the Citie. For remedie whereof, a standyng watche was appointed in euery warde: But now the king hearing that the Barons approched nere the Citie, he shortly after departed thence.

Then the Barons entered the Citie in the moneth of Iuly. And shortly after, the king returned to Westmynster, with the Queene and other of hys counsayle. And sone after by the consent of the king and the Barons, Sir Hugh le Spencer was made chiefe Iustice and keeper of the Tower.

The next day after Mary Magdaleyn daye, a writ was directed vnto the Maior and Aldermen, charging them that the kings peace were firmely kept within the Citie. And in the same writ it was also expressed, that the King and his Barons were louingly agreed. Furthermore it was by the same writ commaunded that if within the precinct of their Fraunches, were any person or persons knowne, that would withstande the aforesayde ordynances and statutes, that all such should be attached and put in prison, & their goodes attached for the king, vntill they knewe his further pleasure.

Ye shall vnderstande, that while the Lordes laye thus in the Citie, dyuers cōuenticles and gatherings were made of the Citizens and other, that robbed in the Citie and did much harme. The which was small corrected, they were so borne out and mainteyned by their maysters. And lykewise the Commons of the Citie were farre out of rule by the insensyng of ryotous persons, that in assemblies and courts, that then were kept at the Guyldhall or other places, simple and vndiscreete persons should haue the voyce, and the worshipfull men little or nothing regarded, whereof ensued daylie much vnhappinesse and sorrow, as after shall appere.

The Barons then, to obteyne the more fauour of the Citie willed them to shewe if they had any parte of their liberties withdrawne that they might againe to them be restored, and also to deuyse some newe to their weale and profite, and they would labour to the king that they might haue them graunted. For the which comforte of the Lordes, the Maior called

called the commons vnto the Guyldehall, and shewed to them the beneuolence of the sayd Lords, and wylled them that euerie officer for hys offyce, to deuyse such things as might be beneficiall for the Citie.

Wherevpon they counsayled together and made a note in a paper, of dyuers statutes, prouisions and ordynaunces to be graunted, which might (sayth Fabian) more properly be named abhominations, for they were deuised to their singuler profite, and to the great hurte of all other Marchauntes comming to the Citie, and to all other Fayres and Markettes of England, and also Preiudiciall to the vniuersall weale of the Realme.

The which when they were perused and ouersene by the heades of the Citie, it was shewed vnto the sayde Commons, that their ordinaunces were not lawfull nor charitablie considered, and therefore they knewe well they should not be admytted, wylling them to deuise other, but all was in vayne. By meane whereof, both those and other that were right necessarie for the common weale of the Citie were reiected and put of.

The Barons departed from London the morowe after Saint Iames day, and went toward Wyndsore, to see the guyding of the Castell: where at their comming they put out the sayde alyantes before set in, by Sir Edward the kings sonne, who being accompanied with other went to Fulham to the king and shewed him that the Barons had spoyled them of such goods as they had, and that without cause. But the king put them of for that season and warned them to sue to him about Mighelmas, when more of hys counsayle was with him, and then they shoulde haue iustice.

The. xxiij. day of September, the King, the Queene with his sonnes and other nobles of this land tooke shipping and sayled into Fraunce, to be present at the French kinges Parliament then holden at Bonony, and shortly after he returned againe and the. viij. day of October next folowyng, landed at Douer, and the Friday folowyng came to London.

The. xv. day of October there were a Iury of. xij. knightes of Middlesex, sworne betwene the Abbot of Westminster and the Citie of London, for certaine prueleges that the Citie claymed within Westminster. Where, by the said Iury it was founden before Gilbert of Preston then chiefe Baron of the kinges Exchequer, that the Shirifes of London at those dayes might lawfully enter into the towne of Westminster, and all other Tenementes, that the Abbot had within Middlesex, and vnto the gate of the sayde Abbey, and there to make sommons and distreyne for lacke of appearaunce, all and euery Tenant of the sayd Abbot.

And soone after Michelmasse, the former complaint of the alyens or straungers, was shewed before the king and the Lordes in the Parliament, or rather counsaile holden at Westminster, where at the last, sentence was geuen, that the Barons should restore all such goodes as they and their company had taken from such persons before that day, as well to aliauntes as other, spirituall or temporall persons: And also that such meniall seruauntes as should be dayly in the kinges house, and about his person, should be such as the king would chose and admit himselfe, the which two articles, the Barons vtterly denyed. Wherefore olde rancoure tooke place, and dissention kindled his fyre of malice againe betwene the king and his Lords feruently.

And in the yere folowyng, the Commons of the Citie of London chose vnto their Maior for that yere Thomas fitz Thomas, and without counsell of the Aldermen sware him at the Guildhal vpon the day of Simon & Iude, and made no presentment of him vpon the next day folowyng, neyther to the king, nor yet to the Barons of the Exchequer, as they of right ought to haue done: For the which presumption the king was grieuously discontented against the Citie. And sone after he being aduertised that the Citizens would take part with the Barons, caused Sir Edward his sonne to take the Castell of Windsore by a traine. Whereof, when he knewe that he was in possession, the king early in the morning a little before Christmasse, departed from Westminster, and road to the sayd Castell, whether shortly after came many of the Lordes vpon the kinges partie. And as fast the Lordes and knightes

1463
47

The king flieth for feare of the Barõs to the Castell of Windsore.

knightes which helde with the Erle of Leycester, drewe them toward London, so that on eyther partie great numbers of people were assembled. And in this tyme some well disposed persons laboured to haue peace and concorde betwene the king and his Lordes: By whose meanes at the last, it was agreed, that all matters concernyng the aforesayde articles or statutes made at Oxenford, and after by the. xij. Piers, should be demed and iudged by the French king, so that he should alow or disalow those that should be kept or broken, and as he iudged, so both parties to be contented to stand vnto & abide firmely & surely. Vpon which agrement, copies were made of the sayde statutes, and with letters (shewyng the effect of the former agreement) sent vnto Lewes the Frenche King as aforesayde. And at Christmasse next after, the King tooke shippyng, with Sir Edward his sonne, and other of the Counsayle, and sayled into Fraunce for the aforesayde cause. And for the partie of the sayde Barons, was sent ouer Sir Peter de Mountforde and other. Then before Lewes king of Fraunce those statutes were sore argued.

The controuersie betwene ye king & his Lordes was committed to the iudgement and order of the French king.

In the ende, the French king hauyng before him both the parties, the. xxiiij. day of Ianuary, syttyng in iudgement gaue expresse sentence, that all and euery of those statutes and ordinaunces should be from that day forward vtterly fordone and set at naught, and all such bandes and promises that the king or any other had made for the maintenance of the same, should be adnulled and canceled, and the king and all others for any matter concernyng those statutes set at libertie.

The French king iudged agaynst the Barons of England.

After which sentence thus geuen, the king returned into Englande, so that he came vnto London the. xv. day of February. But the Barons beyng sore amoued with this sentence, and notyng great parcialitie in the Frenche king, departed from London Westward, and so into the marches of Wales, where they drewe to them great power, and warred vpon the landes and Castelles of Sir Roger Mortimer, & threw some of them vnto the ground, and spoyled of his what they might finde, and ouer that, brent of his manours and houses. In whose ayde, Sir Edward the kinges sonne commyng, hys people were distressed, and he almost taken.

For reformation of which matter a newe Parliament or counsayle was called and appointed to be holden & kept. xv. dayes after Easter at Oxenford, but it neuer toke effect. Howbeit another Chronicle sayth, ỹ from this Parliament then holden at Oxford, the king and his Lordes parted in displeasure.

A new Parliament holden at Oxford, but it tooke none effect.

Then the Barons drewe towarde London, and the king remayned at Woodstocke. And then newe assurance by wrytyng indented was made betwene the commonaltie of the Citie, and the Barons, without consent of many of the rulers of the sayde Citie. Wherefore the Commons, as men in a rage and furye, made of them selues two Capitaines, whiche they named Constables of the Citie, that is to say, Thomas Piwelsdon, and Stephen Bukerel. At whose commaundement, by tollyng of the great Bell of Paules all the Citie should be readye shortly in harnesse, to geue attendaunce vpon their said Capitaynes.

The Citizens of London chose the two newe Capitaines.

About the beginnyng of Lent, the Constable of the Tower, Sir Hugh le Spencer, came with a fayre company of men of armes before him into the Citie, and desyred assistance of the aforenamed Constables. The which commaunded the sayde Bell to be tolled: By meane whereof, the people shut in their shops, and came out in harnesse in great multitudes. The which after proclamation made, that they should follow their Capitaines, without knowledge what to do, or whether to go, folowed their sayde Capitaynes, and so went to Thistleworth. viij. miles beyond Westminster, and there spoyled the Manor of the king of Romaynes, and set it after vpon a fyre. And that done, his water Milles and other commodities that he there had, put them vnto vtter ruyne, and after with great noyse and cry returned to London.

The Citizens of London brent at Thistleworth the the Manor of Richard the king of Romaynes.

This dede as saith Fabian, was the cause of the mortall warre folowing. For where before time the said king of Romaines had gone about for the aliaunce that was betwene him and the Erle of Gloucester, a treatie of peace, to be had betwene the king and his Barons: after that deede done, he was enemie vnto them to the vttermost of his power.

The king heryng of this ryot, gathered vnto him a great power. And for that he heard that Sir Peter de Mountfort was at Northampton gatheryng of people to strength the Barons partie, he sped him thether, and wan the towne vpon him by force, and slue many of his men, and in the ende tooke him and Sir Simond the sonne of the Erle of Leycester, with diuerse other on liue, the which, with many Burgesses of that towne, that had taken their partes, the king sent vnto diuerse prisonnes, and some he closed within the Castell of the same towne.

A ryot made vpon the Iewes.

And aboute this tyme, that is to saye, the weeke before Easter, all the Iewes in London were spoyled and robbed, and the number of fiue hundreth of them were slaine, and diuerse of their houses brent and destroyed, and such of them as were saued, were conueyed for great neede vnto the Tower, and there kept from the fury of the Commons. And the occasion of this riot was, for that one Iewe woulde haue forced a Christian man to haue geuen vnto him more than two pence for the vsury of twenty shillynges for a weeke lendyng. For ye shall vnderstande that in those dayes by licence graunted vnto the Iewes of the king, they might take by vsury of euery man that of them would borow money, two pence of a pound for a weekes lendyng, and so of greater and of smaller summes after the rate.

Vsury allowed among the Iewes & suffered in England.

And soone after the Iewes were thus punished, many houses of relygion within the Citie, and nere there about, were searched for goodes of aliauntes, and muche founde. Whereof a part was brought vnto the Barons, but the more part was stolne and bribed.

In this season the king passed by dyuerse Countries, and lastly came into Sussex, with a strong power. Whereof hering the Lordes, they made preparation to go against him. In all which tyme the Wardens of the fiue Portes kept the sea with shippes that no straungers should enter the land to ayde the king against the Barons.

In the ende of Aprill, the Barons with a multitude of the Citie, which they put in the vawarde, departed from London, takyng their iourney towarde the king. And when they were well onwarde vpon their way, worde was brought vnto them, that the king with an howge power was at Lewes. Wherfore they by an whole assent, deuysed a letter, and sent it in the name of all the Barons vnto the king, whose names herevnder folow, but not all.

The names of the Barõs of England.

Sir Simond de Mountfort Erle of Leycester, and high stewarde of Englande. Sir Gilbart de Clare, Erle of Gloucester, Sir Robert Ferrers, Erle of Derby, Sir William de Mounthdesey, Sir Hugh le Spenser, chiefe Iustice, and Sir Henry Mountfort, sonne to the Erle of Leycester, Sir Richard Gray, Sir Henry Hastyngs, Sir Iohn fitz Iohn, Sir Robert Deuenpount, Sir Iohn Gyuile, Sir Robert Roos, Sir William Marmyon, Baldwyn Wake, Sir Gilbert Gifford, Sir Nicholas Demegraue, and Sir Godfrey de Lucye, with many other.

Which letter sealed with the seales of the sayde Erle of Leycester, and of Gloucester, conteyned as foloweth.

A letter written by the Barons vnto the king.

TO the most excellent Lord, king Henry, by the grace of God king of Englande, Lorde of Irelande, and Duke of Guyan, the Barons and other faythfull your seruauntes, their fidelitie and othe to God and to you coueting to kepe, send to you due salutyng with all reuerence and honoure, vnder due obeysaunce. Lyketh it your highnesse to vnderstand, that many beyng aboute you, haue before tymes shewed vnto your Lordship of vs many euill and vntrue reportes, and haue found suggestions, not al onely of vs, but also of your selfe, to bring this your realme vnto subuersion. Know your excellency, that we entend nothing but health and surety to your person, to the vttermost of our powers: and not alonely to our enemies, but also yours, and of all thys your realme, we entend vtter greuaunce and correction. Besechyng your grace, hereafter to geue to them little credence, for ye shall finde vs your true and faythfull subiectes to the vttermost of our powers. And we Erle of Leycester, and Erle of Gloucester, at the request of other, & for our selues, haue put to our seales, the. x. day of the moneth of May.

The

The aunswere vnto the aforesayde letter.

The kinges aunswere to the Barons letter.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England, Lord of Ireland, & Duke of Guyan: To Simond de Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and their complices. Whereas by warre and generall perturbaunce in this our realme, by you begon and continued, with also brennynges and other hurtes, and enormities, that euidently it appereth that your fidelitie to vs due, ye haue not kept, nor the suretie of our person ye haue little regarded, for so much as our Lordes and other trustie friendes which dayly abyde with vs, ye vexe and greeue, and them pursue to the vttermost of your powers, and yet dayly entend as ye by report of your letters haue vs asserteyned: We the griefe of them admit and take to be our awne, specially when they for their fidelitie, which they to vs dayly impend, stand & abyde by vs, to oppresse your infidelitie and vntruth. Wherefore of your fauour and assurance we set little store, but you as our enemies we vtterly defye. Witnesse our selfe at our towne of Lewes, the. xij. day of this moneth of May.

And besydes this, the king of Romaynes, Sir Edward the kinges sonne, and other Lordes beyng then with the king, sent vnto them another letter whereof the tenor ensueth.

Another letter sent to the Barons.

RIchard by the grace of God king of Romaynes, alwayes Augustus and Edwarde the Noble first begotten sonne of the king of Englande, all other Barons firmely standing and abyding with our souereigne Lorde the king, to Symond de Mountfort, Gilbert de Clare, and all other their false fellowes: By the Letters which ye sent vnto the king our most souereigne Lorde, we vnderstanding that we are defyed of you. Neuerthelesse, thys worde of defiance appered vnto vs sufficiently before, by the depriuation and brenning of our manors, and carying awaye of oure goodes. Wherefore we wyll that ye vnderstande, that we defye you as our mortall and publique enemies. And whensoeuer we maye come to the reuengement of the iniuries that ye to vs haue done, we shall acquite it to the vttermost of oure powers. And where ye put vpon vs that we are neyther true nor good to oure Souereigne Lorde the king. We geue you to vnderstand that ye therin say, falsely and vntruely of vs. And if that saiyng ye Sir Symond de Mountfort and Sir Gilbert de Clare wyll testifie in the Court of our souereigne Lord the king: we are readie to purchace to you suretie and safe comming, that there we maye proue our true and faythfull innocencie, and your false and trayterous liyng. Witnessed with the Scales of Rycharde king of the Romaynes and sir Edward aforenamed. Geuen at Lewes the. xij. day of May.

When the Barons had receyued these Letters from the king and hys Lordes, they perceyued well that there was none other meane, but to defend their cause by dent of sworde, wherfore, they putting their trust in God, sped them forth toward the king. And vpon Wednesday being the. xxiiij. day of May, earely in the morning bothe the hostes met: where after the Londoners had geuen the first assault, they were beaten back, so that they began to drawe from the sharp shot and strokes, to the discomfort of the Barons hoste. But the Barons encouraged and comforted there men in suche wise, that not all onely the freshe and lustie knightes fought egerly, but also suche as before were discomfited, gathered a newe courage vnto them, and fought without feare, insomuch that the kings Vaward lost their places. Then was the fielde couered with dead bodyes, and gasping and groning was heard on euery side, for eyther of them was desyrous to bring others out of lyfe. And the father spared not the sonne, neyther yet the sonne spared the father. Alliance at that time was turned to defiaunce, & christian bloud that day was shed without pitie. Thus duryng the fyght by the more parte of the daye, lastly the victorie fell to the Barons, so that there were taken the king, and the king of Romaynes, Sir Edward the kings sonne, with many other noble men, to the number of. xxv. Barons and Banarets, and of the common people there were slaine aboue twentie thousand as saith Fabian & Cowper.

A terrible battail called the battaile of Lewes in Sussex betweene the king and his Barons.

The king & his brother & sonne taken.

When the Barons had thus obtayned the victorye, prouision was made for the safe keepyng of the prisoners, so that all were sente vnto dyuerse Castelles and Prysons, except

the King and hys brother the King of Almayne, and Sir Edwarde his Sonne, the which the Barons helde with them vntill they came to London. Then a newe graunt was made by the king, that the aforesayde statutes should stand in strength. And if anye were thought vnreasonable, they to be corrected and amended by foure noble men of the realme, that is to saye, two of the spiritualtie, and two of the temporaltie. And if those foure could not agree, then the Erle of Angeou and Duke of Burgoyn to be iudges of the matter. And this to be firmelye holden and obeyed by the king and his brother: The kinges graunted that their sonnes and heyres should remaine with the Barons as prisoners vntill all thinges were finished, according to the former agreement. And vpon this was a Parliament appoynted to be holden at London the Whitsontyde folowing, but that came neuer to passe. Then the Tewesday before the Ascention day, a peace was proclaymed in London betwene the king and the Barons.

The king graunteth to the Barons all theyr requestes.

The next day the king and the Barons came to London with the king of Romaynes, and Sir Edward the kinges sonne. Then Sir Edwarde as pledge for the king, and Sir Henry sonne to the king of Almaine, were sent vnto the Tower, and there lodged, and from thence to Douer Castell. And the king was lodged in the Bishops Palace beside Paules, and the king of Almaine and diuerse other within the tower. Then it was agreed by the king, that for his more suretie, and for the weale of the lande that the Erle of Leycester should be resiaunt in the kinges Court. Vpon which agreement and other, many of the Prisoners were set at large.

In this meane while, before the Battaile of Lewes, the Queene and the king of Romaynes had sent ouer the sea for Souldiours, to ayde the king agaynst the Barons, which nowe were come in great number vnto Douer, and there houed on the Sea to haue landed. Whereof heeryng the Barons, they sent the king of Romaynes as prisoner to Barkhamstede, vntill the sayd Aliauntes were returned: and caused king Henry with a great power to ryde thether, and to force the sayde hoste of straungers to returne vnto their Countryes from whence they came.

Kynges by power are forced to do as other wil, and not as they hyt.

And when the king had returned the sayde straungers, he shortly after with the agreement of the Barons sayled ouer into Fraunce, and returned againe within short tyme.

And shortly after the Lordes of the Marches of Wales assembled themselues together, and did much harme vpon the Lordeshippes and Manors of the Erles of Leycester and Gloucester. Wherefore the king so soone as he returned out of Fraunce, forthwith roade to Gloucester, and called there a Counsaile of his Lordes, by the auethoritie of which counsaile, it was enacted that as many of the sayd Lordes as came not in by the Octaues of Saint Hillary next folowyng, & yelded them vnto the kings grace, should be exiled. And in the sayd Counsayle it was also agreed, that in the sayd Octaues there should be a Parliament holden at Westminster. At the which tyme the king with his Lordes spirituall and temporall, and commons of his lande, began his foresayd Parliament. And in the same it was there moued (the king himselfe beyng present) that neither he the king, nor yet Sir Edward his sonne, nor none of them should after that day greue or cause to be greued the Erles of Leycester and of Gloucester, the Baronnes, Banerettes, or knightes, the Citizens of London, and Barons of the fiue Portes, nor none other person or persons of high or low degree, that was vpon the partie of the sayd Erles, for any matter of displeasure done against the king, and the sayde Sir Edward his sonne, at any tyme before that day. And that to do and vpholde, the king before his Lordes was sworne.

Here is the firs mention made of a Parliament holden by the three estates.

The king sworne but shortly brake his othe.

After this there was read a Charter or Pardon, concernyng the cause and matter of offence aforesayde. And afterwarde also was concluded a confirmation of the statutes of the Forest, with many other actes and statutes before graunted of the king, as *Magna Carta*, and other.

The. xij. day of March next folowyng Sir Edwarde the kinges sonne that before was also sworne to perfourme suche promises as the king had made before in the Parliament, was deliuered and set at libertie, and lykewise was Sir Henry the kinges sonne of Almaine,

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the which had bene kept as pledges (as before you haue heard) about the space of. ix. monethes & odde dayes vpon assurance made, that the sayd Sir Edward should dwell and abyde in the kinges court, and not to depart from thence without licence of the king, and of a certeine of the Barons.

Then were many Instrumentes and Bondes made by the king and Sir Edward his sonne for the performance of diuerse and sundry couenants made betwene the king & his Barons, which shortly after tooke small effect.

1263 48 Dissention among the Lordes.

Now shortly after, that is to say, betweene Easter and Whitsontide, for the ordering and maner of executyng of the aforesayde statutes made at Oxenforde, fell great dissention betwene the Erles of Leycester and Gloucester, so that wordes of displeasure were vttered betwene them, the king and they also beyng then at Gloucester. Then the king and his Barons had much to do to set them at quiet and rest. And the same season, the Barons of the fiue Portes with their ships were vpon the sea, and robbed and spoyled all that they might take, for all was fish that came to the net, sparing neither English Merchauntes nor other. And the Bootie that they gate was no small thing. Of whiche as the common fame went, some of the Barons had no small share.

The Whitsontide folowyng, the king with the Erle of Leycester, and Sir Edward his sonne, with many other his Lordes beyng at Hereford in the Edge of Wales: The sayd Sir Edward secretly and without licence, departed from the Court, and went vnto Chester, where he called vnto him the Erle of Gloucester, and the Lordes of the marches, the Erle of Wareyn, Sir Roger Mortimer, and other, and they fallyng into felowship, and ioynyng in a confederacie, went from thence vnto Gloucester, breaking the bridges as they went, to the entent that he were not folowed vntill he had assembled his power.

When knowledge of this came to the Erle of Leycester, he in all haste sent vnto Sir Simond his sonne that he should gather his knightes vnto him. The which according to that commaundement, assembled vnto him with much people, and with them drew toward Winchester, so that he came before the Citie the. xiiij. day of the moneth of Iuly, where he was shut out, for so much as the Citizens knewe not whether he came as the kinges friend or not. And also a little before, they had receyued a letter from Sir Edward, willyng them to kepe them out of the Citie, and to suffer them by no meanes to enter. For these causes the Citizens closed their Gates against the sayde Sir Symond and his company. But it was not long before the Citie yelded and gaue vp. Then they spoyled the towne, and slue the greatest part of the Iewes that were therein. And that done, they layde siege vnto the Castell, and assaulted it: But sodeynly a feyned newes was brought vnto them, saiyng that Sir Edward and his power was commyng euen at hande, wherefore they departed shortly thence, and went to Kenelworth.

And the last day of Iuly Sir Edward and his hoste came vnto Kenelworth aforesayde, and fell sodeinly vpon the hoste of the aforenamed Sir Simond, and with sheddyng of litle blood tooke there prisoners, the Erle of Oxenford, William de mount Canise, Adam de Newmarket, Sir Baldwyn Wake, and Hugh Neuile, with dyuerse other, and Sir Simond fled into the Castell and so escaped. Then the aforenamed Prisoners were sent to Gloucester, and there put in safe kepyng.

In this meane tyme Sir Simond Erle of Leycester tooke his leaue of the king, which then from Hereforde passed the Ryuer of Seuerne, and so went vnto worcester, and the Erle with great paine passed the Bridges before broken by Sir Edward, and so coasted the countries in gathering of the people as he went: so that at the length he had with him a strong power. And When sir Edward heard therof, he made towards him so fast as he might. And the sixt day of August they met at Euisham in Worcestershire, where betwene them was foughten a cruell and bloody battayle, in the which was slaine the sayd Sir Simond the Erle, and sir Henry his sonne and heyre, Sir Hugh le Spencer, Sir Peter de Mountford and many other noble men that helde vpon the Barons partie. After which discomfiture, some malicious persons in despite of the Erle cut off his head and his preuy members

Battaile of Euisham.

The Barõs discomfited and slaine.

members, and fastened them vpon either syde of his nose, and after made a present therof vnto the wyfe of Sir Roger Mortimer: his feete also and his handes were cut of from the body and sent to sundrie places, and the truncke of hys bodie buryed within the Church of Euisham.

Soue after this victorie thus obtayned by Sir Edward, the king and he met with no small ioy and comforte to them both. And then by the auctboritie of the king all the prisoners that before had bene taken, and imprisoned were delyuered and set at libertie, and manye other daylie accused and set in for them. And about the. viij. daye of September next following a Parliament or counsell was holden at Winchester, where by the authoritie of the same, all statutes and ordinaunces before made, by the Barons at Oxenford in the. xlj. yere of the king, were vtterly fordone and set at naught. And all bondes and wrytings made by the king, or any other for the obseruing of the same, were cancelled and broken. Also at thys counsell was ordeyned, that all suche as had fauoured the Barons, being then in prison, or at large, should be disherited and then the king resumed into his handes all grauntes before made and geuen to any person. And for Sir Symond Mountfort the sonne of the Erle that was slaine could not agree with the king at the Parliament, he was restored againe to the Castell of Kenelworth as he before was assured, the which he with Sir Henry de Hastyngs and other, kept and defended against the kings power, a long time after.

A Parliament at Winchester. The statutes of Oxenford againe condemned.

A straunge alteration.

After the Parliament ended the king came to Windsore wyth a great power, entending, as the fame went, to destroye the Citie of London, for the great wrath and displeasure that he had conceyued for the ayding of the Barons against hym. Of the which when the Maior and Aldermen were enformed, they were striken into a wonderfull feare: Although manye of the rude and rashe commoners were in full purpose to haue defended the Citie against the king: and thus among them were dyuerse and sundrie opinions, and no great maruaile, for at those dayes the Citie was inhabited with sundrie nations and people.

The king was greatly displeased with the citie of London.

At the last the sad and graue Citizens being called together by the Maior and his brethren to the Guyldhall, it was among them agreed & thought meete, to make a most humble supplication vnto the king, and to sende it by some religious person. Of the which they made diuers, and sent them by sundrie persons, but all auayled nothing. For the king was most greeuously incensed against the Citizens by some of hys Counsayle, so that he woulde not looke vpon, nor hearken vnto any of their supplications. And if it fortuned any to moue the kings fauour towards the Citizens, he would so storme and geue vnto them such vnpleasant and wrathfull lookes, that no man durst once open his mouth vnto him for them.

Then the Citizens were counsayled by their Friends that they shoulde make a wryting, and seale it with the common seale, and in the same they should offer themselues, and put them wholy in the kings grace and mercy, touching their liues and goodes. And at the last according to this counsayle, they deuised a writing, and sealed it with their common seale, and that done chose. viij. persons of the Citie suche as had friendes in the Courte, and the. vj. day of October sent them toward Wyndsore, and as they passed thorough Colbrook they met a knight of the kings, called Sir Roger Leyborne, the which caused the sayde. viij. persons to turne againe vnto the Citie, and he accompanied them vntill he came almost at the Citie, and there departed from them, and roade vpon the backesyde of the towne vnto the tower. But at his departing he willed them to warne the Maior with certeine of the Citie to meete with him vpon the morow at Barkyng Church. And on the morow, when the Maior and the sayd Sir Roger met, the same Sir Roger after a long processe made, shewed and declared the kinges most grieuous displeasure agaynst the Citie, and also tolde them what meanes their friendes and louers had made to obteyne the kinges graces fauour for the Citie: But in the ende he concluded that there was no grace to be obteyned for them, except they would by their common seale, bynde themselues fully and wholy to stande at the kinges grace, and to put into his mercy their lyues and goodes: The which when the

Sir Roger Leyborne knight.

Maior and his brethren conferryng with sundrye other of the Citizens had well weyed and considered, and also beyng greatly afearde of the Kinges wrath agaynst the Citie, for it was bruted that he woulde vtterlye destroy the same by fyre: Wherefore in the ende they graunted to all that Sir Roger had moued, and delyuered the aforesayde wrytyng vnto the aforesayde Roger, praiyng him to be a good meane and intercessor for them vnto the king. And the next day the sayd Sir Roger went vnto the Court, and returned againe the sixt day after, and willed the Maior and Aldermen to mete with him again at the foresaid Church. Where he shewed to them, that the king by great instance of their friendes, had receyued their writyng, and woulde first for the beginnyng and contentation of his mynde, that all the Chaynes that was in euery streete, and stoode at euerye Lanes ende, should be losed from their Postes, and the Post also drawen out of the earth, and all they to be brought vnto the Tower of London: And that done, that the Maior with a certeine of Citizens, to the number of xl. persons should the day folowyng be at Windsore to confirme the graunt of their writyng. And that they should go and come in safe and sure wise, he deliuered vnto them the kinges letter and seale, for the terme of foure dayes, which all was done accordyng to the former deuise, and the Maior with the aforesayde persons were ready on the morow which was Sunday, at Windsore by one of the clocke, and there taryed vntill foure of the same day: At which tyme the king commyng from his disport, entered the Castell without countenance or castyng of his eyen vpon the Londoners. And when the king and his people entered the Castell, the Londoners woulde haue folowed, but they were warned to abide without.

And immediately the king caused a Proclamation to be made, that no man of high or lowe degree, should by worde or deede shewe any displeasure vnto the Londoners. And in the euenyng came vnto them, the aforesayde sir Roger and Sir Robert Waleys knightes and brought them into the Castell, and said that the kings pleasure was not to speake with them that night. And afterwardes the sayde knightes deliuered them vnto the Constable of the Castell, which closed them all in a large Tower, where that night they had small cheere and worsse lodgyng.

The Maior and Aldermen locked vp in a tower in the Castell of Windsore.

The next day beyng Monday, towardes night they were taken out of that tower, and deliuered to the Bayly of the sayde Castell, and lodged by his assignement, except. v. persons, that is to say, Thomas fitz Thomas Maior, Mighell Tony, Stephen Bukerell, Thomas Piwellisdon, and Iohn de Fleete. The which fiue persons the king had geuen to Sir Edwarde his sonne, at whose commaundement they remayned still in the sayde Tower long after, notwithstandyng the kinges safe conduite to them made as before is sayde. When tidinges hereof came to the Citie of London, albeit, that for feare many were before aduoyded, yet then a great manye mo gate them thence with spede into diuerse countries of England, and very many of them neuer returned.

The Maior of London & foure Aldermen geuen by the king to Prince Edward his sonne.

1264

49 Housholdes and houses geuen away in the Citie of London by the king to his seruante.

The sixt day of Nouember folowyng, the king came to Westminster. And shortly after he gaue vnto diuerse of his houshold seruauntes, more than lx. housholdes and houses within the Citie of London, so that the owners were compelled to agree and redeme their houses and housholde, with all goodes that in them were, or else to aduoyde and suffer such persons to enter as the sayde houses were geuen vnto, and not alonely that, but also such lands and Tenements, goodes and Cattelles, as the sayd Citizens had in any other places of England. And at that tyme the king made Custos and Gardian of the Citie, Sir Othon Constable of the Tower of London, which sir Othon chose to be Baylifes vnder [redacted] and to be to him accomptable to the vse of the king, Ihon Adrian, and Walter Henry Citizens of the same Citie.

Sir Othon Constable of the Tower was made Custos of the City of London.

And after this, the king tooke pledges of the best mennes sonnes of the Citie, that his peace should be surely kept within the same. The which pledges were kept in the Tower of London, and there found at the cost of theyr parentes. And shortly after by great labour and sute made, all the aforesayde persones which were in the kepyng of the Baylife of Windsore Castell, foure onely except, that is to say, Richard Bonauenture, Simon

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de Hardistocke, William de Kent, & William de Gloucester, all the other Londoners. xxxiiij. in number were deliuered and came to London the. xxj. of Nouember folowyng, and the other. ix. were kept still in the Tower of Windsore.

Nowe was dayly sute and labour made vnto the king to haue his gracious fauour, and to know his pleasure what fine he would haue of the Citye for their transgressions. For the which the king demaunded. xl. thousande pounde, and firmely helde him at fiftie thousand markes. But the Citizens alledged for them, that the pore Commoners (whereof many were aduoided) were the trespassours, and besydes that, the best men of the Citie were spoyled by those riotous persons, and by the Rouers also of the sea, as the Wardeynes of the fiue Portes, and other, so that in this troublesome tyme they lost the greatest part of their substaunce. For the which considerations, and many other, that were here to tedious to wryte, the Citizens besought the king of his most gracious clemency and fauour, and to take of them that they might beare.

Stewardes or Seneschalles appoynted to haue the rule of the Citye.

This matter thus hangyng, the king vpon the sixt day of December departed from Westminster towarde Northhampton. And a little before hys departure, he ordeyned Sir Ihon Linde knight, and maister Ihon Waldren Clerke, to be Gardians of the Citie and Tower of London, the which were named in the kinges wrytyng Seneschalles, or stewardes of the City.

The next day after that the king was ridden as aforesayde, the aforenamed two Stewardes, sent for. xxiiij. of the most notable men of the Citie, and warned them to apere the next day folowyng before the Counsayle at Westminster: Where at the tyme of their appearance was shewed vnto them by Sir Roger Leyborne, that the kinges minde was, that they should haue the rule of the Citie in his absence, vnder the aforesayde Stewardes: and for to see good rule to be kept within the Citie they should be sworne there, before his counsayle. And there they were sworne, and so commaunded to returne againe into the Citie. But yet ceassed not meanes to be made, and continuall labour to the king for his gracious fauour in the leuiyng of a mercifull fine, such as the poore Citizens might be able to beare. And in Christmasse weeke at the last, the king at the prayer of suche friendes as the Citie made vnto him, graunted the Citie to be released for all maner of transgressions, and to haue their whole liberties restored vnto them againe for. xx. thousand marke, those persons only except which the king had geuen to Sir Edward his sonne, beyng, as is aforesayde, at Wyndsore. For the payment of which somme at the dayes agreed vpon, Sir Roger Leyborne, and mayster Robert Warien Clerke, were assigned to take sureties for the same. After which assuraunce by them receyued, and sent vnto the king at Northhampton, the king sent immediately after vnto the Citizens a Charter vnder his broade seale, the tenor whereof ensueth.

The liberties of the Citie againe restored for the summe of. xx. thousande marke.

A Pardon graunted to the Citizens of London by the King.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Guyan: To all men health. Know ye that for the fine of. xx. thousande marke, the which our Citizens of London to vs made, for the redemption of the transgressions and trespasses to vs, to our Queene, to our noble brother Richard king of Almaine, and to Edward our first begotten sonne done, we remit and pardon for vs and our heires, to the said Citizens and their heires, as much as in vs is, so that they haue and enioy all theyr former grauntes and liberties, rentes and profites from the feast of Christmasse last past: And also that the sayde Citizens haue to them, all forfeites of all malefactors of the Citie, which in the perturbance before made, were endited, or for the same be yet to be endited: Except the goodes and Cattalles of them, of the which we haue geuen the bodies vnto our foresayd sonne Edward, and except the rents and tenementes of all those Citizens, which now be and shall be our eschete, by reason of the aforesaide transgressions. And that all prisoners, which now remaine in prison, be frely delyuered, except those personnes, whose bodyes we haue geuen to Edward our sonne. And that the sayd Citizens be as free, as they were before the sayde transgressions in all partes and coastes of this our landes.

In witnesse whereof, we haue made these letters patentes. Witnesse my hampton the tenth day of Ianuary, the. xlix. yere of our reigne.

¶ After the Citizens had receyued this pardon, then were all the pledges for them, which were in the tower of London deliuered, and also foure of them that were in the Castell of Windsore. Then also were discharged the aforenamed Stewardes, and the Citizens of themselues chose for Maior, William Fitz Richard, and for Shirifies, Thomas Delaforde, and Gregory de Rokesley. Then for the leuiyng this fine, were taxed, aswell couenant seruaunts as also housholders, and many refused the liberties of the Citie, to be acquited of his charge.

While the king lay thus at Northhampton, Sir Simond de Mountforte referred the iudgement of his cause vnto *Octobonus* the Legate, that before was come into thys lande to reforme things in the Church of Englande, and also to set vnitie and rest betweene the king and his Lordes. To whose order and iudgement and to the king of Romaines the sayde Sir Symond dyd bynde himselfe to stande. Vpon which promise and band, he was set at libertie, and was at large in the kings court, and did there awhile contynue, but at the last, when the king was come to London, he departed sodainely out of the courte, and roade to Winchelsey where he accompanied with the Rouers of the Sea, and (after some prises taken) departed from them and so sayled into Fraunce, and put himselfe in seruice with Lewes the French king.

Kenelwoorth Castell.

And shortly after, the king besieged the Castell of Kenelworth with a great power. But Sir Henry Hastings with such as were within it, defended it so strongly, that the king and all his power might not winne it, of a long time, as after shall appere.

It was before declared that the Queene to helpe her Lorde the king against the Barons, before the battaile at Lewes, had caused an host of straūgers to be prepared to come into Englande. And the same time also she purchased a cursse of the Pope, to accurse the Barons, and all their ayders and helpers, and had commissions directed to certaine Bishops of England to execute the same, as London, Winchester, and Chichester, the which for feare of the Barons denyed the doing thereof. Wherefore the Queene made new labour to the Pope, then Vrban the thirde, and had it graunted, that the sayde Bishoppes for their disobedience shoulde be corrected. And for thys the aforesayde Legate Octobone, this yere at a counsell holden by him at Paules Church in London, suspended the sayde Bishops, and sent them to Rome to be assoyled of Clement the third.

* 1265

50

Kenelworth Castel yelded.

And nowe was the Castell of Kenelworth yelded by appoyntment, which had bene besieged from the. xxiij. day of Iune, vnto the. xx. day of December folowyng, vpon condicion that Sir Henry Hastinges and all other that were with him in the sayde Castelle, should haue life and limme, and horse and harnesse, with all thinges within the Castell to them belongyng, and a certeine of leysure to cary away the same.

The wardēs of the. v. portes are reconciled to the Kyng.

About this time also, the Wardeynes of the fiue portes were reconciled to the King, by fauour and helpe of Sir Edward the kinges sonne. And notwithstandyng the great harme that they had done by roauyng vpon the sea, as well to Englishe merchauntes, as to other, they had to them confirmed all their former priuileges. And moreouer there was graūted to them, that if any man English or other, would sue for restitutiō of goodes, by them before taken, or for the death of any of their friendes before slaine: that all such complayntes should be sued and shewed in their Courtes, and there to haue theyr matters determined, and not else where. But what the cause was of this end thus made betweene the king and them, it is not shewed: But the common fame at that day ranne, that the sayde Wardeynes of the fiue Portes, had at this day the dominion of the Sea: wherefore the king was faine to folowe their pleasures.

Parliament at Northhampton.

The liberties of London newly confirmed.

In the former yere also, in the begynnyng of the moneth of May, the king helde his Parliament at Northhampton: In the which Parliament was confirmed vnto the Citie of London the olde fraunchises and liberties by the kinges progenitors graunted to the sayde Citie, with a newe graunt also for the shire of Middlesex. And in this Parliament were manye

manye noble men disheriterited, that before tooke part with the Barons. For the which cause they assembled together and robbed in dyuerse coastes of the land, and tooke the towne of Lincolne and spoyled it, and after raunsomed many of the riche Burgesses of the towne, and tooke the Isle of Ely, and strengthned it in such wyse, as they helde it a great while after. A newe rebellion.

This yere fell a great controuersie betweene the rulers of the Citie of London, and the commons of the same, about the chosyng of the Maior. The Rulers named Alyn Souch: But the Commons (specially such as were of the meaner sort) cryed vpon Thomas fitz Thomas, who was then prisoner in the Castell of Windsore. Wherefore the Aldermen were compelled to call for the helpe of sir Roger Leyborne and other, who came to the Guyld hall, beyng harnessed vnder their gownes, and at the last were enforced to carye certeyne of the rascalles to the Counters and other Prisons, and then quietly they went to the election of the sayd Aleyn Souche. Trouble about the election of the Maior of London.

The Gentlemen of whom ye heard before, that kept the Isle of Ely, did now breake out sundry tymes, and did much hurt in Norffolke and Suffolke and Cambridge shire, and toke the citie of Norwich, and after the spoyllyng and sackyng thereof, caryed away with them many of the Citizens beyng riche, and raunsomed them at great sommes of money, and lyued there in that Isle lyke vnto Outlawes. By these and other many hurtes in diuerse places of the land were done, and namely by Theues and persons of euill disposition: but what wickednesse so euer was done, the blame thereof was laid to the charge of these gentlemen. And at this time Octobone the Legate laboured vnto the king that the sayd disenherited gentlemen might purchase theyr landes againe of him by fine and raunsome. By whose labour, the king, at the last agreed that they should haue their landes againe by fynes of fyue yere value of their landes. As he that might dispende. xx. pound by the yere should pay an hundreth pound in fiue yeres, and of other after that rate, except sir Robert Ferrers Erle of Darby, Sir Iohn de la Ware, and hym that stroke of the fist of the kinges pursuyuant, and some other persons that were of small countenaunce, should be fined by discretion of the kinges counsaile, but this tooke none effect. The Citie of Norwiche spoyled. Octobone the Popes Legate.

About this tyme was made the statute of weightes and measures, that is to say, that a sterlyng penny should waye. xxxij. graynes of wheate drie and round, and taken in the middes of the eare, and. xx. of those pence shoulde make an ounce, and. xij. ounces make a pound Troy: And. viij. pound Troy weight make a gallon of Wine, and. viij. wyne galons to make a London bushell, which is the. viij. part of a quarter. Also three barly Cornes dry and round should make an ynch, &. xij. ynches a foote, & thre foote a yard, and fiue yards, halfe a perch, or poll, &. xl. pol in length & thre in bredth an acre of land.

And these standardes of weight and measures were confirmed in the. xv. yere of king Edward the thirde, and also in the tyme of Henry the sixt and of Edward the fourth, and lastly confirmed in the last yere of Henry the seuenth. But in the time of king Henry the sixt it was ordeyned that the same ounce should be deuided into. xxx. pence, and in the tyme of king Edward the fourth, into. xl. pence, and in the tyme of king Henry the eight into. xliiij. pence: But the weight of the ounce Troy, and the measure of the foote continued alwayes one.

1267
52
A new rebellion made by Gilbert de Clare Erle of Gloucester.

And about this tyme, of what occasion I knowe not, Sir Gilbert de Clare Erle of Gloucester gathered out of the Marches of Wales a great and strong power against the king, and with him also ioyned Sir Iohn Eiuile, and other of the disenherited company, and shortly after Christmasse came with a great host nere vnto London, Octobone the Popes Legate liyng then in the Tower of London.

Assoone as the Maior and Aldermen of the Citie of London had knowledge of the Erles commyng, and that with a great power, and they themselues not knowyng whether he came as the kinges friend or no: they shut the Gates agaynst the foreryders: and at that tyme neyther was the king nor any of his counsaile in the Citie, nor nere thereunto.

London sore vexed and in much trouble.

to. Wherefore the Maior and Aldermen went to the Legate, and required his counsaile whether they should suffer the Erle to enter the Citie or no? And the Legate aunswered that he thought they might let him come in, for he knewe well that he was the kinges true subiect and friend.

And immediately after this talke, a messenger came from the Erle to the Maior, willyng to haue licence to passe through the Citie into Southwarke, where he entended to lodge him and his people, which was graunted vnto him: and so the Erle passed through the Citie, and was lodged in Southwarke. To whome came shortly after by Southwarke syde sir Iohn Eiuile with a great companie.

The Maior at that tyme caused the Gate of the bridge to be shut, and caused a certein number of armed men to watch it, as wel by day as by night, and so did he all the Citie through. And sodeinly the Legate and the Erle agreed so well together, that the Erle by his aduice was suffered, with a certeine of his people to be lodged within the Citie of Lõdon. By reason wherof he dayly drue more and more of his people into the Citie, so that at the last many thinges were ordered by him, and many of the Commons tooke hys part against the Maior and Aldermen.

And shortly after he gathered vnto him such a courage and auctboritie, that he tooke the keyes of the bridge, and of the Gates, from the officers of the Citie, and delyuered them to such as pleased him, and receyued into the Citie many of the disherited persons, and gaue to them free libertie to passe the bridge by all houres of the day and night.

The Maior of this sent worde to the king, who then was gatheryng of his power in Norffolke, and made hastie spede towardes London. And in the meane while the Erle with his companie made Bulwarkes and Barbicanes betwene the Tower and the Citie, and cast ditches and trenches in some places of the Citie, and fortefyed it wonderfully.

Then a great number of the sober and graue Citizens feared a new Insurrection, and therefore aduoyded the Citie as secretly as they might, whose goodes the Erle seased to his owne vse, or suffered his men to spoyle them at their awne pleasure. And now the rude Commons had quite forgotten theyr great and late affliction and punishment: and as men desperate and without the feare of God, or obedience to their Prince, nor yet respectyng nor regardyng any thing at all their awne weales and states, neyther the weales of their householdes, as their wiues, children, or friendes, toke certeyne of the Aldermen and cast them in prison, and sequestred their goodes, and spoyled a great part thereof. And in this their rage and fury, they ran to the Guildhall, and there did chose for their Maior or Custos of the Citie, Sir Richard Culworth knight, and for Bailifes, Robert Lynton, and Roger Marshall, and discharged the olde Maior and Shirifes. And after this, then went they vnto Newgate, Ludgate, and Creplegate, and all other prisons within the Citie, where they discharged and set at libertie all that were emprisoned for any matter touchyng the Barons warre before passed.

Citizens of Lõdõ spoile Citizens.

A shamefull ryot.

Nowe, the Legate beholdyng all this businesse, and well considerying this rebellion and discorde, repented him of his former counsaile geuen to the Maior: and for that he sawe that he could not reforme the Erle of his error, he threatned him with the censures of the Church, and to accursse him as the disenherited were. And forthwith he commaunded the deuine seruice, to be sayde without note, and the Church dores to be shut in the tyme of the seruice doyng, and that no Bell were rong vnto the sayde seruice: And all because that the disenherited which stood accursed shoulde not enter into the Churches to here the deuine seruice.

I doe not thinke that these were such Gunnes as we nowe vse, but rather some pot Gunne, or some such other inuention, for the Arte and making of Gunnes was not then inuented nor many yeres after.

And shortly after Easter the king came to him, three miles from London, and he himselfe was lodged in the Abbey of White Monkes in Stratfoord: and sone after the Legate came thether vnto him, and was lodged also in the same Abbey, where for streightnesse of lodging, his horse & Mules were set in the Cloyster of the same Abbey. Then the kinges hostes made dayly assaultes, and Gunnes and other ordinaunce were shot into the Citie, which did little or no hurte at all, the towne was so strongly fortefyed.

And in this tyme the Legate on the one part, and the king of Romaynes on the other part, for alliaunce that was betwene him and the Erle of Gloucester, and chiefely for the aduoyding of spillyng and sheddyng of blood, laboured so to the king, that a reformation of peace was spoken of. And during the tyme of the entreatie, the Souldiours that lay in Southwarke, committed many robberyes in Southerey, and many other places, and roued ouer vnto Westminster, and spoyled there the kinges Palace, and deuoured hys Wine, and brake the Glasse of the Windowes, and made a common spoyle of all that belonged to the sayde Palayce, and they did the like also in sundrie places of London. And of that company of Rouers there were foure taken that had the cognisaunce of the Erle of Darby, whose handes the Erle caused to be cut off, and legges to be bound, and them to be put into a sacke, and then to be cast into the Thames and drowned. And about the. xj. day of Iune next folowyng, a peace betweene the King and the Erle of Gloucester was concluded. A iust punishment for Rebels.

And so soone as the former peace was concluded, the Erle remoued out the Citie, and was lodged againe in Southwarke: and the king entered the Citie the Sonday before Midsommer day. And forthwith the kinges Proclamation was made through the Citie of the peace betweene the king and the Erle. And afterwarde was graunted to the disenherited persons that they should haue. xj. dayes after to shift for themselues, that is to say, eyther to aduoyde vnto such places, where they might be in some suretie, or else to agree to the former composition made by the Legate, and to pay the fift part of the stint of their landes, certeine persons excepted, as before is rehersed.

And as touchyng the Erle, and such other as before were not disenherited, and also the Citizens of London to be clerely pardoned and forgeuen.

And forthwith were restored to their offices Aleyn Sowche for Maior, and Thomas Basyng, and Robert de Cornehill for Shriefes, and the Aldermen that before were deposed, were agayne restored to their wardes and offices.

And on the Wednesday nexte followyng, the Legate enterdicted all the City of London: which endured from. vj. of the clock in the morning vntill thre of the clock the next day at after none, and then he discharged it, vpon the othe of two commoners which were sworne in the name of all the Citie, that the Citie shoulde stande to the ordynance and iudgement of holy church. But another Chronycle sayth, that this interdiction should haue continued lenger, if the stoutnesse of the Londoners had not beene, who helde the Legate so streyte, that they inforced him to withdrawe that sentence vpon the aforesayde condition. London enterdicted.

Sone after, were all the Bullwarkes, Rampires and Barbicans that the Erle had made in and aboute the Citie pulled vp, and the diches filled, that no parte of them was sene. Now were the Citizens enforced agayne to sue for a newe pardon, and aunswere was made vnto them, that as yet they had not recompenced the king of Romaines for the subuersion of his manor of Thistleworth which they brent, and for the same he demaunded. vj. thousand markes: So that at the last, with great labour and friendship, they agreed to geue vnto hym for amendes a thousande Markes to bee payde in two yeeres. A pardon againe recouered with more money.

And not long after the king receyued into his fauour Sir Iohn Eiuyle, Sir Nicholas de Segraue, Sir William Mermion, Sir Richarde Gray, Sir Iohn Fitz Iohn, and Sir Gilbert de Lucye with other. And agreement was also made betweene sir Edwarde the kings sonne and the aforenamed Erle of Gloucester. And then also were all the fortresses and other defences which were made in Southwarke during the time of the lying of the Erle of Gloucesters armie there, and all other places adioyning to the same, pulled downe & destroyed, and the Erle and al other souldiours cleane aduoyded. And after all things were set in order and rest, except such as yet kept the Isle of Ely: the king roade to Shrewesbury where he taried a season, for to common of matters betweene hym and Lewelyn or Lleuellen Prince of Wales.

The king thus being at Shrewesbury, a Writ was directed to Sir Aleyn Souche Maior of

of London, eyght dayes before Mighelmas from the king, charging him that the Citizens shoulde not proceede to the election of newe Shriefes vntill his comming to London, but to suffer the olde to remaine and stande still in office.

1268

55 Variaunce betwene the companies of Goldsmithes and Taylers.

This yere there happened a variance betwene the companies of Goldsmithes and Taylors of London, which grewe to making of partes. So that with the Goldsmithes the Felowship of tooke parte, and with the Taylers tooke parte the Steyners. And by this occasion much people mightily gathered in the streetes in harnesse. And at length the sayde parties met to the number of fyue hundreth, and they ranne together with suche violence, that diuers were slaine, and many wounded, wherevpon an outcrie was made, so that the Shriefes with the helpe of other Citizens came vnto the ende of the fray, and tooke diuers of them, and sent them to sundrie prisons: and the morowe after such inquisition and searche was made, that the greatest part of the principalles and causers of this fray were taken, and put in ward. Then shortly after, Sessions were kept at Newgate by the Maior and Laurence de Broke Iustice, and other, where at that tyme was arreigned of felony. xxx. of the sayde persons, whereof. xiij. were condemned and hanged. And for that one Godfray of Beuerley did helpe to arme one of the sayde persons, he was also cast among the other.

Execution.

The king choseth the Shirifes of London.

The Lent next folowyng, the king beyng at Westminster, commaunded the Maior of London to present vnto him sixe persons, such as were able to be Shirifes. Of the which sixe so presented, the king chose two to be Shirifes, that is to say, William de Durham, and Walter Henry, and then caused them to be sworne, that they should gather the profites of the Citie, and to geue a true accompt for the same before the Barons of the Exchequer.

And the. xxvj. day of Iuly, the king discharged Sir Aleyn Sowche of the Mayraltie, and made Stephen Edworth Constable of the Tower, and Custos of the Citie of London. Of these rulers of the Citie, after the yere that Thomas fitz Thomas was Maior, are diuerse opinions. For after some writers, from that yere, which was the. xlviij. yere of the reigne of king Henry, vntill the. lviij. yere of his reigne, in the which yere Iohn Adrian Draper was Maior, were all Custos and Gardians of the Citie of London.

And at this time, by the mediation of Sir Edward the kinges sonne all suche disenherited personnes as kept the Isle of Ely, were reconciled to the king, and all fortresses and defences by them there made, were plucked vp and destroyed.

And in the latter ende of this moneth of Iuly, Octobone the Legate, after he had made many rules in the Church, not without great charge of dismes leuyed of the same, tooke his leaue of the king and roade towarde the sea syde, with great treasure, and so returned in processe of tyme to Rome. Where after Innocent the fift, in the yere of our Lorde a thousand two hundreth seuentie sixe, he was chosen and created Pope of Rome, and then named Adrian the fift, and dyed within fiftie dayes after his election.

Citizens forced to flee the Citie.

At this tyme also, because many of the Citizens of London (for the great imposition and charge that they were set at, toward the fine of. xx. thousand marke aforenamed, with other charges) voyded the Citie, with their householdes and goodes, and inhabited themselues in diuerse places of the realme, thinkyng thereby to be acquited of the sayd cessyng or charge: The other of the sayde Citie which remayned, made instant sute and labour to the King, that all such as had for the sayd cause voyded their goodes out of the Citie, should be distreyned by the Shirife of that Shire where they then dwelled, and forced to paye all suche summes of money, as they before were sessed at, which sute they obteyned of the king.

The fiue Citizens that before were imprisoned in Windsore, were nowe againe deliuered.

And in the Moneth of September folowyng, the aforenamed fiue Citizens, which had remayned prisoners in the Tower of Windsore, as before is mencioned in the. xlviij. yere, made at this tyme their ende with Sir Edward the kinges sonne for great summes of money, and so were deliuered.

1269

In this season was a great and an extreme frost, and began at S. Androwes day, and

cõtinued vnto Candlemas folowing, & the Thames was so frosen, that men, horse, and cart went safely ouer betwene London and Westminster. But a little after the breakyng vp of the sayd frost, there fell such an aboundance of raine, that the Thames rose so high, that the lyke thereof had not bene seene by any man then lyuyng. Whereof ensued much harme about London, for the Sellers by the Water syde were all drowned, and in them great plentie of Marchandise perished and was lost. A great frost.

And this yere the king gaue to Sir Edwarde his sonne the rule of the Citie of London, with all reuenues and profites to the same in any wise belongyng. After which gift, the sayd Sir Edward made Sir Hugh the sonne of Othon Constable of the Tower, and Custos of the Citie. The Citie of London geuē to prince Edward the kinges eldest sonne.

And the. ix. day of Aprill folowyng, Sir Edmond the kinges other sonne (surnamed Crouchbacke) maryed at Westminster the daughter of the Erle of Aumarle: For solemnitie whereof, the king kept in the great Hall there an honourable feast the Sonday folowyng. Edmonde Crouchbacke the kinges second sonne.

The last day of Aprill folowyng, Sir Edwarde the kinges sonne, commaunded the Citizens of London to present vnto him sixe persons able to be Shirifes of London. Of the which he admitted to that office, William de Hadistoke, and Anketyll de Aluerne, and sware them to be accomptantes as their predecessors were.

At these dayes a newe custome or toll was vsed to be payed by the Citizens of London vnto the king: Which toll Sir Edward had then letten to ferme to a Marchant straunger for. xx. marke a yere. Wherefore the Citizens not willyng to be vnder the rule of a straunger, made great sute vnto the sayd Sir Edward, and lastly agreed with him to buy the same toll fee, for the summe of two hundreth marke. A newe toll taxed vpon the Citizens.

And in the ende of this yere, the king had graunted vnto him towarde his voyage purposed into the holy land, the twentie penny of euery mannes substance moueable throughout his land of the lay fee: And of the spiritualty three dismes to be leuied in three yeres. A great sum of money graunted to the king for his voyage toward Ierusalem.

And this yere the king of Romaines concluded a couenaunt with Sir Gilbert de Clare, Erle of Gloucester, for a voyage to be taken into the holye lande, by the sayde Erle for the king. For the which voyage, the sayde Erle should haue of the king towarde his charges. viij. thousand markes, and at the takyng of his shippyng other foure thousand markes, and to be ready by the first day of May next folowing: And if the Erle were not ready at the sea syde at that day with his company to take shippyng, he should then forfeite to the king two thousand markes. For suretie whereof, the sayde Erle should deliuer into the kinges possession his Castell of Henleger standyng vpon the Marches of Wales: But this came after to no purpose, but the cause why is not shewed. But that Iourney was afterward performed by Sir Edward the kinges sonne, as after shall appere.

In this meane while, the Citizens of London so well pleased and contented Sir Edward the kinges sonnes minde, that he so laboured vnto the kinges grace for them, that he obteyned of the king their Charter in suche wise newely to be confirmed vnto them, that they should after their auncient liberties chose of themselues a Maior, and two Shirifes, and the sayde Shirifes to haue the offices therevnto belongyng to farme. After which confirmation thus graunted and passed by the kinges broade seale: The Citizens vpon the. xiiij. day of Iuly next folowyng, assembled themselues at the Guildhall, and there did choose for their Maior Iohn Adrian Draper, and for their Shirifes, Walter Potter, and Iohn Taylor. And within two daies next folowyng Sir Edward beyng present, they presented them to the king at Westminster, where they were admitted and sworne, and then was Sir Hugh of Othon discharged of the rule of the Citie. 1270

55

The charter and liberties of London againe newly graunted.

Then the Citizens of their free will gaue vnto the king an hundreth marke, and to Sir Edward fiue hundreth marke, which gift the king well accepted. And sone after they receyued their Charter of confirmation bearyng date the. xxj. day of Iuly and the. lv. yere of the reigne of the king.

And by reason the former couenant and agreement that was made betwene the king and

Prince Edward taketh his voyage into the holy land for his father.

the Erle of Gloucester tooke none effect, therefore Sir Edward tooke vpon him the kinges Crosse: To whom the king gaue all the money that was graunted of the lay Fee, as before is shewed, and then he tooke shippyng at Douer the. xx. day of August, and so sayled to Burdeaux, with his wife accompanied with many noble personages.

And because Lewes king of Fraunce was gone before sir Edwarde came, therefore he taried but a little while at Burdeaux, and after went with his foresayde companie toward the Citie of Thunys, where the French king was. But before he could come thether, the French king was deade, and a peace was concluded betwene Philip his sonne, and the king of Thunys. Wherefore Sir Edward entendyng to greeue the enemyes of God, accompanyed with some knightes of Fraunce that entended the same, tooke their leaue of the French kyng, and of Sir Charles his vncle then kyng of Sicile, and sayled further into the holy land, and arryued at a Porte of Acris or Acon. For at that daye there was no mo Cities of the holy lande in the possession of the Christians but the cities of Acon and Tyre, with certeine Castels wherevnto the Christians fled often for succour against the Sarazens.

When Sir Edward was come to Acon, the Christian knyghtes receaued him with great honour and gladnesse, & lodged him in theyr best maner: Where he taried by the space of a yere after, as saith the French Chronicle. And it was not long after that he came thether, but that the Souldane of Surrey came thether also (the which had wonne all the Countries there aboutes) with a great power of Sarazens, and assaulted the Citie strongly and fiercely: But Sir Edward with the ayde of Christen men, bare him so knightly and valyantly, that he defended both the Cities and the Castelles to the same belongyng, and the territories of the same, so that the Souldane for all his great multitude and power gate there little honour: Notwithstanding, he had in his host, as sayth the French Chronicle, aboue an hundreth thousand Sarazens. And the sayd Chronicle affirmeth moreouer, that Sir Edward in his pollecies, and manfull actes so honourably behaued himselfe, that he neuer did the like act all his lyfe folowyng, although he did afterward many honourable deedes, but yet none comparable to those that he did there: By reason whereof, his name among the Infidelles was had in memory many yeres after.

Of the honour of this martiall and valiaunt knight, I haue made the lenger rehersall, bicause I finde the same wytnessed of the Frenchmen, the which I knowe well, there must be some great and notable matter that moueth them when they write anye thing in the fauour and commendation of any English Prince, or of any thing done by the nation.

Then this noble Prince being thus in Acon, and daylie putting the Souldane and the Sarazens to shame and great dammages, they seyng that they might not preuayle against hym by strength of battaile, cast howe they might destroy him by treason, and sent vnto him a Sarazen in the name of a Messenger, the which in tellyng of his feyned message,

Prince Edward wounded by a Sarazene.

wounded him with a knife enuenomed, of the which wound he laye long before he were thereof cured and healed. But after confession made by the Sarazens of all hys compassed treason, he was put vnto most cruell death.

Bow church steple fallen downe. 1271

About this time, the Steeple of S. Mary Bow Church in Cheape in London fell downe and slue both men, women, and children.

56 A parliamẽt.

This yere the king helde his Parliament in Nouember at Westmynster, in the which the Marchauntes of London and of other partes of the Realme, exhibited a Byll of complaint against the Countesse of Flaundyrs, for that shee had taken from them certayne goodes amountyng to a great summe. Vpon which complaynt, the king sent vnto her to make restitution: But because she made none, the king therefore commaunded, that all men which were borne in those parts and now being resiaunt in England, should be arrested, and they and their goodes to be put vnder sure and safe keping. By occasion whereof she at the length sent ouer Ambassadors, and besought the king that his Merchaunts might vse their entercourse into Flaundyrs, as they before tyme had done, and all

suche

suche losses as before tyme they had susteyned, should be recompensed. And shortly after an amitie and friendship betwene the king and hir was concluded.

In the later ende of thys yere dyed Richard king of Almayne and Erle of Cornewall, brother to the king, and was buried at Hailes, an Abbey of white Monkes in Glocestershire, which before he had builded. Richard king of Almaine dyed.

And in thys yere the Monasterie of the Trinitie in the City of Norwich, was consumed with fyre, by reason of a fray made betweene the seruaunntes of the Abbey, and certayne Citizens of the Cytie, which grewe to a great skirmish: For the Priour of the same, and others Monkes prouyded souldiours, and helde the Belfraye and the Church by force of armes, & threwe out stones and dartes, and shot many arrowes, by reason whereof, manye of the Towne were both wounded and slayne: which brought the commons and yong men into such a furie and madnesse, that they fyred the Gates, and after forced the fyre with Reede and drie Wood, that the Church wyth the Bookes and all other ornaments of the same, and all houses of office belonging to the same Abbey, were cleane brent and throwne downe, so that nothing was preserued, except it were a little Chapell. Trinitie Abbay in Norwich brent.

When tydings of thys riot came to the kings knowledge, he was therewith greatly displeased and offended, so that he road thether in hast, and there commaunded questes to be charged, both of knights and Squires that dwelled in the Countrie aboute, and to endite all such persons as were the occasioners and doers of that deede. By reason of which enquirie, there were condemned and iudged. xxx. young men of the Towne, the which were after drawne to the place of execution, and there hanged and brent, to the great discomfiture of the Citizens. For they thought that the Prior of the place was the occasioner of all that mischiefe, which was borne out and defended by the Bishop of Norwich, then named Roger. Execution.

Nowe approched the ende, that all fleshe is borne vnto, which is death, of the which nothing is more certeyne to all persons, though the day and houre is most vncerteine. At this tyme the king sickened, and forced to kepe his bed at Westminster, called before him Sir Gilbert Clare Erle of Gloucester: and caused him to be newely sworne to kepe the peace of the lande, to the behoofe of Edward his sonne, and then dyed the. xvj. day of Nouember, when he had reigned. lvj. yeres, and xxvij. dayes, leauyng after him Sir Edward before named for his heyre, and Edmond Crouchbacke his sonnes, and is buryed at Westminster. King Henry the third died.

1272

57

EDWARDE THE FIRST.

EDward the first of that name, and sonne of king Henry the third, surnamed Longshanke, beyng of the age of. xxxv. yeres, began his reigne ouer Englande the. xvij. day of the moneth of Nouember, and in the yere of oure Lorde. M. CC. lxxij. King Edward the first.

1272

1

This Edward as before is shewed in the. lv. yere of his fathers reigne, was in the holye land when his father dyed, and there did manye notable feates of warre as is aforesayd. And while he was so exercised, tidyngs was brought vnto him that his father was dead: Wherefore in all hast, he sped him into England, and came to London the seconde day of August, and was crowned at Westminster, with Alianor his wife sister vnto the king of Spaigne, the. xiij. day of December folowyng of Robert Archebishop of Cauntorbury,

which was in the beginnyng of the second yere of his reigne. At his Coronation were present the king of Scottes, and Iohn Erle of Britein, with theyr wyues the kinges sisters whic li liued short while after. Mathew of Westminster.

The next day after his Coronation, the Scottishe king aforesayde dyd homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland.

In the beginnyng of the reigne of this king Edward the first, the busie Citizens of London attempted to haue made a Maior as they woulde, but they were by the discreter number preuented: Notwithstandyng in the yere folowyng their purpose tooke more effect.

As before is sayde in the moneth of August, the King came to London, where he was ioyfully receyued of the Citizens, and with all honour conueyed to Westminster, where he kept great obseruaunces for his father a certeyne of tyme after.

1273 / 2

Busie heades beget trouble.

Nowe the lewde purpose which the yere passed was in the light Citizens, began to breake foorth: For where Philip le Taylor who before had beene chosen Maier of London, shoulde vpon the day of Simon and Iude haue bene placed in the Chayre of the Guyldhall as the maner is, dyuerse of the Citizens put him besyde the Chayre, and put therein Walter Heruy, that was Maior the yere before. By reason whereof, great rumor and grudge arose among the Citizens: the matter whereof was after brought before the king, who heeryng the reasons of both partes, forsomuche as he could not agree them, he put both the sayd Sir Walter, and the sayd Philip asyde, and did choose Henry Frowike for Custos of the Citie, and so continued vntill Candelmasse next after. At which time by discrete & wise peaceable meanes, the aforenamed Sir Walter Haruie was set in auctoritie as Maior, and so continued the whole yere.

Lluellen Prince of Wales rebelled. Lewlyn subdued.

At this time Lewlyn, or Lluellen Prince of Wales rebelled, and king Edward after the solempnitie of his Coronation gathered a great power together, and went toward Wales, and subdued the sayd Lewlyn.

The cause of this rebellion (saith Polidore) was for that the same Lluellyn being desyrous to make a styrre and businesse in England, and ioynyng in amitie with the French king, sent messengers to king Philip of Fraunce to desyre his good will that he might mary Ladie Alianor the daughter of Simon Mountfort Erle of Leycester, which then was a banished woman in Fraunce, as was her mother also, and Henry her brother. The which request of his the king graunted, and so sent the Damosell vnto him by her sayd brother Henry. The which Alianor with her brother were both taken by the English fleete, when they were approched nere vnto Wales about Bristow, and were brought vnto king Edward. Nowe when Prince Lluellen vnderstood this, he was so moued with the fact, that he streight wayes armed himselfe, and so makyng a roade into the Marches of Englande, wasted and destroyed the Countrie as he went, and slue all that he met with. For repression of the which his outrage and fury, and to relieue his distressed subiects there, the king reysed a puyssaunt armie, and at the length, when the Prince sawe what daunger he was in, and how lyke he was to be discomfited, he submitted and yelded himselfe to his mercy, who vpon the sayd submission pardoned him, and with much ado deliuered him the sayd Ladie that was sent him (her virginitie remaynyng vnspotted) whome he shortly after maryed. But Mathew of Westminster sayth, that he gaue the king afore hand in the name of a fine for his transgression fiftie thousande markes, and bound himselfe to pay yerely in the kinges Exchequer, a thousand markes more. And sone after he returned and ordeyned certeine newe lawes for the wealth of the Realme, which are to long here to reherse. Among the which one was that Bakers makyng bread lackyng the weight assigned, after the price of corne, should first be punished by losse of bread, and the second tyme by emprisonment, and lastly by the correction of the Pillory: And Milners for stealyng of corne, to be punished by the Tomberell: And for the execution hereof, he gaue auctoritie, to all Maiors, Bailifes, and other officers through England, but specially to the Maior of London. He made a law also the same time against the excessiue takyng of

New lawes.

Vsurie

Vsurie by the Iewes, and that they should weare a certeine cognisaunce vpon their vppermost garment, whereby they should be knowne from Christians.

1274 3

And this yere the king confirmed the liberties of the Citie of London, and graunted them some newe.

A parliamēt.

And at this time he helde his great Court of Parliament at Westminster, and summoned Lewlyn Prince of Wales to come to the same, the which presumptuously he denied. Wherefore then shortly after he entered againe into Wales, and so warred vpon the sayd Lewlyn, that he was constrayned to submit himselfe to the kinges graces mercie, and obteyned it with great difficultie, as is beforesayd.

Lewlyn Prince of Wales again rebelled and was subdued.

After this king Edward builded the Castell of Flint, and strengthned the Castell of Rutland and other, with Englishe men, to kepe the Welshmen in due obedience, and so returned to London.

Walter Haruy chosen Maior.

The aforenamed Walter Haruy who after long controuersie and strife by him made and continued against the Aldermen of London, and in the first yere of the king was at a folkemote holden at Paules crosse chosen Maior of London, and continued out that whole yere to the great trouble and hurt of the Citie, and he was this yere accused of dyuerse periuryes, and dedes done contrary to his othe. For the which, and for makyng of assemblyes of the Commons that fauoured him in his euill deedes, he was depriued of his Aldermanship and counsaile of the Citie for euer, and found suretie of xij. honest persons that he should be of good abearyng for kepyng of the kinges peace within the Citie, for terme of his life.

A folkemote.

Walter Haruy depriued.

1275 4

And this yere was the statute of Mortmayn first enacted, which is that no man should geue vnto the Church any landes or rentes, without a speciall lycence first obteyned of the king: which acte sithen that tyme is set out more largely, and diuers things added thereunto.

Statute of Mortmain.

1276 5

In this tyme the king had in his court one Dauid brother vnto Lewlyn Prince of Wales, which Dauid did vnto the king suche pleasaunt seruice that the king bare him such loue and fauour that he gaue him the Lordship of Froddesham in Chesshire, but afterwarde, it did right well appere, that he was but a Trayterous spie to geue his brother Lewlin warning and knowledge, of all the kings will and minde.

Dauid brother of Lewlyn Prince of Wales a spie.

1277 6

And thys yere Mighelmas Terme was kept at Shrowesburie, but at Hillarie Terme following, it was agayne remoued to Westmynster. In the which by reason of caryage and of great raynes that then did fall, the records were sore blemished and defaced.

1278 7

And in thys tyme a Parliament was holden at London chiefely for the reformation of the kings coyne, which then was sore clipped, by reason wherof, the same was much diminished and empayred.

The coyne sore clipped.

And in the time of thys Parliament, manye of the Iewes in London and other places of the Realme were taken and put in prison for clypping of Money, and in December following, dyuers enquestes were charged in London to enquire of the sayde Iewes and other that had so blemished the kings coyne. By the which enquestes the Iewes of the Citie, with dyuers Goldsmithes that kept exchange of Siluer were endicted. And shortly after Candlemas; the Maior and Iustices of the lande, sat at London, where before them was cast. CClxxxxvij. persons. Of the which were but three Englishemen, and all the reast were Iewes, and suche as came of Iewes borne in this Realme or else where, who were all at sundrie places & tymes put to execution.

A great execution of Iewes.

And this yere beganne the foundation of the black Fryers beside Ludgate and of Baynardes Castell. And the same yere also was the Towne of Boston in Lincolneshire, greatly blemished with fyre.

Boston brent.

1279 8

And at thys tyme the king caused the half peny and farthing to be coyned of Siluer: where before, other coynes of mettall went among the people, to their great noyaunce. But the lack of theaforesayde coynes in these oure dayes are a great losse and hinderaunce to

Halfe pence & farthings lack in Englande.

to the powertie of thys Realme. And in the Winter of thys yere, there fell so great snow, that thereof ensued much harme.

1280 9 Dauid brother of Lewlyn fled into Wales.

At thys tyme Dauid the brother of Lewlyn Prince of Wales (of whom before you haue heard) which dwelled in the kings court, to know the kings Counsayle, and thereof to informe hys brother; when he had that he wayted for, he secretly gate him into Wales to his brother, & prouoked him against the king in all that he might: and caused hym to victuall and man certaine Castelles within Wales, and specially the Castell of Swandon, wherein he much trusted, and gathered vnto him the Welshemen, by giftes and other meanes, so that he was verie strong.

Whereof, when the king was informed, he woulde therevnto geue no credite, vntill he he had sent thether, and receyued from thence the certaintie. But for so much as winter was then toward, he might not as then go thether with any power, and therefore he prouyded to sende men and victualles to strengthen the Castels of Flynt and Rutland and other holdes which he there had, and made prouision to warre vppon them in the beginning of the next spring.

1281 10 The king sendeth a power into Wales to tame the welshemen.

But the king yet hearing more and more of the vnstedfastnesse of the welshemen, and to keepe them from the anoyeng of his holdes sent thether the Erles of Northumberlande and Surrey with a lustie Crewe of Souldiours, and with them went Sir Roger Clifforde, Sir Wylliam Lyndsey, Sir Richard Tanny, and many other knightes and Esquires. The which with great courage entered Wales, and made with the Welshmen manye skirmishes vntill at the last vpon Palme Sunday, Dauid with a great power of Welshmen, met with the sayde Lordes and knightes at a place neere to a Towne called Hauerden, where betwene them was a sore fight, but in the end the losse fell to the Englishmen, for there were slaine Sir Wylliam Lyndsey. Sir Richarde Tanny with manye other, and Sir Roger Clifford was taken.

The Englishmen ouerthrowne.

After the which ouerthrowe of the Englishe men, the sayd Dauid layde siege vnto the Castelles of Flint and Rutland. And his brother in that tyme warred and occupyed the landes of Sir Edmond Mortimer, and wan the towne called Llan matreuer, and threwe the Walles thereof downe to the ground. This towne also is called Abriswith, or rather Oswistrey. It was not long after or the brute of the ouerthrowe of the Englishe men came vnto the towne, wherefore he sped him the faster thetherward.

1228 11 Sir Roger Clifforde drowned.

Nowe, while king Edward was busyed in the rescuyng of his men that were besieged of Dauid, Sir Roger Clifford with other, which entended to rayse men to set vpon the Welshemen, was drowned by follie vpon a bridge made of Barges & Plankes to haue passed a water betwene Snowdon and Anglesey. And the thirde day of December next folowyng, was Lewlyn Prince of Wales slaine by Sir Edmond Mortimer and his companie, and his

Lewlyn prince of Wales slaine.

[illegible] was sent [illegible] king then being at Rutland: The which he sent vnto London, charg-
[illegible] Tower of London
yng that it should be set vpon the [illegible]

About this tyme was Marton College in Oxford founded by Water Marton Bishop of Rochester, and Lord Chauncelor of England, who was drowned passyng ouer the water of Rochester, hauing at that tyme no bridge for people to passe ouer as it nowe hath.

1283 12 Wales deuided into shires.

The king continuyng still in Wales, prosecuted Dauid the brother of Lewlyn from towne to towne, so that at the last he was taken and brought to the king, about Midsommer, and there kept in warde, vntill the king had sped his businesse. And then had the king the whole countrie at his will, and gaue vnto Englishe Lordes, Townes in the middle of Wales, and deuyded the Countrie into shires, and ordeined there Shirifes & other officers in like maner as then was vsed in England, and as it is there now at this day. At Aberconow he made a strong Castell, where before there was a house of white Monkes: The which he remoued from thence, & prouided for them in another place called afterwardes Vale Royall. He also made then the Castel of Carnaruan fast by Snowdon hill, and repayred againe the towne Llan Matreuer aforesayd, which Lewlyn had beaten downe. Also he garnished the Castelles and holdes standyng vpon the sea syde with Englishe men, and made the

Englishemen

Englishemen Lordes of the groundes belongyng to the same. And when the king had put the Countrie in good order, and all thinges were quieted, then about Michaelmasse he returned to Shrewesbury, where he helde a Parliament. In the tyme whereof the aforesayde Dauyd, as chiefe styrrer & beginner of all this warre, was there demed to be drawen, hanged, and quartered, and so he was shortly after at the sayde towne of Shrewesbury, and his head sent to London, and set by the heade of his brother Lewlyn, or Luellen.

A parliament at Shrewesbury.

Dauid the brother of Lewlyn hanged, drawen & quartered.

¶ And this yere the king had his first sonne borne at the Castell of Carnaruan, while he was in Wales, and he was named Edward of Carnaruan, and was borne vpon the. xxv. day of Aprill, and was king after him.

Edward of Carnaruan the kinges first sonne.

In this yere also, there was found one Lawrence Doket a Citizen of London, deade and hanged in Saint Mary Bow Church in Chepe. For the which, enquiries were made, and in the ende for that dede were attainted these. vij. persons folowyng, that is to say: Reignold of Lancaster, Robert Pynnot, Paule of Stepinhithe, Thomas Cordwayner, Iohn Talanson, Thomas Russell, & Robert Scot, the which were all for that deede drawne & hanged. And a woman also for the same deede was brent. And Raufe Crepyn, Iourdan Goodchepe, Gilbert Clerke, and Geoffrey Clerke, were also attainted for the same cause: But they were reprued & sent vnto the Tower of London, where they remayned long after, but at the last were deliuered.

Lawrence Doket hanged in Bowe Church.

Execution.

And in this yere the great Conduit in London, standing against the church called Acres in Chepe was first begon to be made. And in this yere began a strife or vnkindnes to kindle betwene the king, & the Erle of Leycester, or as some write of Gloucester, which after turned to the great trouble of manye townes in Englande, but specially to the Citie of London, as after shall be shewed.

Variance betwene ye king and the Erle of Leycester.

This yere the king seazed the liberties of the Citie, and discharged the Maior that then was, who was named Gregory Rokesley, and appoynted Stephen Sandwich to be Custos and Gardian of the Citie of London, and the same Sandwich continued in the office vntill Candlemas next folowing, and then was he discharged, and Sir Ihon Breton knight charged for the rest of the yere.

1284

13

Liberties of London againe seazed.

The cause of the displeasure that the king had against the Citie, as appereth by Iohn Rastell, was that the sayd Gregory Rokesley tooke certaine bribes of the Bakers, and suffered them to sell bread that lacked sixe or seuen ounces in a penny loafe. But this appereth not to be a sufficient cause, for the offence of the Maior beyng but one man, to take away the liberties of the whole Citie who offended not: Wherefore I thinke there was some greater cause.

And in this yere was full finished and ended the newe worke of the Church of Westminster, to the ende of the Quire, begon as before is shewed in the thirde yere of the thirde Henry: By which accompt, it should appere that the sayd Church was. lxvj. yeres in buildyng. But of the buildyng of this Church are sundrie opinions, as ye may se more at large in Fabian.

Tais yere the king helde his Parliament at Westminster, wherin were made the statutes called *Additamenta Glocestriæ*, that is to say, additions of statutes ioyned to them which before were made at Gloucester.

1285

14

Additamēta Glocestriæ.

Also it happened aboute this tyme that a Citizen of London named Thomas Piwelsdon, which in the tyme of the Barons warre before mencioned, had bene a great styrrer vp of the Commons of the Citie for to mainteine the Barons part against the king, was nowe newely accused, that he with other of euill disposition should make conuenticles and assemblies to the newe griefe and disturbaunce of the Citie. Whereof report was made vnto the king, who remitted the inquirie thereof vnto Sir Raufe Sandwiche then Custos of the Citie.

Then the sayd Thomas with other were put in sure and safe keping vntill the matter were duely enquired of. After whiche inquisition made and found, report thereof was made vnto the king. Then the king sent downe a writ, and commaunded it to be proclaymed

claymed shortly after within the boundes of the Citie, whereof the effect was thus: That
Citizens banished for euer. the sayde Thomas Piwelsdon, William de Heywood, Richard de Coundrys, Richard le Cofferre, Robert de Darby, Albyn de Darby, William Mayo Mercer, and Iohn Ling Draper, with dyuerse other to the number of fiftie persons, should be banished out of the Citie for euer. And if any of the sayde fiftie persons were at that tyme of the Proclamation voyded the Citie for feare or otherwise, that they should remain & not returne vnto the Citie vpon paine of losyng his life.

Aud in this tyme also, where of long tyme before the Marchant straungers comming with their Marchaundise were lodged within Citizens of the Citie of London, and solde all their wares by the procurement of hys hoste, for the which his sayde hoste had a certaine of euery pounde. But now the sayde Marchauntes had so brought it to passe, that they might hier for themselues, houses to dwel in, and sellers for stowage of their wares, so that no Citizen had to doe with them: By meane whereof, they vsed many deceits, both in vtteraunce of false wares, and also in weightes which they vsed in their awne houses, to the great hurte of the whole Realme of Englande. Wherefore sodainely search was made, and their weightes founde and proued false. And besides that, all such wares as they shoulde haue weyed at the kings Beame, they weighed much thereof at their awne houses,
Straungers punished for hauing of false weights. to the hinderaunce of the kinges Custome, for which offences against them proued, to the number of twentie of the sayde straungers were arrested, and sent to the Tower of London, and their weightes brent and consumed in West Cheape of London. But in the ende the sayde Marchauntes were deliuered by making of fine to the king of a thousande pounde, when of a long season they had suffred harde and vyle imprisonment.

1286

15

Thys yere the commons of Englande offered vnto the king the fift part of their moueables to haue the Iewes cleerely banished the realme of Englande: But the Iewes perceauing the intent of the commons, dyd preuent them, and gaue to the king great summe of money, but within fewe yeres after they were all exyled.

Great sūmes of money was offered to the king to banish all the Iewes out of England.

And in this yere about the beginning of May, the king sayled into France where he was most honorably receyued of Philip the French king, where king Edward did to him homage for the Duchye of Guyan. And after king Edwarde had remayned there a while he returned vnto Burdeaux, whether came vnto him certaine Ambassadours from the king of Spaine, with the which he helde long dalyaunce. Wherefore, of the French king he was suspected that he shoulde alye himselfe with the king of Spayne agaynste the Frenche king.

King Edward did homage for the Duchie of Guyan.

And this yere (sayeth Fabian) the Sommer was so hote that men dyed with very heat. And yet Corne this yere was so plenteous that wheate was solde for three shyllings and foure pence a quarter. But sayeth Rastell in hys Chronicle, the next yere followyng, by reason of vnseasonable and intemperate weather, there was a maruellous great dearth of Corne, for (sayth he) wheate was then worth. xvij. pence the Bushell, and afterward yere by yere it encreased vntill it came to. xl. shyllings a quarter, which was a great price, because as he sayth, at that time. xx. pence of siluer weighed a full ounce, and it so continued vntill the reigne of king Henry the sixt, and then. xxx. pence made an ounce of Siluer. And in the tyme of king Edward the fourth. xl. pence made an ounce of siluer, and in the tyme of kyng Henry the. viij. three shillinges and eight pence made an ounce of siluer, and nowe at this tyme being in the tenth yere of the reigne of our souereigne Lady Quene Elizabeth, fyue shillinges maketh an ounce of siluer, but the standard of the ounce was euer at one stynt, although the valuation of coynes altered, as more plainely may appere in the statute made in the. lj. yere of king Henry the thirde.

Corne plenty.

This was a great dearth, if ye conferre the value of theyr money vnto our money that we now presently haue. The after the rate of. xls. a quarter, they of our money payd. vj. pond that is. xv.s. for a bushell, & the no maruell though ye pore cried out.

1287

16

Aboute this time fell a great variaunce betweene Sir Paine Tiptoft Wardein of certein Castelles in Wales, and a Welshe knight called sir Rice ap Mordack, or Meridock, so that sundrie skirmishes were foughten betwene them, and men slaine on both sydes, to the great disturbance of all the Countrie.

1288

17

But in the yere folowing the sayde Rice to be reuenged of the aboue named Tiptoft,

reysed

reysed a great multitude of Welshemen, and brent and wasted diuerse townes in Wales, so that the king then beyng in Normandie sent vnto the Erle of Cornewall, then beyng the kings Lieutenant in England, that he should send thether an armie of knightes and good Souldiours to withstand the malice of the Welshe men. The which prepared shortly an armie, and went with them into the Borders of Northwales: where he with hys companie bare him so nobly and knightly, that in the ende the said Sir Rice was taken, and brought vnto Yorke, where he was after drawne, hanged, and quartered.

Rice ap Merldock taken, drawne, hanged and quartered.

1289.

This yere and in the moneth of August, king Edward returned out of Fraunce, and came to the Citie of London, where he was honourably receyued by the Citizens, and conueyed to Westminster, where shortly after were brought vnto him many grieuous complaintes of diuerse of his Iustices, as Sir Thomas Weyland, Adam Stretton, and other, whome the king caused to be streitly examined, and in the end they were found guiltie of such trespasses and causes as they were accused of. Wherefore some of them were outlawed, and lost such goodes as they had, and the other punished by long imprisonment, and at the last deliuered by paiyng of great fines.

18

Alexander king of Scots brake his neck.

And in the ende of this yere, Alexander king of Scottes, as he was runnyng his horse, fell horse and man to the grounde and brake his necke, and died immediatly, by reason whereof there ensued great warre and trouble for the enheritance of that land. And at the last by the consent of king Edward, the crowne was geuen to Ihon Baillioll, who afterward to gratifie the English nation, buylded a Colledge in Oxford nowe called Baillioll Colledge. But of this Baillioll, yeshall reade more in the. xxiiij. yere of thys kinges reigne.

Baillioll colledge in Oxforde.

1290

And in the. xix. yere of this king, the staple of woolles was kept at Sandwiche, which afterwarde was kept at Caleys as long as it was Englishe, but now it is holden at Bridges in Flaunders.

19

The Iewes banished.

And this yere also, all the Iewes were banished this land, for the which the Commons gaue to the king a fiftene.

Gilbert de Clare Erle of Gloucester.

Also at this time, Sir Gilbert de Clare Erle of Gloucester maried dame Iohan daughter of king Edward. This was called Iohan of Acres or Acon, for she was borne at Acres or Acon a Citie in Iewry when king Edwarde was there, vpon his great iourney. And shortly after, the Duke of Brabandes sonne, maryed Margaret the Sister of the sayde Iohan.

1291

20

Queene Alianour the kinges wife dec

This yere died Quene Alianor the kinges wife, & was buried at Westminster. This Gentelwoman as before is touched in the. xxxviij. yere of king Henry ỹ third, was sister vnto the king of Spaine: by whom king Edward had foure sonnes, that is to say Iohn, Henry, Alphons, and Edward, which Edward succeded his father, for that the other three dyed before their father. Also he had by her fiue daughters. The first A[illegible] who was maryed vnto William Barre. The seconde Iohan of Acres, or of Acon, maryed vnto the Erle of Gloucester, the thirde Margaret, ma[illegible] married to the Duke of Brabandes sonne, the fourth Mary, who was made a Nonne at A[illegible]mbresbury, and the fift named Elizabeth, who was maryed vnto the Erle of Holland, and after his death she was maryed vnto Humfrey Boherum Erle of Herfort. And this yere also dyed olde Queene Alianor wife vnto king Henry the thirde, and mother vnto this king Edward, whose heart was buried at the Gray Fryers Church in London, which nowe is called Christes parishe Church, and her bodie at Ambrisbury in the house of Nonnes.

Quene Alianor wife to king Henry the third deceased.

Polidore sayth that the king hauing continuall warres as well in France as also in Wales & Scotland had greatly consumed his treasure, & one Lord Wylliam Marchian, being then highe treasorer of Englande perceyuing the great ryches that then were in churches & religious houses, so put the same into the kings hea[illegible]d, ỹ they were all brought into the kings treasury: but not without the great grudge and griefe of the people who thought much that the king would meddle with those holy things as they then called them. Howbeit the king being in neede, dissembled the matter, & yet not so content, did shortly after as shal appere obteyne of the spirituaitie the moytie of one yeres of their spirituall promocions

cions and lyuings. Notwithstanding afterward the king considering their great burdens and entending somewhat to gratefie them againe, promised to graūt them something for to pleasure them if they would aske it at his hands. The bishops after consultation thereof had, did desyre to haue the law set at libertie, touching landes geuen in Mortmain to religious houses. But the king not minded that way, gaue them aunswere that it lay not in him to breake the lawe without the consent of the bodye of the realme by whome it was made, and so with fayre wordes put them off for that tyme.

1292 21

And nowe againe the king helde his high Court of Parliament at London, vnto the which came the king of Scottes and dyuers Lordes of that Prouynce. And after he had remayned there a certayne tyme, he was then conuayed by dyuers Lordes of thys Realme, a great way vpon his iourney toward his awne Countrie.

Richarde Bagle an officer of London.

And here by the way for a note, it happened one called Richarde Bagle an officer of London to arest a man, and leadyng hys prisoner to the Compter, there came three men and rescued the sayde prisoner, and tooke him from the officer: The which were pursued and taken, and by iudgement & lawe then vsed, they were brought into west Cheape in London, and there had their right handes striken of by the wrestes.

A rescue punished.

1293 22

About the midst of September following the Erle of Barre a Frenchman maried Alianour the kinges daughter in the towne of Bristowe.

1294 23

Now agayne the Welshemen beganne to sturre, by the prouocation of one Madock: wherof when the king was informed, he in all haste sped him vnto Westchester, and about the sixt day of December wanne from the sayde Madock the Isle called Anglesey, and buylded newe the Castle and Citie of Bew marise, and brought the vnstedfast welshmen to a better order and stay: and then he caused the woodes of the Countrie to be hewen downe, wherein before tyme they vsed to hyde them, as a Cony doth in his hole: and he so repayred the Castels and strong holdes, and buylded some newe, in such wise that he caused the welshmen to be quiet and to go about their awne thrift, against their willes, for by the strength of those Castelles, they were kept from their olde accustomed rauynes and stealings, and put so to execution by the Capitaines of the saide Castels that they fell vnto occupation, and to byeng and sellyng, and gathered treasure together, and began to lyue after the manner of Englishmen, so that more and more that Countrey grewe vnto restfulnesse and peace.

Rebellion in Wales.

The Welshmen tamed & reformed.

Douer brent by ye Frenchmen.

And this yere the Frenchmen with a certaine of Shippes landed at Douer, and spoyled that Towne, and brent a parte of it. In which skirmishe was slaine one Thomas of Douer.

This yere also as sayeth the French Chronicle, Charles de valoys brother vnto king Philip of Fraunce, was sent by his sayde brother into Gascoyne, with a great hoste. The which [illegible]des layde his siege vnto the Castell of Ryon, wherein were at that tyme, Sir Iohn Seynt Iohn, and Iohn of Briteyn, the which manfully and valiauntly defended the aforesayde Castell against the Frenchmen all that yere and more.

1295 24

Now in the. xxiiij. yere of his reigne, for that he had great warres, as well with the French king as else where, he commaunded a newe subsedy to be leuyed vpon all Serplers of wolle goyng out of Englande, with all Felles and Hydes in lyke maner. And besides this he required also of the Clergie all the money which they had graunted towarde the defence of the holye lande, and the rather for that he hearde from the Court of Rome of the Popes maners, and therefore commaunded it to be brought into his treasurie. And moreouer, by a conuocation of the sayde Clergie, he had graunted vnto him towardes his warres, halfe of their spirituall and temporall lands, beginning at twentie Marke benefice, and so ascending vpward, the which was not payde in one yere but by deuided porcions, it was payde in three yeres next ensuyng. And of the lay fee or Temporaltie of Englande, he had graunted vnto him the tenth penny of their moueables, the which was payde in two yeres next ensuyng.

A subsedie leuyed vpon Serplers of Wolle.

A great subsedie graunted of the Clergie.

Sir Thomas Turbeuyle executed.

This yere also was hanged drawne and quartered in London for treason done in Fraunce a knight called Sir Thomas Turbeuyle.

Also

Also about the time of Easter, when Charles de valoys as ye before haue heard, had lyen long at the Castell of Ryon, and had no hope to wynne anye thing vpon the Englishmen but that daylie he lost the best of his knightes, he sent then for more ayde and succour. At which tyme came vnto hym Sir Raufe Nele Constable of Fraunce with a freshe company, and then assaulted it a newe. But when they had lyen there a season, and sawe they preuayled nothing against their enemies, they went vnto a holde thereby named Poudency, and assaulted it, because the greatest parte of the souldiours there were Normans: and after vrij. dayes, by appointment or otherwise, they gate the sayde holde, so that all the Englishmen had their libertie and goodes, and the Normanes were taken as prisoners, the which they brought after vnto the Castell of Ryon, and there in sight of the Souldyours, hanged all or the more parte of the sayde Normans. When the Gascoynes being within the Towne and Castell of Ryons, sawe their cosyns and Countreymen hanged before their eyen, they cast in their minde, that it was done by treason of Englishmen, and that they woulde at length deale with them in lyke maner. By reason whereof, strife and varyaunce arose, betweene the Englishmen and the Gascoynes, so that eyther of them feared the treason of the other. For the which cause, Sir Iohn Seynt Iohn, and Iohn of Briteyn, Sir Robert Typtoft, Sir Raufe Tanny, Sir Hugh Bardolph, and Sir Adam Cretyng, with dyuers other fled by Sea, & in that maner saued themselues: and soone after the sayde Towne and Castell of Ryons was wonne by the Frenchemen, and the inhabitaunts of the same sworne vnto the french king.

Ryon Castel newly assaulted.

Poudency is taken.

Ryon Castel is wonne.

But here a little to returne back, ye haue before in the. xviij. yere of thys king heard, that after the death of Alexander king of Scottes, many questions fell among the same Scottes, who by right of inheritaunce shoulde be king of that lande, considering that the sayde Alexander, had left after hym three daughters the which in the lyfe of their father were maried. The first to Sir Iohn Bayliol, the second to Robert le Bruze, and the thirde to one named Hastynges. Many of the Lordes of Scotland woulde haue crowned Sir Iohn Bayliol, by reason that he maried the eldest daughter: But the friendes of Robert le Bruze withstoode it with all their power: And other there were, that helde with Hastings, so that after long strife and great variaunce the matter was brought before king Edwarde, as chiefe Lorde and Souereigne of that lande, and all those that made clayme to the Crowne of Scotlande promised to abyde and stande vnto suche determination & iudgement, as king Edward should set therein. Then king Edwarde, to the ende that the Scottes should knowe perfitely, that the king of Englande ought of right to be their chiefe head and souereigne, shewed vnto them suche olde wrytings, as he a little before had caused to be searched & founde out, in the which it was conteyned by the authoritie of olde Chronielers and writers, as Marianus the Scot, Wylliam of Malmesburie, Roger of Huntyngdon and other that in the yere of our Lorde nine hundred and twentie, king Edward the elder made subiect vnto hym the kings of Combrys and of Scottes. And in the nine hundred xvj. yere the aforesayde Scottes and Combrys, chose the sayde Edwarde [illegible] the elder to be their chiefe Lorde and patrone. And in the yere of our Lorde nine hundred. xxvj. Athelstane then king of England subdued Constantine then king of Scottes with the Northumbres, and receyued of them againe othe and homage. And it is further founde in the sayde Chronicles, that Edgar ouercame Alphunius the sonne of Kynadus king of Scottes, and receyued of hym fealtie and homage, and helde him vnder his obeysaunce, as he had done his father Kinadus before tyme. Moreouer it is there further witnessed, that Canutus in the. xvj. yere of his reigne subdued Malcolyn then king of Scottes, and receaued of him fealtie and homage. Furthermore, William Conquerour in the. vj. yere of his reigne subdued Malcolyne king of Scotlande, the which before tyme had receyued the sayde kingdome of the gift of Edward king and confessor. And Wylliam Rufus or Wylliam the Red, did in likewise to the sayde Malcolyn, and vnto his two sonnes that reigned in Scotlande the one after the other. And also Dauid king of Scottes did homage vnto Stephen then king of England. And Wylliam king of Scottes did homage vnto Henry the third at the time of his

A briefe collection of the homages done by the Scottishe kinges vnto the kinges of England.

The subiection and homage of the kinge of Scottes.

Constantine Kinge of Scottes.

Alphunius Kinge of Scottes.

Malcolme Kinge of Scottes.

Dauid king of Scottes.

William king of Scottes.

his coronation, and after came vnto hys father Henry the seconde, when the aforenamed Henry was dead in Normandy and made his homage to him againe. This Henry that was sonne vnto Henry the second, is of many writers named Henry the thirde, bicause he was the thirde king that was crowned of that name: But because he dyed before his father, his deedes be little spoken of, so that of some writers he is nothing minded. And it followeth in the storie, how that Alexander king of Scots in the. xxxv. yere of Henry the thirde or sonne of king Iohn, maryed at Yorke Margaret the daughter of the sayde Henry, and did vnto him homage for the Realme of Scotlande, and bounde him and hys heyres kings of Scotland by his letters patentz to be true vnto the sayde Henry, and vnto his heyres kinges of Englande lyke as before Wylliam king of Scottes had bounde himselfe vnto the seconde Henry, as before in the. xxij. yere of his reigne is more manifestly shewed. And more, there was shewed vnto them the Popes Bulles, the which were sent before time into Scotlande, by aucthoritie whereof, the kinges of Scotlande were accurssed because they woulde not be obedient to their Lordes kinges of Englande.

Alexander Kinge of Scottes.

¶ When all these presidentes were seene by the Scottes, a day was assigned of meetyng at Norham in the marches betweene England and Scotland, whether vnto the king came, & al the nobles and chiefe rulers of Scotland. And there and then also the king helde his high Court of Parliament, where openly in the presence of all the nobilitie of Scotland who were called specially thether, the king himselfe in the Churche of Norham declared that the right of the Dominion and superioritie of the realme of Scotlande doth iustly apperteigne and belong vnto the Crowne of England, and therefore required of them to acknowledge and confesse the same, protestyng and makyng his vowe that he would defende the same his right with the aduenture of the losse of his life, and further he required of them that they would enter into bond, not onely to acknowledge him their chiefe and supreme Lorde, but also to abyde his sentence, order and iudgement, in appoyntyng and placyng such a person to reigne ouer them, as their king, as should by his iudgement be thought to haue most right therevnto: But the Scottes not willyng to be bound, vsed many excuses, but at the last they consented: Wherevpon all the Nobilitie of Scotland, and namely all those that made claime to the crowne, entered into bond, the tenor whereof foloweth, beyng made letters patentes, wherevnto were fixed their seuerall seales.

A Parliamẽt holden at Norham.

TO all men that shall eyther see or heere these presentes, Florence Erle of Holland, Robert Bruze Lorde of Valley Andrew, Iohn Baylioll Lorde of Galloway, Iohn Hastings Lorde of Aberganenny, Iohn Comynes Lord of Badenagh, Patrike of Dunbarre Erle of March, Iohn Vessy deputie for his father, Nicholas of Sules, William of Roos, sendeth gretyng in the Lord: Where as we beleue and thinke that we haue a right and title to the kingdome of Scotland, and our entent and meanyng is to declare, chalenge, and trie the same right and title before him which hath the superiour power, iurisdiction and aucthoritie to debate and examine the same: And the noble prince Lord Edward by the gr[illegible] God king of England hath informed vs by good and sufficient reasons, tha[illegible] lõgeth to him, & that he ought to haue the superiour domi[illegible] lande, and the aucthoritie to here, examine, and dec[illegible]ayde o[illegible] awne proper accorde, not beyng compelled or enforced [illegible] ceyue our ryght and title before him as superior Lorde o[illegible] and promise to obserue and holde his deede firme and stable: [illegible]e shall haue and enioy the kingdome, to whome the better ryght and title shall before him be tryed and iudged. In witnesse whereof, we vnto these wrytynges haue put our Seales, dated at Norham the thirde day after the Ascention of our Lorde. 1291.

The confession of the Noblemen of Scotland and their bond made to the king of Englande.

¶ Now after the Lordes of Scotland had acknowledged the superiority of Dominion of Scotland to apperteyne to the king of Englande, and had submitted themselues to receyue and abyde his determination and iudgement: Then the king demaunded of them the possession of their Castelles, and of the whole realme of Scotland, that he might be peaceably seased in his right of superioritie and dominion mencioned in their former letters, to the

the entent the same might clerely appere vnto the worlde. And forthwith, they graunted vnto the kinges peticion, and therevppon made their letters in French, and signed and sealed the same in maner and forme folowyng.

The letters of Seisyn made by the Lordes of Scotlande vnto king Edward.

TO all men that shall see or heere these presents, Florence Erle of Holland, Robert Bruce Lorde of Vally Androw, Iohn Baillioll Lorde of Galloway, Iohn Hastings Lorde of Aberganenny, Iohn Comynes Lorde of Badenagh, Patrike of Dunbarre Erle of March, Iohn Vessy Deputie for his father, Nicholas Sules, and William of Roos sende gretyng in our Lorde: Forasmuch as wee of our good will and common assent, without all compulsion haue yelded and graunted vnto the noble Prince Lorde Edwarde, by the grace of God king of England, that he as the superiour Lorde of the land of Scotlande hath power to heere, examine, and decyde our chalenges and sutes which we entende to declare and proue for the receyuyng of our ryght and title before him as the superiour Lord of the land: promisyng moreouer that we will obserue firme and stable whatsoeuer he iudgeth or determineth, and that he shall obteyne the kingdome of Scotland, whose title shall before him be proued and iudged to be most lawfull: But forasmuch as the said king can neyther make nor accomplishe his examination without iudgement, neyther ought iudgement to be without execution, nor can he duely make execution without the possession and seisyn of the sayde lande and Castelles of the same: We therefore will, permit, and graunt, that he as the superior Lorde shall haue for the accomplishyng and perfourmance of the premisses, the seisyn of the whole land of Scotlande, and Castelles of the same, vntill suche tyme as the matter be determined betwene them, who make claime and chalenge the right to be king of Scotland: But yet vpon this condicion, that before the sayde king Edward haue the seisyn, he make good and sufficient assuraunce vnto the sutors, wardeynes and communaltie of the kingdome of Scotland, for the restitutiō and redeliuerie to them of the kingdome, with all the royaltie, dignitie, and dominion, liberties, customes, rightes, lawes, vses, possessions, and all what soeuer therevnto apperteine, in the same state wherein they were at the time of seisyn deliuered to hym: And he shall deliuer it vnto him to whome by right it shall be due, according to his royall iudgement: Sauyng vnto the king of England the homage of him that shal be king. And this restitution shall be made within two monethes after the tyme that this title shall be discussed, ratefied and established: The reuenues of the aforesayd land in the meane tyme shall be receyued and layd vp in safe custodie, and shall be well kept by the handes of the treasurer of Scotlande that nowe is, and his whom herevnto the king of England shal assigne, & this to be done vnder their seales, sauyng a reasonable sustentation of the lande, Casteiles, and ministers of the kingdome. In witnesse of all the premisses, we haue vnto these writynges put our seales, dated at Norham the Wednesday next ensuyng the Ascention of our Lorde. 1291.

¶ These two aforesaid letters, the king caused sundry copies of them to be made, & sent the same vnder his priuy seale to diuerse Abbeyes in the realme, of England in the. xix. yere of his reigne, that they might there be recorded for perpetuall memory, & to be published by the Monkes in their Chronicles.

King Edward is seased of all Scotland.

And foorthwith, by the common assent of the nobilitie of Scotlande, the king had the season and possession of the whole realme of Scotland, and helde the same vntill suche time as he had determined who of right was the next heire to the sayde Kingdome.

The same yere the King of Englande, after the feast of the natiuitie of Saint Iohn Baptist went into Scotland, and there receiued the allegacions of those that made clayme to the Kingdome of Scotlande, accordyng to the auctority to him committed, and did cause to be elected and chosen. xl. persons that is to say, xx. of England, and. xx. of Scotland, which with good aduisement should consider vpon their allegations, and to make report vnto him of their sentence and iudgement, before the feast of Saint Mighell then next folowyng. And when the sayde feast came, after great and long debatyng, by the consent of them all, king Edward adiudged the kingdome of Scotland of right to apperteyne

King Edward iudgeth ỹ kingdom of Scotland to Iohn Bayliol.

to Iohn Bailioll, which came of the eldest daughter of Dauid king of Scottes. Robert de Bruce, betweene whome and the aforesayde Iohn the strife did chiefely consist, although he had some colour of title, yet he discended of the second daughter of Dauid, and so his clayme tooke no place: Wherefore the aforesayd Iohn Bailioll at the feast of Saint Androw next folowyng, was with much honour brought vnto the Regall seate, and in the same place was placed, and afterward crowned with great solempnitie in a Church of a house of Chanons in Scotland.

Iohn Bayliol doth homage to king Edward for the kingdom of Scotland.

After his coronation he came vnto the King of England, who then kept his feast of Christmasse at Newe Castell vpon Tyne, and there made his homage with these wordes.

I Iohn Bailioll King of Scottes do knowledge me to be your liege man for all the Kingdome of Scotland, and of all those thinges that in any wyse belong to the same, and that I holde the same Kingdome, and of right I ought and clayme to holde the same of you, and of your heyres kinges of England with the aduenture of my lyfe and members, and of all earthly honour against all men that can liue and die.

And the Kyng receyued his homage in forme aforesayde, addyng a sauyng for his awne and others rightes. And assone as the King had receyued this homage of Iohn Bailioll aforesayd, he without any delay restored to the said Iohn the whole kingdome of Scotland with all the appurtenances. &c.

Madock or Meridock taken and hanged.

And this yere was taken the aforenamed Madock or Meridock, which as ye heard before in the. xxiij. yere of the reigne of this king caused ỹ welsh men to rebell, and he was drawen and hanged at London.

1296

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Edmond erle of Lancaster.

The king shortly after caused a great quantitie of wheate to be gathered and taken vp in England to the number (as some write) of an hundreth thousand quarters, and sent the same into Gascoyne and Guyan. And shortlye after he sent thether Sir Edmond hys brother Erle of Lancaster, Sir Henry Lacye Erle of Lyncoln and Sir Wylliam Veyseye Baron, with dyuers other Lordes and knightes, to strength such people as he there had readye while he prepared another armie against the Scottes.

Ye haue heard in the former yere howe Sir Iohn Baylioll king of Scottes made othe and homage vnto king Edwarde for the Kingdome of Scotlande. Of the which he repented him shortly after by reason of the counsell of the Abbot of Menros, as sayeth Reynulph, although it shoulde seeme to be as well by the counsell of the French king, as maye appere by wordes that are written in the French Chronicle. But howsoeuer it was, full vntruely he forsooke his former othe and promise, and reysed warre against the king. Wherfore king Edward sped him thether with a great host, minding to haue made a generall spoyle and destruction of that nation, but that he was partly perswaded and steyed by some that made excuses for Bailioll, but chiefly for the people. Notwithstanding the king proceeding foorth on his purposed iourney came to Newe Castle vppon Tyne, at the which place he caused Iohn king of Scottes to be summoned by a publique Edict that he should appeere and answere vnto such things as should be obiected against him at a daye and place prefixed: But Bailioll appered not nor none for him, and therefore the king determyned to proceede in his pretended purpose, and wyth good speede he passed to Berwick and layde siege vnto the Towne: But the Scottes defended it manfully, and bet the Englishmen backe, and brent some of the English Shippes. With the which victory, they were so inflamed with pride, that in derision of the king, they made certaine peeuishe and mocking rymes which I passe ouer.

The Scots rebell.

When king Edward heard of the pride of the Scottes and vnderstoode of their foolishe rymes, he was somewhat moued, and therfore so encouraged his knightes, that they gaue a newe onset on Barwick, and wanne the Diche of the towne, and after in processe with great labor & daunger wanne the Bulwarkes, so that they came vnto the Gates and made there so strong an assault that in the ende they wanne the towne, and slue of the Scottes (as sayth dyuers wryters) aboue the number of. xxv. thousande, and as Hector Boethus the Scot wryteth in his Chronicle in the. xiiij. Booke and seconde Chapiter, the slaughter

A great slaughter of Scottes. Hector Boethus a great lyer.

of people was so great that a Myll might haue bene well drynen by the space of two dayes, with the streames of bloud that at that tyme ranne of the ground. If you thinke not this to be truth, I will not enforce you, but remember it is the tale of a Scot, who as he is to be suspected in this, so is the truth of his storie to be doubted of in a great number of places mo. And there were taken prisoners Sir Wylliam Douglas, Sir Symon de Frisell, Prisoners. the Erle Patrike and Sir Robert Bruze with diuers other. And in short time after, the wardeyn of the Castell of Berwike, perceyuing that to him was sent no succour, yeelded vp the sayde Castell by apointment. And when the king had possessiō of the Castell & Barwike wonne. Towne of Berwike he then strengthened them with Englishmen. And afterwarde wanne the holdes of Tyndall, of Exham, of Wyerbyrd and of Lamerstock, with diuers other.

And while that king Edward was thus busied about the wynning of the aforesayde holdes, he sent Sir Hugh Spencer with Sir Hugh Percye and other noble men, with a parte of his hoste to laye siege vnto the Castell of Patrick of Dunbarre. Where when Dunbarre besieged. they had lyen a certaine tyme, an armie of the Scottes came thether to remoue the siege, with whome the Englishmen had a fierce and a cruell battayle, but in the ende, by the help of God, the Englishmen had the victorie, and slue of the Scottes aboue the number Victory vpō the Scottes. of twentie thousande, and lost of the English company a very small number, which as sayeth Caxton, Cowper and other, were but. xviij. persons.

And after this victorie the towne and Castell of Dunbarre was wonne, in the which Dunbarre wonne. were taken prisoners three Erles, seauen Barons and. xxviij. Knightes with diuers men of the clergie. Then the king went to Edenborough, and shortly after wanne the Towne Edenborough wonne. and Castell: In which were founde the Regalyes of Scotland, that is to saye, the crowne The Regalyes of Scotland taken. with the scepter and the cloth of estate, the which after, were offered by king Edwarde at the Shrine of. S. Edward in westmynster the. xviij. day of Iune in the yere next following.

And at this time the king being at Berwike and fortifying the same, the king of Scotlande wryteth a letter vnto him and in the same resigneth hys homage and fealtie, the Copie of which letter followeth.

TO the renowmed prince and Lorde, Edwarde by the grace of God king of England: Iohn by the same grace king of Scotland sendeth greeting: where as you and they of your realme by violent power haue openly and very often inferred and done to vs and to the inhabitauntes of oure realme, grecuous, yea rather intollerable iniuries, contemptes, annoyaunces, and also innumerable losses and dammages, contrarie vnto the liberties of oure realme, and also against God and all iustice, whereof you are not, nor ought not to be ignorant by cityng and sommonyng vs to appere out of our realme, and vnlawfully vexing vs, for euery small and light mocion of your minde and pleasure, by entring vpon the Castelles, lands and possessions of vs and our subiects which are within our realme, without our demerites or desarts interceptyng our Marchaunts as well by Sea as by lande, by sleying and murthering other the inhabitaunts of our realme, by violent takyng and caryng our people out of our dominion, and there with you deteyning and imprisonyng of them. For reformation whereof, we haue often times sent our Ambassadors: But they as yet not onely remaine vnreformed, but also from daye to day more grecuous iniuries are by you and on your subiects behalfe exaggerated and heaped vp. For you now in cruell maner haue entered our marches with an innumerable multitude of armed men, hauyng gathered together a generall hoste to the entent to dishenerite vs and the inhabitantes of our realme, and thencefoorth proceeding into our kingdome, haue both by Sea and also by lande committed dyuers tymes murthers and brenned our Townes, and also haue made assaultes and violent inuasions: we not being hable any lenger to susteyne the sayde iniuries, contempts, griefes, dammages and fierce assaultes, (by reason of our Fealtie and homage to you done) to the doyng whereof we were enforced by violence and threatenings) we can neyther defende our selues nor oure kingdome, for the defence whereof we are bounde by othe: we therefore in our owne name, and in the names of all and singu-

A letter sent from ye king of Scottes to the king of England, wherein the sayde king of Scottes resigneth his homage and fealtie.

The resignatiō of homage and fealtie.

ler

ler the inhabitaunts within our kingdome, doe by these presentes yeelde agayne vnto you and resygne all that our Fealtie and homage, as well of our selfe as of all other that inhabite within our kingdome, which are bounde to you eyther by force of their awne fealtie done for suche landes as they holde within our kingdome, or else generally for the homage which we haue done.

King Edward admitteth the resignation of Scottishe kinges homage.

¶ The king when he had read thys letter did admit the resignation of the homage, and commaunded hys Chauncelour that the same should be enrolled and recorded for perpetuall memorie, and then passed on his iourney and tooke and ouerthrewe dyuerse townes and Castels, and at the last passed the Scottish Sea, and came to a towne in Scotland called saint Iohns vpon the day and feast of Saint Iohn the Baptist, where he solempnly kept the same Feast certaine dayes.

The Scottishe king prayeth for peace and mercie.

And while these things were in doyng, Iohn Bailioll king of Scotlande sawe that he was forsaken of all men, and that he had no power hable to resist or withstande the power of the king of Englande: wherefore he sent his Ambassadors vnto him praiyng for peace and desiryng mercy. To whom the king being mooued with pittie sent a countermaund that the sayde king Iohn wyth his Nobles should come with his messenger vnto hys Castell of Bruthyn within. xv. dayes next following, and there to treate. And the king of England sent at that tyme as his Ambassador, Anthony Bishop of Duresme with a full power & auctheritie, vnto the which place the king of Scots with his Nobles came at the day prefixed, who after much controuersie and debating of sundrie cases, did at the last simply and playnly submit himselfe vnto king Edward, and resigned vnto hym the kingdome of Scotlande to be ordered and gouerned according to his will and pleasure. And for the performance of the sayd submission, the king of Scottes delyuered his sonne in hostage, and caused his letters of submission to be made in Frenche in forme following.

The submission of ye king of Scots to the king of England.

The king of Scottes resigneth the crowne and kingdome of Scotland to king Edward.

IOhn by the grace of God king of Scotlande, to all whosoeuer shall see or here these present letters: knowe ye that for as much as we by euill & false counsaile, and by our foolishe simplicitie haue most greeuously offended and prouoked our Lorde Edward by the grace of God king of Englande, Lorde of Irelande and Duke of Aquitayn in many things, that is to saye, that in the time that we remayned in his fealtie and homage, we ioyned our selues vnto the French king, who was then his enemy and yet is, onely for the conclusion of a mariage to haue bene procured betwene the daughter of the sayde French king and our sonne. And for the further griefe and offence made vnto our sayde Lorde the king, we ioyned with the sayde French king in armor against the sayde king of Englande to the vttermost of oure power by order of warre and all other wayes of enemitie. And furthermore by our peruerse counsail we defyed our sayd Lord the king of England, and put our selfes out of his fealtie and homage, and sent our men of warre into his lande of Englande burnyng and spoylyng the same, & caryeng from thence sundrie prayes, and committed sundrie murthers and other dammages. And the lande of Scotlande which is of his Fee, we mainteyned against him, plantyng and placyng men of warre in sundrie Castels and Townes for the defence of the sayde land against him, purposing to haue remoued him from his sayde Fee, for the which trespace our sayd Lorde the king of England entred into Scotlande with his power, and the same conquered and possessed, notwithstanding any thing that we were hable to doe against hym, as it was right lawfull for him to doe as the Lorde of the Fee, because we did resigne vnto hym our homage and rebelled agaynst him: We therefore being agayne restored to our full power, of our free wyll redelyuer vnto him the realme of Scotlande and all the people of the same with all the homages. And in wytnesse hereof, these our letters we haue made patentes, dated at Bruthyn the. x. day of Iulij in the fourth yere of our reigne.

A parliamẽt holden at Barwike.

¶ Shortly after this, king Edward called his Parliament at Berwick and thether came all the nobilitie of Scotlande, and there did vnto him fealtie and homage. And for a perpetuall remembrance thereof, they caused the same to be made by their letters patents sealed with their seuerall seales, the tenour whereof ensueth.

TO

TO all that shall here or see these letters, Iohn Comynes Lorde of Bardenagh and of euery one of the nobles and Lordes, greetyng: For as much as we are come to the fidelitie & pleasure of the most renoumed Prince and our dere Lorde Edwarde by the grace of God king of Englande, Lorde of Irelande and Duke of Aquyteyn, we doe promise for vs and our heyres, vnder paine of our bodies, Castels and all things which we may haue, that we will serue him well and truely against all people which may lyue and dye, and at all tymes when we shall be required and forewarned by our aforesayd Lorde the king of Englande or his heyres: And that we shall not know anye dammage or harme vnto them, but that we shall withstande the same with our whole might and force, and geue knowledge thereof vnto them: And for the performaunce hereof, we bynde vs and our heyres and all oure goodes. Furthermore, we haue both sworne vpon the holy Euangelistes, and also afterwarde we all and euery of vs by hymselfe haue made homage vnto oure sayde Lorde the king of Englande in these wordes. The king of England receyueth the homage of the Scottes.

I become your liege man of lyfe and members & earthly honor against all men that may lyue and dye. And the sayde Lorde our king receyued this homage in these wordes. Homage.

We receyue the same for the landes of which you are now seased, sauing our title or the title of other, and exceptyng the landes which Iohn Bailioll in tymes past king of Scotland gaue vnto vs after that we had delyuered to him the kingdome of Scotlande, if paraduenture he hath geuen any.

Moreouer, we all and euerye of vs by himselfe hath made fealtie and loyaltie vnto our Lorde the king aforesayde in these wordes. Fealtie.

I will be faithfull and loyall, and will obserue my fealtie and loyaltie to Edward king of Englande and his heyres, of lyfe and members and earthly honour against all men which may liue and die, and neuer for any will I beare armour nor be in counsaile, or ayde agaynst hym or his heyres in anye thing that may happen, but will fayithfully acknowledge and doe those seruices which doe apperteyne vnto the tenement that I clayme of hym, so God helpe me. &c. In witnesse of these things, the letters patents are made and sealed with our Seales, dated at Berwick the. xxiiiij. yere of the reigne of our Lorde king Edward of England. &c.

And at this time the king made Iohn Warreyn Erle of Surrey and Sussex keeper of the Realme of Scotlande, and Sir Hugh Cressyngham high treasorer of the same Realme. And he made Wylliam Ermesby chiefe Iustice of the same and commaunded him to call before him all such as helde landes of him, and to take of them homage and fealtie. King Edward appointeth a keeper of the realme of Scotland.

And these things done, he sent Iohn Bailioll king of Scotlande to the Tower of London, and assigned vnto him a conuenient famely, and graunted him liberty to go. xx. Mile about in compasse. And shortly after he translated Iohn Comines Erle of Bardenagh & Alein of Lawghan out of Scotlande and sent them into England beyond Trent, commandyng them vpon paine of their heds not to returne again into Scotland so long as he had war with Fraunce. And sone after he returned into Englād with many prisoners. The king of Scottes is sent to the Tower of London.

But while these trauayles were taken in hande in Scotlande, the Englishe men susteyned many harde and sharpe showers in Gascoygne and Guyan. Among the which, one is remembred in the Frenche Chronicle, saiyng, that Edmond Duke of Lancaster dyed at Bayon, after whose death, while the towne and other strong holdes prepared them to withstand the French men, Robert Erle of Arthoys, which a little before had encountered with sir Iohn Saint Ihon, and had bene of him ouerset, reassembled his companie, and made him another skirmishe. In whiche he slue vpon an hundreth Englishe men and Gascoynes, and tooke prisoners the aforenamed Sir Iohn Saint Iohn, Sir William Mortimer, and other to the number of. lxx. the which were sent into Fraunce into diuerse prisons. Edmond Duke of Lancaster dead.

And soone after the king with a puissaunt army, sayled into Flaundyrs in the moneth of August, to ayde and helpe Guye then Erle of Flaundyrs against the French king, the which at that tyme was sore vexed by the French king, for he had wonne from him the towne of Marquet, and the Countrie thereabout. And for the more trouble and vexation 1297 16 The king sayleth into Flaundyrs.

of the sayde Guye, the French king caused Robert Erle of Arthoys to inuade the Countrie of Flaūdyrs towarde Picardie, and encountered with the same Guye nere vnto a towne called Furnes. Where betweene the sayde two Erles was foughten a sharpe battaile, so that many men were slaine vpon both partes. After which fight the Erle of Flaundyrs sped him toward Gaunt, where king Edward at that tyme was, and the Erle of Arthoys drewe him toward the French king, the whiche shortlye after was receyued into the towne of Bruges. In the which tyme and season, while the sayde two kinges lay thus at eyther towne, a meane of peace was treated of, and finally a peace was concluded betwene the two kinges, and betweene the French king and Guye Erle of Flaundyrs, vntill the feast of all Saintes then next ensuyng. And continued from that day vnto the feast of all Saintes then two yeres folowyng. After which peace so stablished, king Edward departed from the towne of Gaunt and went vnto Burdeaux: And the French king returned into Fraunce, and prisoners were delyuered on both parties.

The battaile of Furnes in Flaundyrs.

A peace concluded.

1298

27

Now while king Edward was thus occupyed in Flaundyrs, the Scots by the enticement of the French king, to the entent to make king Edwarde to kepe home, and that he should not ayde the Erle of Flaundyrs, began to make warre vpon the Kinges souldiours, which the King had left there in diuerse holdes. And also vpon the borders of Northumberlande, and made sharpe warre vpon the inhabiters of that Countrie. And for that Sir Iohn Baylioll their King, was at that tyme prisoner in the Tower of London: Therefore the sayde Scottes made them a Capitaine, whome they named William Walys, a man of vnknowen or low birth, to whom they obeyed as vnto their king. Anon as the king heard of the rebellion of the Scots, which to him was no great wonder, consideryng their great vnstedfastnesse, he wrote his letters vnto sir Henry Percy Erle of Northumberland, to sir William Latimer, and to sir Hugh Cressyngham then treasurer of England, and to other, that they in all goodly haste should make prouision to withstand the Scottes. The which persons after the receipt of the kings letters, sped them all in spedy maner, so that they entered Scotland shortly after, and compelled the Scottes to returne backe vnto a towne named Streuelyn, where in a skirmishe foughten betwene the Englishe men and the Scottes, sir Hugh Cressyngham aforenamed and dyuerse other Englishe men were slaine. But yet the Scottes were holden so streight of the Englishe hoste, that after that skirmishe, they woulde not of a certeine time come in plaine fielde againe, but kept them within their Castelles and strong holdes.

The Scots againe rebell.

Wylliam Walys made Captaine of Scotlande.

Battell of Streuelyn.

The Scots put the English men to the worse.

And about this tyme certeine of London brake vp the Tonne in Cornehyll in London, and tooke out certeine prisoners from thence which sir Ihon Briteyn as custos of the Citie had committed thether. By the which it maye appere, that there hath bene a prison in the streete of Cornehyll before tyme, which then was called the Tonne, as nowe we call them the Coumpters. For the which ryot, the sayd persons, that is to say Thomas Romaine, and viij. other, were afterwarde grieuously punished, as first by imprisonment, and after by fynes.

This prison was kept in the place that nowe the conduit in Cornehyll standeth, for that was called the Tonne.

This yere king Edward in the moneth of October returned into England, and so to Winchester, where the Citizens of London made such labour vnto his grace, that shortly after they obteined graunt of their liberties, which had bene kept from them by the space of. xij. yeres and more, so that on saint Edwardes day next folowyng they chose them a Maior, where by all the tyme aforesayd their Custos or Gardian was put in by the king, or by such as the king would assigne: But it is to be thought that this was not redemed without summes of money, for as some write it cost the Citie three thousande markes.

The liberties of London again restored.

This yere also king Edward put out of his protection certeine Aliens that were richely beneficed in Englande: The cause was for that the sayde Aliens would not ayde the king with their goodes, as the other of his lande did, but purchased an inhibicion of Boniface the. viij. that they & their goodes should be free from all the kinges dismes and taskes. Therefore the king seised the temporalties, and suffered them with their spiritualties, vntill they had agreed with the king.

Certein Aliens that were beneficed mē are put out of the kinges protection.

And

And about this tyme there were a certeine number of persons that fell to diggyng in London in the Church called saint Martynes le graund, for certeine treasure that should be there hidden. But they laboured in vaine, for there was nothing found.

King Edward yet againe made cruell warre upon the Scottes.

And this yere the king prepared a strong power against Scotland, and went himselfe thether. And first appoynted his Lordes with three companies to mete with him at Yorke, whether came a great hoste, the which he himselfe led into Scotlande, and brent and spoyled the Countrie as he went, and taried a while at Berwike. And from thence he sped him in winnyng of Castels and townes as he went, vntill he came to a towne called Fankirke, or Fankirke, where the. xxij. day of Iuly met him the power of Scotland, and gaue vnto him a sore battaile: But in the ende the victorie fell vnto the Englishe men, so that of the Scottes were slaine in the fielde as witnesseth sundrye Aucthours. xxxij. thousand, and of Englishe men but barely. xxviij. persons. After which discomfiture, the Scottes yelded vnto the king the greatest part of their strong holdes and Castelles, that they before had holden against him, and made vnto him a new othe and promise, and yelded themselues vnto his grace and mercy.

The battaile of Fankirke.

A great slaughter of Scottes.

The Scots once againe make their homage.

And when the king had set that Countrie in an order, he then returned into England, and so to London: Where by the aduice of certeine of his coũsaile, he sodeinely condemned certein coynes of money called Pollards, Crocardes, and Rosaryes, and caused them to be brought to newe coynage, to his great aduauntage.

Coynes of money condemned.

The latter ende of this yere there were certeine Ambassadors sent from the Pope to the king of England, earnestly entreatyng the king for the deliuerie out of prison of Iohn Baylioll late Scottishe king, which now was in the Tower of London, and they promised the king in the Popes name, that he should be safe from troublyng eyther of the king or of his realme, and that no perill should come by his deliueraunce. And after that the king had conferred with his counsayle, and cousidered of this the Popes request, he condiscended there vnto, and made deliuery of the sayd Iohn Baylioll vnto the Popes messengers, and they conueyed him into Fraunce to his awne landes called Bayliolles landes, and there left him in safe keepyng, vnder the order and gouernement of certeine Prelates.

Ambassadors sent from the Pope to king Edward for the deliuery of Iohn Bailioll late king of Scottes.

And yet againe the king heryng that the Scottes were not in quiet, but were as brag and as busie as before they had bene, therefore he made nowe his thirde voyage into Scotland, and did so Princely, and valiauntly, that within short time after his commyng thether, he subdued the greater part of the land. And forward he went to the Castell of Estriuelyn, wherein were many of the great Lordes of Scotland, and he compassed the Castell with a strong siege, but he lay there somewhat long without any great aduauntage or hurt done vnto the Scottes: Wherefore, of pollecie he caused to be made two payre of Gallowes in the sight of the Castell, and afterward commaunded proclamation to be made, that if the Scots by a certeine day woulde yelde that Castell vnto the king, they should haue lyfe and limme: and if not, but that he wanne it by strengh, as many as were within the sayd Castell should be hanged vpon those Galowes, no estate nor person to be excepted.

1299

28

The Scots againe rebell and are subdued.

Estriuelyn besieged.

Nowe when the Scottes had aduised themselues well vpon this Proclamation, and considered the strength of their enemies & their awne weakenesse and feblenesse, and lack of succour, they assented to yelde them and their Castell vnto the king, which shortly they did: Whereof when king Edward was possessed, he stuffed the same with Englishe knightes, and after tooke a newe othe of the Lordes and Capitaynes, the which he found closed within that Castell, of true and faythfull allegeaunce, and then suffered them to go where they lyked.

Estriuelyn Castell is yeelded to the king.

And when William Walys, which as before is sayde pretended the rule and gouernaunce of Scotland, heard tell that the strong Castell of Estriuelyn was yelded vnto king Edward, and that the Lordes and knightes therein founden (in whome he much trusted) were sworne to the kinges allegeance, he feared sore least the sayde company would betray him, and bring

Wylliam Walys flyeth from king Edward.

bring him vnto the king: Wherefore he with his adherentes, withdrewe them into the Maresses, and other such places, where they thought them selues safe from pursuyng of the kinges host.

The Scots submit themselues vnto ye kings mercy.

Then the poore Commons of the lande presented them selues by great companies, and put them wholy in the kinges grace and mercye, so that the king then thought that he was in peaceable possession, or at the least in a great suretie of the land. Wherefore, after he had caused to be sworne vnto him the rulers of dyuers Boroughes, Cities and townes, with other officers of the lande, he returned vnto Barwike, and so into Englande, and lastly to Westminster.

The comming of Queene Margaret into England.

And while the king was thus occupyed in Scotland, the Queene before mencioned, that is to say, the Lady Margaret sister to the French king, was conueyed from Cauntorbury to London, and by the way there met her sixe hundreth Citizens in one Lyuery of red and white, with the cognisaunce of dyuerse misteries brodered vpon their sleues, and receyued hir foure miles without the Citie and so conueyed her through the Citie, which then was richely hanged, vnto Westminster, and there she lodged.

A straunge liuerie.

When the king was returned out of Scotlande, he caused shortly after an inquisition to be made through his lande, which afterwarde was called Troylebastone. This was made vpon all officers, as Maiors, Shirifes, Baylifes, Excheters, and other officers that misbehaued themselues in their offices, or had vsed any extorcion or euill dealyng with the kinges people, otherwise then they might lawfully do by vertue of their offices. By reason of which inquisition, many were accused, and redemed their offices by grieuous fynes to the kinges great profite and aduauntage. Other offences and forfeytures were sought out also, as forfeytures agaynst the Crowne, the which brought great summes of money into the kinges Coffers, toward the great charges of his warres that he susteyned in Wales, Fraunce, and Scotland, as before is shewed.

Troylebastō.

And as sayth Polydore, when king Edward returned out of Scotland into England, because he would not leaue any monument or remembraunce of the former estate of their Kinges, he caused therefore to be brought from thence a stone Chayre, in the which their kinges were wont to be crowned, and the same nowe remayneth in Westminster Church.

And the sayde tyme also the Lorde Chauncelor and Iudges came from Yorke, where they had remayned and kept their termes by the space of seuen yeres, and now came to London by the kinges commaundement.

Langton bishop of Chester, complained to the King vpon Prince Edwarde.

It chaunced at this time that maister Langton then Bishop of Chester, made a grieuous complaint to the king of sir Edward his eldest sonne, for that he with Piers of Gauestone and other wanton and wilde persons, had broken the Parke of the sayde bishop, and riotously destroyed the game within it. With the which complaint the king was sore agreued against his sonne, and commaunded him to Prison and the other his complices. And afterward when the king was fully and truely informed of the lewde and wanton dispositions of the sayd Piers Gauestone, he therefore banished the sayde Piers out of England for euer. But after the death of king Edward, this banishement continued not, for he was againe restored by his sonne, whereof ensued much harme and trouble, aswell to the king, as also to the Nobles and whole Realme.

The king commaūdeth his eldest son to prison for offending of a subiect.

1300
29

And thys yere dyed Edmond Erle of Cornewall the sonne of Richarde sometime Erle of that Countrie and king of Almayn without Issue, wherefore that Erledome returned againe to the Crowne of Englande.

And also about thys tyme the king gaue vnto Sir Edwarde his sonne the principality of Wales, & ioyned thervnto the said Erledome of Cornewal.

1301
30

A scottishe historie in defacyng of Englishmen and aduaūcing themselues.

The writer of the Scottishe Chronicle, namely Hector Boethus setteth foorth a great ouerthrowe that the Scottes gaue vnto the Englishmen in this yere at Roslyng, where sayth he, there was not one Englishe man that escaped alyue, and he sayeth further, that the Englishmen came vpon them with the number of. xxx. thousand men deuyded into three seuerall battailes, and that the Scottes were in number but eyght thousand men, and yet they

they gaue the ouerthrow to all the three battailes, beginning with the first whom they vanquished, and then came the seconde and set freshe vpon them, whom also they ouerthrewe, and lastly came the thirde battayle lykewise freshe vpon them, and although the Scottes beyng so small a number, and were sore wered with the fight and ouerthrow of the two former armies, yet espyeng the thirde to approche, they tooke their stomakes so couragiously vnto them and gaue them so fierce and sharpe an onset, that they ouerthrew them man and mothers sonne. But as sayeth the aforesayde Scot, this victorie lasted not long, for after king Edward heard of thys losse, he returned to Scotland and went thorough the land brennyng and spoylyng the same from the North to the South, and compelled all to sweare to him homage and fealtie and herein ye may beleue the Scot as ye thinke good. But this conquest seemeth to be the same that we spake of in the. xxvij. yere of thys kinges reigne. And thys yere the king helde his Parliament at Cauntorbury.

A scottishe report of the losse that Englishmen had in Scotlande.

A parliamẽt holden at Cãterbury.

1304

In the. xxxiij. yere of his reigne Wylliam Walys was taken in Scotlande at the Towne of, S. Dominick, and sent vnto London, and there arreigned, and the. xxiiij. of August he was drawen, hanged hedded and quartered, and his hed set vpon London bridge, and his foure quarters sent into Scotland, and there hanged vpon the gates of certayne townes of the land.

33

William Waleys hanged drawne & quartered.

And within. xiiij. dayes after, a peace was taken betweene Scotlande and Englande vnto the conclusion whereof, at Mighelmas next followyng, the king then holdyng hys Parliament at Westmynster, thether came out of Scotlande, the Bishop of S. Androwes Robert Bruze, Sir Symond de Frysell Erle of Dunbarre, Sir Iohn of Cambrees Erle of Atleys, and Sir Iohn Comyn with other, the which voluntarily were sworne, in the presence of the king and his Lordes, that they should be true vnto the king of Englande, and keepe the lande of Scotlande to hys vse, agaynst all other persons. And if any rebell or other malicious person disturbed the lande, or brake the kinges peace, they should cause him to be taken and sent vnto the king, with sundry other articles of their allegeaunce which they falsely brake and conspired to the contrarie and that foorthwith.

The Scots against were allegeaunce to king Edwarde.

Robert le Bruze aboue mencioned returning in Scotlande, did contrary to his othe assemble the Lordes of that realme, and by the counsell of the Abbot of stone and other that fauored his vntruth, he sent vnto Clement the fift then bishop of Rome for a dispensation of hys othe before made vnto king Edward, and surmised to him that king Edward vexed and greeued the Realme of Scotlande wrongfully: wherevpon the Pope wrote vnto king Edward his Letter, the summe and effect whereof ensueth.

1305

34

The Scots againe rebell.

That Pope Boniface being informed and procured by the Scottes, sent his letters vnto the king of England, & therein did first alledge that the kingdome of Scotlande did belong vnto the right of the Church of Rome: And that the king of Englande did chalenge the subiection thereof against God and right, and to the preiudice and harme of the Sea apostolike, & for proofe thereof, he allegeth these reasons following.

The Popes Letter written to king Edward.

1 First, that whereas Henry the father of the king that nowe is, obteyned of Alexander king of Scots an ayde and assistence in his warre against Symon Mountfort. To the entent that the same ayde should not be thought to be required or geuen by the right of any subiection or duetie: the same Henry by his letters patents did confesse and acknowledge that he receyued it not of duetie, but of speciall fauour.

2 Also where as he being called vnto the coronation of the king that nowe is, by his letters that he as his friend might in so great solempnities exhibite and geue vnto him his friendly presence. And so he came not of duetie, but of speciall fauour.

3 Furthermore, where as the king of Scotlande came personally vnto the king of Englande to make fealtie vnto him for the landes of Tindale and Pembreth lyyng within the realme of Englande, he made that fealtie onely for those landes which lye in Englande, and not as king of Scottes, nor for the kingdome of Scotland: For he openly protested in the presence of all the people that he ought not to make any fealtie vnto the king of England for the kingdome of Scotland.

4 Also that the aforesaide king Alexander left behinde him a young mayde his heyre called Margaret nece vnto the king of England, the supreme dominion of which kingdome

came

came not vnto her, but vnto certaine peeres of the kingdome of Scotlande elected therefore, and therefore she ought not to doe homage vnto him.

5 Also the Pope reprooued the king, for as much as he after the deceasse of the sayde king Alexander subdued vnto him by force, the Scottes being then without a gouernour, and not hauing the helpe of any guyde to the preiudice and no small greeuance of the Church of Rome.

6 Also he affirmed that when the sea of Rome doth commit the office of a Legate to anye man to be executed within the Realme of Englande for the payment of Tithes or for any other lawfull cause, and this Legacy doth not by speciall letters and priuileges of the sea apostolike extend vnto the kingdome of Scotlande, that they shoulde resist and withstande the same, as it chaunced euidently in the time of Adrian: For the Legate was not by anye meanes admitted vnto the sayde king of Scotlande, vntill the office of a Legate there was by speciall letters apostolike committed vnto him.

7 Also that the same realme of Scotlande was conuerted vnto the vnitie of the Catholique fayth, by the reuerend reliques of Saint Peter the Apostle not without the giftes of heauenly grace.

8 Also that in auncient time the Archebishop of Yorke, when a question was moued concerning the right of the Metropolitane against the prelates of Scotlande, coulde not obteyne sentence with him.

¶ These thinges thus alleged, the Pope admonished the king by his letters to permit and suffer the Bishops, Abbots, Clerkes and all other of the kingdome of Scotlande which he deteyned prisoners, freely to departe, and that he should call home out of the sayde kingdome of Scotlande his officers which he had appointed and set to the preiudice, iniurie and greeuous offence of the faythfull people and for the oppression of the iust, whereby he should be the more acceptable and beloued with God, and the better obteyne the fauour of the Sea apostolike. And if the king of Englande woulde allege that he had right or title to the kingdome of Scotland or to anye parte thereof, that then he shoulde sende his procurators vnto the Sea apostolique and Ambassadors specially appointed with the right lawes and miniments concerning that businesse, and there he should receyue a full performaunce of Iustice.

A parliamẽt holden at Lyncoln.

When the king had read and well considered the aforesayde letter, he then called together his parliament at Lyncolne, and shewed the same letter vnto his Lords, and after long conference had with them, it was agreed that the king shoulde write againe to the Pope in his awne name, concerning the right of his superioritie of Scotlande: But for the latter parte of the same letter, that where the Pope would that the matter should be brought in iudgment before him, that they desyred that they might answere by their letter in their owne names: And soone after the king wrote his letter vnto the Pope as foloweth.

The kinges Letter to the Pope.

THe most highe God knoweth it to be regestred in oure recordes, the style whereof may neuer be blotted out, that our predecessours and progenitors being kings of Englande haue reigned ouer the kingdome of Scotlande and all the kinges therof, and ouer their temporalties and other things therevnto annexed of long and auncient tyme heretofore, by the title of the superiority and direct dominion, of the same: And haue receyued of the same kinges for the kingdome of Scotlande and of other the Nobles of whome them pleased loyall homage, and due othes of fidelitie. We continuyng the possession of our sayde title and dominion, haue likewise taken the same, as well of the king of Scotlande as of the Nobles of the same Realme. And oure progenitors haue had suche prerogatiue of right and dominion ouer the realme of Scotlande and the kinges of the same, that they bestowed the same vpon their faythfull subiectes, remouing thence for just causes suche as were their kinges. And so ordeyned and set in their place others to reigne: which things are without doubt to be well knowne and apparaunt to all. Althoughe peraduenture it hath by false insinuation otherwise beene certefied thorough the children of rebellion and enuiours of peace vnto your eares, from whose craftie and imagined faynings, that your

holynesse would turne your cares we humbly doe beseeche and craue with deuout affection your fatherly clemencie and excellencie. And for breuities sake, passing ouer actes done in former tyme, that we may touche some for example. In the time of Hely the high Priest and of Samuell the prophet, there was a certaine noble man named Brute of the Troyan stocke, who possessed thys whole Realme, and named it after his awne name Briteyne, wherein were conteyned that parte which now is called Scotland and one other part that was called Camber, but now it is called Wales. &c. he proceedeth in his sayde letter and proueth that England and Scotland is but one Monarchy, and so discendeth in hys proues from Prince to Prince vntill he come to king Edward named the elder, who was the sonne of king Alured and so successiuely vnto Edward the confessor and Wylliam the conquerour, and last vnto king Henry the thirde this kings father. And at the length hauing declared that the title of the superiour dominion of Scotland was due vnto his father king Henry the third & so consequently to hym, he concludeth thus, sayeng. Where therfore we doe know our selues in full possession of the same Realme by the title of a full dominion, we neyther can nor ought but represse the insolencie of our subiectes and rebels, and if we finde any, and that in such maner as it shall seeme good by our kingly preheminence. And because by the premisses and other it doth euidently appere and is manifestly knowne, that the sayde kingdome of Scotland, as well by reason of possession as of propertie doth appertaine vnto vs by full right, nor that we haue done nor prouyded anye thing by worde or deede (as we could not) by which anye thing ought to be withdrawne of the same right and possession aforesayde: we humbly beseech your holynesse, the premisses being with good meditation considered, that you wyll vouchsafe to withdrawe your motion of minde, and not to geue credite in thys behalfe vnto the euill wyllers of the contrarie side, but also that you would if it please you with meere affection commend and set foorth oure state together with our kingly rightes aforesayde, and thus. &c.

And immediately the Lordes also did write theyr letter vnto the Pope, the tenor whereof ensueth.

The letters of the nobles of England written to the Pope.

OVr holy mother the Church of Rome, by whose ministerie the Catholike fayth doth with such perfection in her actes proceede (as we do firmely beleue and holde) that she will be preiudiciall to none: But will mainteyne and preserue the right and title of euery man inuiolate. In a generall Parliament sommoned at Lincolne by our most excellent and souereigne Lorde Edward, by the grace of God king of England, he our sayd souereigne Lord caused certeine letters Apostolike to be brought foorth, and seriously to be expounded to vs, which he had receyued from your fatherhood concernyng certein businesse and affayres touchyng the state & condicion of this our realme. The which letters beyng heard, and diligently considered, we perceiued therin to be conteyned thinges both merueylous and straunge vnto vs, which before this time was neuer heard of. For we are certeine (most holy father) and in our parties it is well knowen, as also to many others it remayneth not obscure, that euer sithence the first institution of the Kingdome of England, the kinges thereof, aswell in the tyme of Britons, as of the English men, haue had in their possession the right, title, and dominion of Scotland, or else haue bene the chiefe Lordes in the superioritie both of the right and direct dominion of the sayde Kingdome of Scotland at all tymes continually, and that the sayd kingdome in temporal matters hath not at any time perteyned, or by any right now doth apperteyne vnto the Church abouesayde. And moreouer the same Kingdome of Scotland hath vnto the progenitors of our sayde king beyng Kynges of Englande, and vnto him also of auncient tyme remayned feodarie: Neither hath the king of Scottes and kingdome of Scotlande beene subiect to any other then to the kings of England. Neyther haue the kinges of England concernyng the right and title to the Kingdome aforesayd, or other the percelles thereof, aunswered, or were bound to aunswere before any iudge spirituall or temporall by reason of the preheminence of their estate or kingly dignitie at al times inuiolately serued and kept. Wherfore hauing treated and diligently deliberated vpon the

contents

contents of your letters, the vniuersal assent and consent of all and euery of vs, hath bene, is, and Godwillyng hereafter most firmely shall be, that our foresaid souereigne Lorde the King shall in no wise aunswere in iudgement before you, concernyng the right and title to the Kingdome of Scotland or other the percelles thereof, nor shall by any meanes submit himselfe to iudgement, nor shall bring his foresayde right and title in doubt, neither shal he send any procurators or Ambassadors vnto your presence in this behalfe, especially forasmuch as the premisses would manifestly tend vnto the disherison of the title & right of the crowne of this realme of Englande, and kingly dignity, and to the notorious subuersion of the state therof, and also to the preiudice of the liberties, customes & lawes of our forefathers: vnto the obseruation and defence wherof, we are obliged and bound by our othe, the which also we will defende and mainteyne with our whole might and power, God Willyng. Neither do we permit, or in any wise will permit (as neyther we may nor ought) our foresayde souereigne Lorde the King, yea, although he were willyng to do, or by any meanes to attempt the premisses, beyng thinges vnaccustomed, vnlawfull, preiudiciall and at no time before euer heard of. Wherefore we do reuerently and humbly beseech your holinesse, that you will more benignly suffer and permit our foresayde souereigne Lord the king (who among other princes of the worlde doth shewe himselfe most Catholyke and deuoute vnto the Church of Rome) quietly to enioy and possesse his aforesayde right, title, liberties, customes and lawes inuiolably without diminucion or disquiet. And vnto this letter, were fixed of the Nobles and Lordes of the Realme, (as sayth my recorde) more than an hundreth of the seuerall seales of their armes.

King Edward againe entreth into Scotland with a great armie.

¶ And in the ende of this yere, the king kepyng his feast of Christmasse in the North partes, did so sone as the feast was ended prepare an armye against the Scottes: and his sonne Edward Prince of Wales likewise folowyng him with a great host of warlike men, and entered Scotland, and passed through a great part of the same, but found not one Scot that resisted.

At this time also the French king, whose sister beyng called the Ladie Margaret, which the king of England did shortly after mary as shal appere, sent the Abbot of Compeyn and certeine other Ambassadors vnto the king of England, desyryng him to haue peace with the Scottes callyng them hys friendes, which notwithstandyng receyued a short aunswere and so returned in vayne.

King Edward callyng to his remembraunce that the tyme of the truce lately taken betwene him and the French king was almost expired, called his preuy Counsaile vnto him at Westminster sone after the feast of Christmasse, and agreed and sent very noble and honorable Ambassadors vnto the French king, prayng him to declare and shewe his minde whether he had aduisedly determined to haue, truce, warre, or peace: To the which the French King aunswered, that without the presence of the. xij. peeres he could not deale in so weightie a matter, and also that the same Peeres were then occupyed in the prouision of newe warre: But he sayd that within. xv. dayes he loked for their commyng. Which tyme beyng come, and they meetyng together, sayde that they would not meddle in the matter without the aduice of the Scottes. And so soone as the Englishe Ambassadours heard this, they returned into England.

A parliament holden at Westminster.

And shortly after king Edward called his Parliament at Westminster, and there declared the delayes and craftie dealyngs of the French king: But in the meane time the French king sent his Ambassadors to the king of England. And after a litle conference, it was agreed that both the kinges should mete together in a place conuenient betweene Flaundyrs and Picardie, and that then they would intreat and conclude of a friendly and continuall peace: Which meetyng was done with speede, and the sayde peace concluded vpon sondrie conditions, and among other this was one, that king Edward should take vnto wife Margaret, the sister of Philip le Beawe the Frenche King, and with her was deliuered in peaceable maner the Countie of Gascoyne with all rightes and liberties, in

A peace concluded with the French King.

as large maner as the King helde the same in the begynnyng of his warres: The which Margaret while the king was in Scotland was brought vnto Douer, and so vnto Cauntorbury, where the king maried her in the Month of September, & had by her in proces of tyme two sonnes, named Thomas and Edmond, and a daughter named Margaret. The first of the sonnes was named Thomas of Brotherton, and the second Edmond of Wodstocke.

And in the meane while that this matter was thus complayned vpō to the Pope, the sayd Robert le Bruze made all the labor he might vnto the Lordes of Scotland to be admitted for king of that Region, so ỹ vpon the. viij. day of December, a great assembly of the Lords was made at the Abbey of Stone. And the next day folowyng, by the meanes of the Abbot of that place, many of the sayde Lords assented vnto the will of the sayde Robert, except Sir Iohn Comyn onely. The which in defence of his truth and othe before sworne vnto king Edwarde made many reasons and excuses, but finally sayde that he would not falsefie his othe for no man. And for this cause Robert le Bruce bare vnto Sir Iohn Comyn a great stomacke, and so did many other of the Nobles. But he helde his opinion so firmely and stoutly, that other began to take his part, so that in the counsayle arose such varietie of opinions, that the sayd counsayle was dissolued, and anewe assembled at the Gray Friers of Dunfrise, at Candlemasse next folowyng. At which day of assembly, when the cause of their meetyng was by Robert Bruce published and declared, and many of the great Lordes had graunted vnto him their ayde and assistance: But the aforenamed Sir Iohn Comyn and other sate still and sayd nothing. Which Robert le Bruze marked well, and to him sayde: And you Sir Iohn I trust for the defence and weale of this realme, will not be behinde. Wherevnto he aunswered: Sir I would that you and all my Lordes here present knewe well, that for the weale, defence, and in the right of this land, I will stand with it to the vttermost of my power: But for that I see, ye rather entend the subuersion then the weale thereof, I geue you therefore knowledge I will neyther ayde you with counsaile, nor yet with strength: And some other also were present which allowed very well the graue saiyng and aunswere of Sir Iohn Comyn. But Robert le Bruze was so amoued therewithall, that when Sir Iohn Comyn, and Sir Roger his brother was departed from the counsaile, and was come into the Church of the Friers, Robert le Bruze folowed him, and wounded him to death with his sworde, and when his brother would haue defended him, he slue him also. After which murder little or no resistaunce was made against the vntrue meanyng and dedes of the sayde Robert le Bruze, so that he at Saint Iohns towne was crowned king shortly after.

Robert le Bruze laboreth ỹ lordes to make him Kinge of Scotland.

Sir Iohn Comyn a worthie knight.

Sir Iohn Comyn is murdered.

Robert le Bruze crowned king of Scottes.

Assoone as king Edward was admonished of the murther of sir Iohn Comyn, and that he had also well considered the continuall vntrouth of the Scottes, he forthwith made prouision and gathered a great power together to enter into Scotland. And hauyng, and holdyng at that time beyng Whitsontide a great feast of his Baronnie at Westminster, and duryng the time of the same feast, he made aboue two hundreth knightes. And assoone as his feast was ended, he sent with a goodly company of knightes and furniture of Warlike men, Sir Aymer de valaunce Erle of Pembrooke and Sir Henry Percy Erle of Northumberlande into Scotland, and shortly after the king himselfe folowed with his host.

King Edwarde once agayne goeth with a great power to subdue ỹ Scots.

And it was not long after that the Erle of Pembrooke was arryued with his power in Scotlande, but that Robert le Bruse with a great power of the Scottes were gathered together in a place called Methfen, euerye of them hauing vpon his harnesse a whyte shyrte, and there they bade the Erle battayle. And the Erle with his power set manfully and courageously vpon them, so that there perished with the sworde that daye a great number of the Scottes that came with the false king. And the sayde false king was that day three times beaten downe, but was euer releued by Sir Symon Frisell that valyaunt warryour, and by the craft and helpe of his whyte shyrte, he fled and escaped out of the battayle. The names of the chiefe prisoners that were taken at this skirmish of the Scottes were these,

Battayle at Methfen.

Robert le Bruse fleyeth.

these, Thomas the sonne of Rainulph, Dauid of Inkmartyn, Iohn of Someruile knightes, Nicholas Huttynges Marshall, and Hugh the false kinges Chapleyn who that daye was standard bearer and many other whose names were here to long to reherse. And the aforesayd Hugh the priest with dyuers other were shortly after condemned, but the priest was first hanged because he had sayd, that I the priest will beare your banner and lead you this iourney.

King Edwarde entereth Scotlande with a great power.

Sone after the flyeng of Robert Bruse, the king of Englande with his sonne the prince of Wales, being then about the. x. daye of August entered Scotlande being accompanied wyth a great number of the Nobles of the realme and a puyssaunt armie. And of manye of the Scottes the king was honorably receyued, and many fled from him and hid themselues in woodes and marishes. The King going foorth in Scotland with his armie, raunged ouer all the lande and tooke many of the fugitiue Scottes, and many he put to death, and also manye he pardoned. But among other that were taken, there were two Bishops and an Abbot which crowned Robert le Bruse the false king, the which were hardly and streightly kept in strong prison so long as the king lyued. There was also taken the aforenamed Symon Frisell in whome rested all the Scottes hope and trust. And there was taken Herebert of Morham, a man of excellent bewtie and stature, farre exceeding all the other Scottes. The aforesayde Symon was shortly after hanged: But Herebert with his Squyre Thomas de boys were behedded. And the head of Symon Frisell for the manifold treasons by him committed was set vpon London bridge nexte vnto the head of Wylliam Walleys who was placed there before.

Symon Frisell taken.

King Edwarde causeth an inquisition to be made in Scotlande for the murder of Sir Iohn Comyn.

And shortlye after the king of Englande caused an inquirie to be made thorough the realme of Scotland by the othes of honest and good men, who and how many they were that murdered and consented to the murther of the noble man Iohn Comyn before named, and also to the coronation of the aforesayde Robert Bruse. And in a maner he tooke them all and put them to death. And suche as submitted themselues vnto the kings will and pleasure, he kept in streight and hard prison. And Iohn Seyton and Christofer hys brother which were the Esquiers of Robert Bruse, and consented vnto the shamefull murder of the sayde worthy and noble Iohn Comyn were also taken. Of the which Iohn Seyton at New Castell vpon Tyne, and Christopher at Domfrise were hanged, drawen, and quartered.

Robert le Bruse escaped by flyeng.

And during the time that this iustice was executed vpon the wicked and wretched Scottes, the lewde and vnworthye crowned king Robert Bruse fled into the Mountaynes, hyding hymselfe in suche places as he might best lurck in. And lykewise Sir Iohn of Cambres Erle of Athles practised to flye and escape, but by the prouydence of God he was taken: which when the king heard, although he was then troubled with greeuous sickenesse, yet he bare the same the better, as one much comforted with these newes.

The aforenamed Sir Iohn of Cambres, Erle of Atles, as I finde in an auncient recorde, after he was apprehended, and among other prisoners committed to warde: There were certaine that resorted vnto the king, and shewed him that this Erle was of the bloud royall, and therfore they thought it vnseemely that he should be committed among the other cõmon offendors. To whome the king not respecting his bloud and progeny sayde: The higher that he is of degree, the more greeuous is his fall: if he among the other murderers did excel in bloud, then is it meete that he for his mischiefe should hang higher then any of the other: Take him, saith he, and carie him to London and there let him haue iustice. And shortly after, that is to say the. vij. day of Nouember, next followyng he was arreigned in Westminster Hall and found giltie of treason, and of the murder of Sir Iohn Comyn, and had iudgement of death. And because he came of the bloud royall as aforesayde, he was not drawne, but was set vpon an horse, and so brought to the place of execution, and there hanged vpon a payre of Galowes that were fiftie foote high, hauing before his eyes a great fyre burnyng, and before he was halfe dead, he was cut downe and behedded, and his bodye cast into the burnyng fyre, where it consumed vnto Ashes, & his head was set vpon London

London bridge among the other Traytours and murderers heads, but a great deale higher then the other.

About the ende of Februarie a certaine Scot of Galoway named Dongaldus came with three hundreth men and withstood a great Nauie of Pirates replenished with. vij. C. men of warre that woulde haue landed vpon his ground: But he set so fiercely vpon them, that what with the fight and by drowning in the Sea and hauen, and followyng such as had recouered land and fled, they in a maner all perished. And among the principall of these theeues that were slaine in thys skirmish, the sayde Dongallus brought vnto the king of England the head of Malcolyn the Lorde of Kentyr, and two heads of two rulers of Irelande. And he brought with him as prisoners Thomas Bruse knight, and Alexander his brother Dean of Glaskowe, both brethren Germaynes of Robert Bruse the false king of Scotland. And also they presented Reynould of Craunford knight which was sore wounded, and halfe dead. Of which number Thomas Bruse knight was drawen, hanged and hedded. And the rest were onely hanged and headed at Carlisle.

And the aforesayde yere there came from the Pope vnto the king of Englande a Cardinall and Mayster Peter a Spanyard as Ambassadors, to conclude a mariage betwene Edward the king of Englands sonne Prince of Wales, and the Lady Isabell the daughter of the French king, the which in the yere followyng was fully fynished.

Robert le Bruze, after this discomfiture and losse of his chiefe friends, and fearing least the Scottes with suche Englishmen as king Edward lefte there, would arise against hym: did therefore all comfortlesse flie vnto the king of Norwaye, and there abode during the lyfe of king Edward. Robert le Bruze escaped by flyeng.

When this noble and valiaunt Prince had thus subdued the Scottes, he yeelded thankes vnto almightie God for this victorie. And when he was truely asserteyned of the flyeng and departing of Robert le Bruse, and also that he had set the lande in a good and quiet order, he returned into England.

And in this meane while, the aforesayde Lordes of Scotland were arreigned at London, and there condempned and put to death, and their heads set vpon London bridge. And shortlye after was Iohn Waleys brother to Wylliam Waleys (which for lyke treason was put to death the yere nexte before) taken, hanged and quartered, and some of the Scottes that were taken as prisoners, remayned there a long time before they were hable to pay their fines. The Scottishe Lordesbeheaded.

And shortly after the king for diuers causes returned againe into Scotlande, but some say he remayned at Barwike and kept hys Christmas and Easter there, and did not returne to London vntill the Sommer followyng. And that then in the time of his returne a sicknesse tooke hym so feruently, that he knewe well he should die. Wherefore he being at Bourgh vpon the sandes beyond Carlyle, called to him Sir Aymer de Valaunce Erle of Penbrooke, Sir Henry Percye Erle of Northumberlande, Sir Henry Lacye Erle of Lyncoln, and Sir Robert Clyfford Baron, and caused them to be sworne before him, that they should crowne Edward his sonne in as conuenient time after his death as they might, and to keepe the lande to his vse vntill he were crowned. 1306 35 King Edwarde taken with a greeuous disease.

And after his Barons had taken the sayde othe, he then called vnto him his sonne Edward, and charged him with dyuers pointes vpon his blessing: among the which one especiall was, that he should neuer after that daye suffer Piers of Gaueston to returne into Englande, and so shortly after ended his lyfe vppon the. vij. daye of Iulie, when he had reigned. xxxiiij. yeres. vij. Moneths and odde dayes. And after with great solempnity was conueyghed vnto Westmynster, and there buried in the Chapell of S. Edward vpon the south side, in a plaine Tombe of Marble at the head of his father. This noble prince had two wyfes, and had issue by them as may appere before in the twentie yere, and in the. xxvij. yere of this kings reigne, where it is at large set out. King Edward giueth a great charge to his sonne. The issue of this King is set out in the xx. and xxvij. yere of his reigne.

This king was of stature talle, somewhat swarte or black of colour, strong of body, and nothing fat, for by much exercise he did eschewe fatnesse: he was amiable of coun- The description of king Edward the first.

tenaunce, hauing black eyes, which when he waxed angry, would seeme to be fyrie: his heare was black and curled, he was very healthy and of a stoute courage, that neuer fayled in any daunger, or aduersitie, he was verie pregnant and had an excellent wyt, and commonly atcheeued any enterprise he tooke in hande. He was a great louer and fauourer of religion, but yet a great enemie to the pride and insolencie of Priestes which in his dayes exceeded, and he iudged the same onely to spring of their wealth and riches. And therfore to bridle their wantonnesse he established the lawe for graunting landes in Mortmayn. Of friendship he was constaunt, and not easie to be reconciled where he conceyued a displeasure. And in vacant times he gaue himself much to huntyng. Thus much Polidore.

EDWARDE THE SECONDE.

King Edward the seconde.

EDWarde the seconde of that name, and soone of Edward the first, borne at Carnaruan beyng a towne of Wales, began his reigne ouer this realme of England the. viij. day of Iuly in the yere of our Lord. 1307. and was crowned king at Westminster the. xxiiij. day of February in the yere aforesayd.

The description of king Edward the second.

This king was fayre of body, but vnstedfast of maners and disposed to lightnesse. He refused the company of his Lordes and men of honor, and haunted among villeynes and vile personages. He gaue himselfe also to ouermuche drinking, and lightly he would disclose things of great counsaile: and besides that, he was geuen to these vices by nature, he was made much worsse by the counsaile and familiaritie of certain euill disposed persons, as Piers of Gaueston, Hugh Spencer the father, and the sonne, and other, whose wanton company and counsayle prouoked him to the appetyte and pleasure of the bodie, nothyng orderyng hys common weale by sadnesse, discretion and iustice, which thing caused great variance betwene him and his Lords, so that shortlye he became to them hatefull, and in the ende was depriued of his kingdom.

Piers of Gaueston.

But Polidore sayth, that immediatly after the death of his father he being then in Scotland at Dunfrieze, callyng his counsayle together, did first of all cause the Lordes and rulers of Scotland to sweare vnto him homage and fealtie, the which euery one, except certeine that leaned to the part of Robert le Bruze did willyngly offer. And then leauyng sufficient furniture for defence in Scotland, he returned into England and so to London.

So soone as his father was buryed, and the Exequies scantly finished, he forgettyng the high and chargeable commaundement of his sayde father, sent in all hast for his olde compire Piers Gaueston, the which he receyued with all ioy and gladnesse, and aduaunced him to much honour.

1307

I

King Edward maried to Isabell the French Kinges daughter.

And shortly after, that is to say in December next folowyng, he sayled into Fraunce, and the. xv. day of Ianuary folowyng, he maryed at Boleyn Isabell the daughter of Philip the French king, which, as saith Froisart was one of the goodlyest Ladyes in the worlde. And shortly after he returned wyth her vnto London, where they were honourably receyued of the Citizens, and so conueyed to Westmynster where as it is before rehersed they were both solempnly crowned the xxiiij. day of February. At the which coronation was such prease that a knight called Sir Iohn Bakewell was thrested to death.

Piers of Gaueston aduaunced to the Erledome of Cornewall.

And shortly after, the king gaue vnto Piers of Gaueston the Erledome of Cornewall, &

the Lordship of Walyngford, and was ruled all by his wanton counsayle, and folowed the appetyte and pleasure of his body, to the great offence of the nobilitie, and no lesse perill of his awne destruction.

1308

Nowe shortlye after, the king callyng to hys remembraunce the great displeasure done vnto him and to his familier Piers of Gaueston by the Bishop of Chester, mencioned before in the. xxviij. yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, commaunded him vnto the Tower of London, where he was streightly kept many dayes after.

2 Langton Bishop of Chester commaunded to the tower.

Then the Lordes of the land, and specially Sir Henry Lacy, Sir Guy and Sir Aymer de Valance Erle of Lyncolne of Warwike & of Penbrook, to whom the noble Prince Edward the first, had geuen so great charge, that Piers Gaueston should no more come into Englande, sawe the rule of the lande, and howe that the kings treasorie by meane of the sayde Piers was wasted, assembled them in counsell & of one assent, with ayde of other Lords of the realme, so spake to the king, that contrarie to his pleasure, he was aduoyded the land, and banished into Ireland for that yere. But the king sent vnto him often tymes diuerse secrete messengers, and comforted him wyth many rich giftes, and made him his chiefe ruler of that countrie.

Piers Gaueston banished the land.

And afterward, diuerse and sondry grudges happened betwene the king and his Lordes for the banishment of the sayd Piers Gauestone: wherefore to continue amitie betwene him and them, the sayd Piers was fet home againe, and so continued to the more vnquietnes and mischiefe of the realme.

1309

About this tyme (as sayth the Auctour of *Chronica chronicarum* and other) the knightes of the order of saint Iohn Baptist, called Saint Iohns of Icrusalem, by knightly Manhoode, put out of the Isle of Rhodes the Turkes and infidels which to that day had kept and occupied the same Isle: and after that they wanne dayly and yerely vpon the sayd Turkes, so that they had in their possession much of the landes of the Turkes. This Religion of Saint Iohns, was greatly preferred, by the fall and suppression of the Templers, whose possessions, landes and goodes were geuen to them.

3 The Isle of the Rhodes first recouered by christian men.

1310

The aforesayde Piers of Gauestone, more and more encreasyng in the kinges fauour, had at the last the guydyng of all the kinges Iewelles and treasure. And at a certeyne tyme he went to Westmynster, and there out of the kinges Iewell house he tooke a Table and a payre of Tresselles of gold, and conueied them with other Iewelles out of the land, to the great empouerishyng of the same. And moreouer, he brought the king by meane of hys wanton condicions to manifold vices, as adulterie, and other. Wherefore the aforesayd Lordes, seyng the mischiefe that dayly encreased by occasion of this vnhappie man, tooke their counsayle together at Lincolne, and there concluded to aduoyde him againe out of England: so that shortly after he was exiled into Flaunders, to the kinges great displeasure.

4 A Table wt tresselles of gold take out of the kings Iewell house by Piers of Gaueston.

Gaueston againe banished.

This yere dyed Philip le Beaw French king, commonly called Philip the fayre.

1311

In this yere was borne at Windsore the kinges eldest sonne named Edwarde, which after the death of his father was king of this realme, by the name of king Edward the third, & he was borne the. xiij. day of Nouember.

5 The birth of Edward the kinges eldest sonne, who after was king Edwarde the thirde.

And this yere also was the aforesayd Gauestone called home againe out of Flaundyrs, which after his returne, did worsse then euer he did before: In somuch that he disdeyned the Lordes of England, flouted, scorned, and rudely taunted them. Wherfore the Lordes assented and agreed to put him to death: And soone after assemblyng theyr powers, they besieged him in the Castell of Scarborough, and in short tyme wanne the Castell, and tooke him and brought him vnto Gauerscede besyde Warwike, and there the. xix. daye of Iune smote off his heade. But when the king was informed thereof, he shewed himselfe to be most grieuouslye displeased with the sayd Lordes, and made a solemne vowe that his death should be reuenged, as afterwarde it was, as shall appere.

Gaueston beheaded by the Lordes.

The king greatly offended with the death of Gaueston.

Nowe by this occasion, the rancour and Malice that before was kindeled betwene the king and his Lordes, was againe so encreased and inflamed, that it burst out to the vnder-

standing

standing of the whole realme: For after this day the king neither studied nor endeuored himselfe to any thing so much, as to seeke some cause agaynst his Lordes, that by some one meane or other, hee might attaine to an occasion of reuengement, for the death of the aforenamed Gauestone. In this meane tyme dyed Sir Henry Lacy Erle of Lincolne, the which liyng vpon his death bed charged Sir Thomas Erle of Lancaster that had maryed his daughter, that he should stand with the other Lordes in the defence for the weale of England, the which request the said Erle graunted, and so did firmely obserue and kepe it, which was the occasion of the losse both of his awne life, and of many others also, as after shall appere.

1312 6 At this tyme the king helde his high Court of Parliament at London, where by the aduice of his Lordes, he made many good ordinaunces and statutes for the suppression of riots and other mischiefes that then reigned: And in the ende, the king was sworne to keepe them, and so were all his Lordes.

The returne of Robert le Bruze. And shortly after, worde was brought vnto the king that Robert le Bruze was returned into Scotlande, and had caused the Scottes to rebell of newe. Before in the. xxxiij. yeere of king Edwarde the first ye haue heard how the sayde Edward chased the aforenamed Robert le Bruze out of Scotland into Normandy. But as it may be well coniectured, nowe when he vnderstoode of the misgoueruaunce of the realme of Englande, and specially of the deuision betwene the king and his Lordes, he was encouraged with a small ayde of the Normans to returne againe into Scotland, where he behaued himselfe in such wise to the Lordes of Scotland, that sone after they agayne made him king of the Realme, and then warred he sore vppon England, and wanne many Castels and strong holdes, and did to the Englishmen great harme and dammage, and (as sayth Sir Iohn Froissart) the Scottes came brennyng and spoylyng this Realme, so farre, that they were foure or fiue dayes iourney within the Realme of Englande.

1313 7 Nowe when the king was truely certefyed of thys great rage of the Scottes, he with all conuenient speede made prouision to resist them, and gathering together a great power did passe by water and entered into Scotland and brent and destroyed suche Villages and Townes as lay in his way without all mercye. Whereof, when Robert le Bruze had knowledge, he with the whole power of Scotland coasted toward the Englishmen, and vpon Mydsomer day, mette with king Edwarde and his hoast at a place called Estreuelyn, neere vnto a freshe ryuer that then was called Bannokesborne, where betweene the Englishmen and the Scottes was that daye foughten a most terrible and bloudie battayle: But the victorie fell to the Scottes, and the Englishmen flyeng, were chased of the Scottes so egerly, that many of them were drowned in the aforenamed ryuer, and many a noble man of Englande was that day slayne in that battayle, as Sir Gilbert de Clare Erle of Gloucester, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Edmond of Maule the kinges Steward, with other Lordes and Barons to the number (as sayth Guydo de Columna) of. xlij. and of knightes and Baronets to the number of. lxvij. beside. xxij. men of name, which that day of the Scottes were taken prisoners. And the king himselfe scaped with great daunger from that battayle, and wyth a fewe horse and small company came to Berwike, where he rested for a time. But Hector Boethus the Scot, whose nature is so shamefully and monstruously to lye, (that all the worlde may perceiue it) wryteth that at this battayle were slaine fiftie thousand Englishmen with the Duke of Gloucester and two hundreth knights. But beleue him as it pleaseth you. And after the Scottes had obteyned this victorie, they being enflamed with pride, published in the derision and mockage of Englishmen manye fond and foolishe rymes, the which I thinke meete to omit.

The battaile of Estreuelyn.

The Englishmen discomfited of the Scottes.

Hector Boethus a shamelesse lyer.

King Edward returneth into England. And after that king Edward had set the Towne of Barwike in as good order and suretie as he then might, he returned into England, and with small honour and lesse courage came to Westmynster the. xix. day of August.

1314 8 And not long after a Vileyne called Iohn Poydras a tanners sonne of Excester went about in diuers places of Englande and named himselfe to be the sonne of king Edward the

the first: & sayde that by meane of a false Norice, he was stollen out of his Cradell, and Edwarde which was a Carters sonne was layde in the same Cradell in his place, and he himselfe was afterwarde hardely fostered and brought vp in the North parte of Wales. But when this vileyn was layde for to be taken, for feare he fled to the Church of the whyte Fryers in Oxford: where he thinking to haue beene safe and sure, because king Edward the first was founder of that Church, and there he rehearsed agayne the former sayeng, addyng more therevnto, that it appeered well that the king was a Carters sonne, for hys conditions were according to the same, as hys manners daylie vsed did manifestly expresse and shew.

A Counterfeater that named himselfe king Edward the seconde.

When thys vileyn had thus continued a whyle, not wythout some rumour in the lande, lastly he was taken out of that place and caryed as a Felon vnto Northampton, and there was arreigned and iudged for his falsenesse, and so drawen and hanged. The which at the houre of his death confessed that he had a Fende in his house in the similitude of a Cat, the which among other promises to him made, he assured him that he should be king of Englande. And Fabian sayth that he confessed that he had serued the sayde Fende three yeres before, to bring his purpose about.

Iohn Poydras a Traytour hanged drawen and quartered.

Thus king Edward beset with manye aduersities kept a counsayle at Yorke sayth Polidore, for preparation of warre with Scotlande, and other things meete to be done for the weale of the realme of England. And shortly after Sir Peter Spaldyng knight was sent to Barwike with a crewe of Souldiours to fortefie that Towne, because the king had a certaine vnderstanding, that Robert le Bruze entended hastely to lay siege to that Towne.

A counsayle kept at York.

Sir Peter Spalding knight.

1315

And not long after the sayde Castell and Towne of Barwike was yeelden or lost, by treason of the aforesayde Sir Peter Spaldyng (as the common fame went) vnto Robert le Bruze king of Scottes. Also in this tyme was great misery in England by dearth of Corne, scarcetie of victualles and Moreyn and death of Cattell. Moreouer, in this time was sent into Englande two Cardinalles from Clement the fift bishop of Rome to set an vnity and peace betwene the Kinges of England and Scotland, and as they were rydyng into Scotland they were met withall vpon the Moore of Wigilsdon in Yorkeshire, and there robbed of suche stuffe and treasure as they brought with them. After which robbery, great inquirie was made, and at the last two knightes named Sir Gilbert Myddleton and Sir Walter Selby with vj. hundred men were accused to be the doers of the same, and were committed to prison for that felony, and after were at London condempned, drawen and hanged for the same, and their heades set vpon London Bridge: But the Cardynalles receyued of the king double the value of their harmes.

9

The Castell of Barwike was yelded to the kipg of Scottes.

Two Cardinalles were robbed.

Gilbert Middleton and Walter Selby knightes condemned and hanged.

About this time also, Sir Goslyn Deynuile and his brother (as sayth Iohn Hardyng) hauyng in his companye two hundreth persons clothed in Fryers weedes, passed thorough the Countries as Outlawes and banished men, and robbed and spoyled all that they coulde meete with, and namely, they robbed and spoyled the Byshop of Durhams house and left nothing therein but bare walles, but at the last they were taken and hanged at Yorke.

And in the ende of this yere fell such aboundaunce of rayne and vnseasonable weather, that they could not carie in that little corne that they had on the grounde, by reason whereof followed great scarcetie, dearth, pestilence and death both of men and beastes.

Now againe the Scottes entred into Northumberland, and robbed and brent the Countrie most cruelly, and spared neither man, woman, nor childe, and did so great harme, that the Country was thereby greatly impouerished. To this mischiefe also was ioyned another misery: For as it is rehearsed before, victuall by reason of the Moreyn was waxed so scant and dere, that people were forced to eate Dogges, and other vncleane and filthie beastes, as Fabian and other do recite. And the dearth of graine was so great this yere that wheat was solde for foure marke a quarter, which if you conferre with the value of an ounce of siluer then currant, as is before expressed in the. xv. yere of king Edward the first, which was. xx. pence, with ỹ time now which is the tenth yere of the reigne of our souereigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth in the which an ounce of siluer is currant for fiue shillinges, then

1326

10

A great scarcitie.

A great dearth.

after

after that rate, foure marke a quarter of that money, is of the money that is now currant with vs. viij. pound, and that is. xx. shillinges a bushell, which may well be called both a great price, and a great dearth: and by reason of this dearth of grayne, and scarcitie of victuall, and of the warres with the Scottes, the people dyed and perished both by hunger and pestilence, so that the land was greatly wasted and almost desolate of people, for the people liuing were scant so many in number as were able to bury the dead.

A great plague.

Yet the king assembled againe as great a power as he could get in thys realme of England, and went into Northumberland to resist the malice of the Scottes which dayly made assaultes vpon the Borders, and entered far within the realme of England, robbyng, brennyng and spoylyng the same. Wherefore, for great lacke and distresse of men, the king had manye people out of the South and East partes of England. And among other, the Citie of London, contrary to their liberties, were constreyned to find at their costes and charges two hundreth men, and so sent them to Yorke.

When the king then beyng at Yorke had receyued his people from sundry Countries and good townes of England, he with a conuenient number road toward Barwicke, and so sped his iourney, that at the length he came nere vnto Barwike, and layde his siege about the same.

The Scots commeth into Yorkshire, and cruelly burneth and spoyleth.

But while the king was busyed in the assault of the towne, the Scottes brake ouer the water of Swale in great number, and leauing the cost where the kinges people lay, in secret wise came downe into the marches of Yorkeshire, and there slue the people and robbed them in most cruell wise. Wherefore the Archebishop of Yorke constreyned of pure necessitie to defende that Countrie, gathered vnto him an vnredy and dispurueyed host for the warre, as Priors, Clerkes, Chanons, and other ministers of the Church, with husband men and other vnmete people: and so with a great number of men, and fewe warlye or diserete Capitaines, he went against the Scottes, and encountered them at a place called Mitton vpon Swale, the. xij. day of the moneth of October: But for lacke of wise and warly prouision, the Englishe men were beset of their enemies vpon euery syde, so that of them were slaine a great multitude, and the remnant put to shameful flight, by the which flight the sayde Archebishop, with the Abbot of Selby and other were preserued. And because in his Battayle there were slaine so many spirituall men, therfore it was after called of many wryters the white battaile.

The Englishmen were againe discomfited of the Scots.

The king againe returneth with great losse.

When the king was informed of this ouerthrow of the Northren men, and also that it drewe so nere wynter, he therefore brake vp his siege and returned vnto Yorke, and shortly after went further into England.

Sir Hugh Spencer the father, and Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne ruled all England.

At this tyme there was nothing done that concerned the order and gouernement of the realme, without the aduice and counsayles of sir Hugh the Spencers, the father and the sonne, by whose procurement many thinges were done in England to the great grudge, as well of the noble men of the realme, as of the cōmons of the same, so that they were had in as great hatred and indignation, as before tymes was Piers Gauestone. And many euill reportes and great extorcions were tolde of them, as commonly it happeneth to all those that are out of fauour with the common people.

1318

12

A parliament at Yorke.

This yere the king helde his counsayle or Parliament at Yorke, where contrary to the mynde of the Lordes Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne was made high Chamberlaine of England: By reason whereof he waxed so hautie and prowde, that no Lorde of this land durst displease him at any tyme, whereof grewe the occasion of the Barons warre, as after shall appere.

Before ye heard of two Cardinalles that came to trauaile to make a peace betwene the two kinges, but it would not be, wherefore the king purchased a curse of Iohn the. xxij. Bishop of Rome, to accursse the Scottishe king and all that helde with him, or mainteyned him. But it auayled nothing, but put the king to great costes and charges, for the Scottes ceassed not for all their curssynges, and the poore commons were so vexed and that with so many troubles, as losse of their moueable goodes, of their possessions, and

of

of all that euer they had, not onely by the foreyne enemie, but euen here among our awne people, by reason of the misgouernance of the king, as also by the trouble and variaunce that was betwene him and his Lordes: so that many were vtterly vndone, & a fewe singuler disordered persons aduaunced.

Now when the greatest part of the Baronay of England behelde this miserie of the people, how they were punished by the hand of God, and also by the ignorance of the king, they in secret maner assembled themselues together at a towne called Sherborne, and there concluded a reformation for this mischiefe, which was, to remoue from the king the sayd Spencers, both the father and the sonne. And that this might take effect, Sir Thomas Erle of Lancaster, Sir Humfrey Bohum Erle of Herfford, Sir Iohn Moubray Baron, Sir Roger Clifforde Baron, Sir Goslyn Daniell Baron, Sir Roger Toket, Roger Benefield, Sir Roger Mortimer, sir William Sulland, Sir William Elmenbridge, Sir Iohn Gifford, and Sir Iohn Tyers, Barons and knightes with diuers other, sware eche of them to stand by other vntill they had amended the state of the realme.

The Barõs assembled in a counsaile at Sheerborne.

And shortly after, by their aduice and agreement, Sir Iohn Mowbray, Sir Roger Clyfford, and Sir Goslyne Danyell, with a strong company entred vpon the Manours, and Castelles of the sayde Spencers, standyng in the Marches of Wales, and spoyled and destroyed them. Of the which ryot the Spencers complayned to the king. And for an order of due punishment for these to be taken, ỹ king called vnto him dyuers of his counsell at Wyndsore, and there it was determined that the sayde sir Iohn Mowbraye, Sir Roger Clifford and Sir Goselyn Danyell should appere before the kinges counsell shortly after, and there to make answere vpon that ryot. And if they refused that to doe, that then they should aduoyde the lande shortly after as banished men. But no day of apparaunce was kept by them. Wherefore proclamations was made in dyuers places of the realme and at London the. xvj. day of Marche, that the sayde Sir Iohn Mowbraye, Sir Roger Clifford and Sir Goslyne Daniell, should aduoyde the lande within. x. dayes followyng vpon paine of death. Whereof hering the Lords and Barons before named, reassembled them a more strong power, and vpon that sent a messenger vnto the king, beseeching hym humbly, to exclude and remoue from him the counsell of the Spencers, which daylie did vnto him great dishonour, and to the common weale of the realme great hinderaunce. The king heering this humble request, was with it nothing content, but yet fearyng greatly the destruction of his awne person, assembled his counsaile for the reformation of thys matter: where it was concluded, that the king shoulde call a Parliament at London. And foorthwith the king wrote his letters and sent thesame vnto the sayde Barons, commaundyng them at a daye prefixed to bee at the sayde Parliament, who at the day appointed, made their apperaunce at London, bringing with them a great hoste of men of armes in a sute of Iacquets or Cotes parted, yelow and greene, with a band of white cast ouerthwart. And for this cause, that Parliament long after was of the common people called the Parliament of whyte bandes.

A ryot begon by the Barons against ye Spencers.

A message sent to ỹ king from the Barons that he should remoue the Spencers.

The Parliament of White Bandes.

At this tyme the Maiour of the Citie of London for the preseruation of the sayd Citie, & for the sure keeping of the kings peace, caused daylie a thousand men being well armed, to warde the Gates and water sydes of the sayd Citie and the same warders or watchemen to beginne their watche at foure of the clock in the morning, and so continued vntill. vj. of the clock at night. At which tyme, as manye were ordeyned for to take the charge of the night watch, and so to continue vntill the houre of fiue of the clock in the morning. And because the night watch should be the more duely kept, therefore there was assigned nightly two Aldermen to ryde about the Citie with certaine officers of the Towne to see the watchmen well and discreetely ordred and guided. And the gates were shut at. ix. of the clock, and opened againe at. vij. in the morning, and euery Citizen was warned to haue his harnes by him, that he might be readie with short warnyng whensoeuer he were called.

The Citie of London was garded with a watch both day & night.

Thus duryng the tyme of the Parliament which was holden at Westmynster, the watch, as aforesayde was holden and kept in London. And among other things it was ordeyned

The Spencers both father and son banished.

in that Parliament for the weale of the lande that Sir Hugh Spencer the father, and Sir Hugh the sonne, should be banished out of the realme of Englande for terme of life. And shortly after that banishment was put in execution, so that they both were brought vnto Douer, there to take shypping. Where Hugh the father made great mone when he should take his ship, and curssed his sonne in the hering of those that had the guyding of them, sayeng: that by his meanes he was banished from the Flowre of all the landes christened.

Then the king dissolued the Parliament, and euerye man returned to his awne. But it was not long after but that worde was brought to the king, that Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne houed vpon the coaste of England, and tooke prayes of all Marchaunts that passed by his course: But the king made as though he vnderstood no suche thing, and suffred that and many mo euill deedes to go vnpunnished, the which at length he repented full sore, and toke therof great remorse of conscience as appereth in the ende of his reigne.

1319

13

The Spencers are called home againe by the king.

The king being bewitched with the loue of the aforesayde Spencers did now againe reuoke the actes and ordynaunces made in the last Parliament, and called againe into Englande the foresayde Spencers to theirs and his castyng awaye, as after it shall appeere, and set them agayne in auctoritie as high as euer they were, mawgre the heart and minde of all his Barons, and to the great vnquietnesse of all the realme. And shortly after beganne quarell piking, and the king beganne claymyng a title by the Queene of the Castell of Ledes in Kent, which belonged to sir Barthen Bladesmore knight then being on the Barons party, and the king besieged the sayde Castell, and by the helpe of the Citizens of London did at the last by strength wynne the same, and spoyled the moueables thereof, which were of a great value.

Nowe when the king had thus called home the Spencers, and things were ruled and gouerned after their sensuall appetites and pleasures, without hauing any respect or regard to the common weale of the realme of England. The Barons also well pondering and considering among themselues that this lewde kinde of gouernment vsed by the Spencers must of necessity at the last bring the lande to great ruyne, and the king to great dishonour: they entendyng to preuent the mischiefe that might ensue thereof, gathered vnto them a great power. And in the meane time that Sir Thomas Erle of Lancaster was gathering of his people, the two Mortymers, that is to say, Sir Roger Mortymer of warke, and Sir Roger of Wygmore with other, went vnto the Marches of Wales, and tooke by strength certayne Cities and Townes belongyng to the Spencers, and pursued also some of the kinges seruauntes. Wherfore the king heryng of the rebellion of hys Lords, made hastie speede, and with a great hoste came about by Shrewesbury, and was neere vnto them before they were ware of hym, so that for feare, the sayde Mortymers yeelded themselues vnto the kings grace and mercy, the which forthwith were conueyed as prisoners vnto the Tower of London.

The Barõs assemble their powers against the Spencers.

The Mortimers taken and committed to the Tower.

1320

14

When the king had set all thinges in order about the Marches of Wales, he then gathered more strength about him, and therefore about the begynnyng of March, he set forward and came to Glocester, where the Spencers with all their people met with him. And from thence they went to Lichefield, at which tyme the Erles of Lancaster and of Herford with their host were at Burton vpon Trent, and fortefied the bridge, that the king might not come ouer the sayde Riuer. Then the king was brought vnto a foorde, and began to set ouer his knightes, whereof heeryng the sayde Erles, they forsooke the towne and fled. But before they could passe farre vpon their iourney, they were encountered of Sir Aymer de Valaunce Erle of Pembrooke, with the Spencers and other of the kinges host vpon the. xij. of March, and them did ouerset, and caused them to flie, who at the last came to Pomfret. In thys meane tyme, the Erle Thomas had sent a knight of his named Robert Holland, into Lancashire for to arrere his tenauntes. But when the sayde Sir Robert heard of the sayde skirmishe, and howe his maister was fled, he then drewe to the king, and presented him with such company as he then brought. And thus the kinges power daylye encreased, and the Barons discreased. Then the Barons heeryng of the

The Barõs flie and are taken.

goyng of Sir Robert Holland vnto the kinges partie, were therewithall astonied, and tooke their counsaile in the Friers of Pomfret, Where after sondrie reasons and argumentes they concluded that they would go vnto the Castell of Dunstanborough, and there to remaine vntill such tyme as they might purchase the kinges mercie. And as they set forward vpon their purposed iourney, takyng with them such people as they had, at the last they came to a towne called Burghbridge, where they were encountered of Sir Andrew of Harkeley knight, with other that were come out of the North with a strong company: Who gaue there an onset vpon the Barons, and in the ende discomfited them, and chased their people. In the which fight was slaine the Erle of Herfford, sir Roger Benefielde, and sir William Sulland, and other: and there was taken the Erle of Lancaster, sir Roger Clifford, sir Iohn Mowbray, sir Roger Tuckettes, sir William Fitz William, with dyuerse other, and they were led to Yorke. And this fielde was faughten the. xv. day of March. 1320.

Thomas Erle of Lancaster and diuers other of the Barons taken, and cõmitted to dyuerse prisons & after were behedded to the number of xxij. Noble men.

It was not long after that Sir Hugh Daniell, and Sir Barthew de Bladismore were taken. And sir Thomas Erle of Lancaster was brought againe to his awne towne of Pomfret, where he was brought in iudgement before sir Aymer de valaunce Erle of Pembrooke, sir Iohn Briteyn Erle of Richmond, sir Edmond of Woodstock Erle of Kent, sir Hugh Spencer the father, and sir Robert of Malmestrope Iustice with other, and finally he was by them condemned and iudged to haue his head stricken off, which was done the. xii. day of Aprill next folowyng.

Thomas Erle of Lancaster beheaded.

From this tyme forward for the space of foure yeres, the Spencers encreased meruellously in fauour and aucthoritie with the king, and as fast decayed the fauour of the king towardes the Queene, vntill such tyme as shee was relieued by her brother the French king, as after shall be shewed.

But nowe to returne where we left. The same day that the aforesayde Erle of Lancaster was put in execution, Sir Roger Tuckettes, Sir William Fitz William, sir Waren of Iselde or Iselt, sir Henry of Bradborne, and sir William Cheyny Barons and knightes, were also drawen and hanged, and their heades smitten off and sent to London, which were all put to death at Pomfret aforesayde, with an Esquier called Iohn Page. And at Yorke soone after was drawne and headed Sir Roger Clifford, Sir Iohn Mowbray, and sir Goselyn Daniell, Barons. And at Bristow, sir Henry Womington, and sir Henry Mountford Banerettes: And at Gloucester sir Iohn Gifford, and sir William Elmenbridge knightes: And at London sir Iohn Tyers Baron: And at Wynchelsey, sir Thomas Culpeper knight, and at Windsore, sir Fraunces Waldenham Baron, and at Cauntorbury, sir Bathew Gladysmoore, and sir Bartholl de Asborneham Barons, and at Cardiffe in Wales, sir William Flemyng knight.

After that the king had thus executed and subdued his Barons, he sommoned a Parliament at Yorke about Whitsontide next folowing, in the which Parliament Edward the kinges sonne was first made Prince of Wales and Duke of Aquitaine, Sir Hugh Spencer the father was made Erle of Winchester, and sir Andrew of Harkelay, Erle of Carleyle, and in the same were disherited all suche as before tooke partes, or had holden with the Erles of Lancaster and Herfford, except sir Hugh Daniell and fewe other, the which syr Hugh was receyued to grace, because he had maryed a kinneswoman of the kinges.

A parliamẽt at Yorke.

Sir Hugh Spencer the father made Erle of Winchester.

Shortly after Maister Robert Baldock, a man of euill fame and name, was by the king made Chauncelour of England. And he helped forwarde that good store of forfeites and fines were gathered into the kinges treasury, without sparyng of priuileged places or other: so that whatsoeuer could be found, the same was seased for the king: By reason whereof, much treasure was brought vnto the kinges Coffers, besides great thinges that were brybed and spoyled by the Officers of diuers shires.

Robert Baldock an euill man made Chauncelour of England.

This yere sayth Fabian, the king gathered the sixt penny of all temporall mennes goodes within England, Ireland, & Wales which was graunted vnto him in the aforesayd Parliament for the defence of Scotland: which money was not payed without great murmure and grudge, consideryng the manifold miseries that the common people at those dayes were

1321

15

A great taxe.

The sonne appered as red as blood.

wrapped in. And this yere also (as Fabian sayth) the Sunne appered to mannes sight as red as blood, and so continued by the space of sixe houres, and it was vpon the last day of October.

About this tyme the Scottes entendyng to do a feate in Ireland, and to subdue that countrie to their obeysaunce, entered it with a strong host vnder their Capitaine, Edward le Bruze, brother to the Scottish king. But the Irishe men bare them so manfully, that they vanquished the Scottes, and chased them out of that countrie. In which chase and fight the sayd Edward le Bruze and many other noble men of Scotland were slaine.

Edward le Bruze the brother of the king of Scots slaine.

1322

16

Nowe againe the king made great prouision for to haue entred vppon Scotland, so that he was entring the lande about the beginnyng of August. But the Scottes hauyng knowledge of the greatnesse and strength of hys armie, withdrewe themselues into Mountaynes, Marisses and other suche places, as the Englishe army could not come at them: And this was done by the Scottes of purpose to werye and tyer the Englishe army. And shortly after among the hoste entered sundrie diseases and sicknesses, so that many of them dyed, and were cast away in that iourney, aswell for lack of victuall, as by other infirmities, so that the king for these causes & other, was constreyned to returne againe into England without doyng any notable act: Wherof when the Scottes were informed, sir Iohn Douglas, and other Capiteines folowed and costed the king in such wise, that they had almost taken the king at dinner, at an Abbey called Bellaunde. Then the king of pure constraint defended himselfe, and withstood the Scottes so well as he might. But after a small and weake fight, the king was compelled to flie, and by that meane to saue him selfe.

The king againe entreth Scotland but returneth home without any victory.

In the aforesayde skirmishe was taken Sir Iohn Britayne Erle of Richemonde, and the kinges treasour was there spoyled and caried awaye, and the ordynaunce belongyng to the hoste, a great parte of it, was by the Scottes caryed into Scotlande.

Then the Scottes in their returne homeward, wanne the Castell of Norham and robbed the Towne of Northallerton, and other. For this losse and harmes Sir Andrewe of Harkeley Erle of Carleysle was much blamed and charged by misleadyng of the kinges hoste.

Theues being dead was appoynted to be buryed.

This yere it was ordeyned, that when anye theefe or other trespasser should be hanged, that from thenceforth, the same should foorthwith be cut downe and buried, where before they were wont to hang still vntill they were consumed.

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The king now being informed that the great dishonour and losse before mencioned by the Scottes, happened by the vntruth and treason of the aforesayde Sir Andrewe of Harkeley Erle of Carleisle, caused a knight named Sir Anthony Lucye to arest the sayde Sir Andrewe Erle of Carleyl, and to bring him safely vnto hys presence. And the sayde Sir Anthony made suche speede herein that the second day of Marche followyng the sayde Erle was taken, & so kept in prison vntill October next followyng, at which tyme the sayde Sir Andrewe was arreigned and condemned for that he had taken money of the Scottes to betray the king his naturall Lorde. For the which treason he was at Westchester or at Shrewesbury drawen and hanged, and his head sent after to London, and set vpon the Bridge.

Sir Andrew Erle of Carlisle, hanged drawen and quartered for treason.

At this time also, the warre began to quicken in Guyan betweene the Englishmen and Frenchemen, whereof the occasion was (sayth the French Chronicle) for a Bastile or Fortresse buylded by the Lorde Mount Pesart, a Lorde of Gascoyne, vpon the Frenche kinges ground, as the Frenchemen sayde: But the Gascoynes and Englishmen iustified it to be within the territory of Guyan. For this, first began great words, and after many threates, but in the ende, mortall warre. So that the Gascoynes, with the ayde of the kings Steward of Englande slue many of the Frenchemen that came to ouerthrowe the sayde Bastile.

When Charles the French king heard of the ouerthrow of the Frenchmen, and howe the Gascoynes fortified the sayde Bastile within his sayde Seignory as he was informed, he sent with all speede his Vncle Charles de Valoys with a great hoste, who made sharpe and cruell warre agaynst the Gascoynes, and wanne from them the Towne of Angeow and Amyas with dyuers other, and at the last came vnto the Townes or Citie of Ryoll, and layed

The City of Ryoll besieged by the Frenchmen.

layed siege vnto the same: But the Englishmen with the Gascoynes issued out of the towne and gaue battaile vnto the Frenchemen, and put them to the worsse, and slue. xiiij. C. of them. Among the which a Lorde, called the Lord of Saint Florentine, with other noble men of Fraunce were slayne, and the other enforced to lye further from the Towne. Howbeit in the ende, the sayd Towne by appoyntment was yelden to the Frenchmen vpon condition, that all suche Englishmen as were within the Towne should go freely with their goodes to Burdeaux, or if they woulde remaine there still, then to be sworne vnto the French king, and to remayne there as Frenchmen. The French men discomfited.

After which Towne yeelded as aforesayde, Sir Edmond of Woodstock the kinges brother, then beyng at Burdeaux as the kinges Deputie, made suche resistaunce agaynst the sayde Charles de Valoys, that a truce was taken for that yere.

And about Mydlent next folowyng, the king hauing knowledge of this warre in Guyan, and howe the French king entended to sease all Gascoyne and Guyan, for breaking of couenauntes betweene them made, and not by king Edward performed, sent ouer the Queene his wife the French kinges sister to entreate an agreement and peace betweene them, as sayth Fabian. But Sir Iohn Froissart in his historie, sheweth the cause of her goyng to be otherwise, and wryteth as followeth. The cause of the Queenes goyng into Fraunce.

When the Queene (sayth he) perceyued the pride of the Spencers and howe they preuayled with the king, and had caused him to put to death the greatest parte of the nobles of his realme of Englande, and also that they bare towarde hir a sower countenaunce, and she fearing least they should haue put something into the kinges head, that might haue beene to the perill of her lyfe, was therefore desyrous to be out of this feare, and pitiyng also the miserable gouernement daylie practised and vsed agaynst the whole state and communaltie of the Realme in all kinde of tyrannies and cruelties, by theaforesayde Spencers. The Queene therefore purposed nowe to flye the Realme and to go into Fraunce, and therefore did feyne her selfe that shee would go on pilgrimage to Saint Thomas of Cauntorbury, from whence she tooke hir way to Winchelsey, and in the night entred into a ship which before was prepared for her, and had with her, her eldest sonne Edwarde, and the Erle of Cane, and Sir Roger Mortymer, who a little before brake out of the Tower of London, as after shall be shewed. And in another Ship they had placed their necessarie prouision and furnyture & then hauyng wind at will, they arriued shortly at the hauen of Boleyn in Fraunce, where shee was most ioyfully receyued of the Capiteyne of the Towne, and also of the Abbot there, who conueyed her and all her company into the Abbey, where they were feasted and cheered. And after the Queene had remayned there two dayes, she then daylie iourneyed so farre, that at the last shee came to Paris. But the French king her brother, hauing before knowledge of her comming, had sent to meete her dyuers of the greatest Lordes of his realme, as the Lorde, sir Robert de Artoys, the Lorde of Crucy, the Lord of Sully, the Lorde of Roy, and dyuers other, who honorably did receaue her and brought her into the Citie of Paris, vnto the king hir brother. And when the king sawe his sister, whome he had not sene long before: as she should haue entred into his Chamber he met her, and tooke her in his armes and kissed her and sayd: ye be welcome fayre sister, with my fayre Nephew your sonne and tooke them by the handes and led them foorth. The Queene who had no great ioye at her heart, but that she was so neere to the king her brother, she woulde haue kneeled downe two or three times at the feete of the king: But the king would not suffer her, but helde her still by the right hande, demaundyng right gently of her estate and businesse. And she aunswered him right sagely, and recounted to him all the yilanyes and iniuries done to her by Sir Hugh Spencer, and prayed of him his ayde and comfort. The Queene landeth at Boleyn in Fraunce. The Queene was honorably receaued in Fraunce.

When the Noble king Charles of Fraunce had heard his sisters lamentation, who with teares had expressed her heauie case, he most comfortably spake vnto her and sayd: fayre sister quiet your selfe, for by the fayth I owe to God and saint Denise, I shall right well prouyde for you some remedy. The Queene then kneeled downe whether the king would

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or not, and sayd: My right deere Lord and fayre brother, I pray God rewarde you. The king then tooke hir vp in his armes, and led hir into another chamber, the which was apparcled for hir, and for the yong Prince Edward her sonne, and so for that time departed from her, and caused all thinges that was behouefull and meete for her and her sonne to be delyuered vnto them at hys costes and charges.

The French king consulteth with his Lordes how to ayde his sister the Queene of England.

And not long after, the sayde Charles, French king, for thys cause chiefly assembled together a great number of the greatest Lordes and Barons of his realme, to haue their counsayle and good aduise, howe he might best prouyde to remedy and help the distresse of his sister the Quene of Englande. And it was thought best to them, that the Frenche king should suffer hys sister to make the best friendes she could, in Fraunce or any other where and that the king shoulde not take anye knowledge thereof: For sayde they, the king to minister an occasion of warre with Englande, and so bring hys awne realme in trouble, is neyther honorable for hymselfe nor profitable for his realme. And they concluded, ỳ the king might conueniently ayde her with Golde and Syluer, which is the Metall that purchaseth both the loue of the Gentleman and also of the souldyour. And to thys counsell and aduyce the king agreed: and caused thys determination to be shewed to the Queene priuely by Sir Robert de Artoys, who at that time was one of the greatest Lordes in all Fraunce.

The Barõs of England write to the Quene ouer into France.

Nowe the Barons of Englande that were lefte, considerynge that the Spencers had so drawne the king to doe and consent to whatsoeuer they required: and considering also how they had not onely made awaye the greatest parte of the Barony of Englande, but also kept those that remayned in such feare and awe that they could beare no rule, nor be heard with the King by reason of their authoritie. Therefore the sayde Barons which were left, assembled themselues together, and with one accord, wrote ouer into France to the Queene of England, certefying her that if she could finde the meanes to haue any company of men of armes (if it were but to ỳ number of a thousand) and to bring hir sonne and heyre with her into England: that then they would all drawe to her, and obey vnto her and her sonne Edward, and ayde them with all their power, as they were bounde to doe of duetie.

The French king geueth good wordes to the Quene his sister.

The aforesayde letters beyng secretly sent vnto her out of Englande, she shewed them vnto king Charles her brother: Who aunswered her and sayd, Good sister, if God be your ayde, your businesse shall preuail the better. Take of my men and subiectes, to the number of that your friendes haue written vnto you for, and I consent well to this voyage: I will cause to be deliuered vnto you, golde, and siluer so muche as shall suffice you: And herein the Queene had so traueyled, what with her prayer, giftes and promises, that many great Lordes and yong knightes agreed to bring her again into England. Then the Queene as secretly as she coulde, prepared for her voyage, and made her prouision: But she could not do it so secretly, but that sir Hugh Spencer had knowledge thereof. Wherefore he thought to get the good will of the French king her brother from her, by giftes: And secretly he sent messengers into Fraunce, with great plentie of golde, syluer and riche Iewels, and specially to the king, and to his preuy counsaile: The which giftes tooke such effect, that in a short space, the French king and all his preuie counsaile were as colde and as straunge to helpe the Queene forwarde in her voyage as though they had neuer talked of the matter. And the Frenche king brake that voyage, and made proclamation, commaundyng all his subiectes vpon paine of banishement, that none should be so hardie, as to go with the Quene to bring her againe into England. And besides this, the sayd sir Hugh Spencer practised more malice, and compassed and deuised with himselfe a further mischiefe, which was, howe he might bring to passe to get againe the Quene into England, to be vnder the kinges daunger and his. And to bring this about, the sayde sir Hugh caused the king to wryte vnto the Pope, effecteously desyryng him that he would sende and wryte to the Frenche king, that he should send the Queene his wyfe againe into England. For he tooke God to record that it was not through his

Giftes corrupt ỳ wise.

The practise of Sir Hugh Spencer.

faulte

faulte or occasion that she departed from him, for he entended nothing towardes her, but loue and good fayth, as belongeth vnto matrimonye. And he caused also like letters to be made to dyuerse of the Cardinalles, wherin were practised many subtile deuises, which were to long here to be rehersed. And to suche as were most nerest and about the Pope, he sent great plentie of golde and siluer: insomuch, that they so traueyled and preuayled with the Pope, that they caused him to write vnto the French king, that vpon payne of curssyng, he should send his sister Isabel into England to the king her husband. These letters were brought vnto the French king by the Byshop of Xayntes, whome the Pope had sent in that legation. And when the king had red the letters, he caused them to be shewed to the Queene his sister, whome he had not seene of a long space before, and now he cõmaunded her forthwith to aduoide his realme, or else he would cause her to aduoide with shame.

Money is of so great a vertue that it corrupteth Popes.

The French king goeth frõ his word and is in displeasure with the Queene his sister.

When this tidinges was brought to the Queene, she was at her wittes ende, and knewe not what to do, or what aduise to take, for as then, all the Barons of Fraunce had forsaken her by the commaundement of the French king, and so she was left all comfortlesse, sauyng that her dere Cosyn the Erle of Arthoys did secretly counsaile and comfort her as muche as he might, for otherwise he durst not, because the king had forbidden him: But he was fully perswaded that the Queene was wrongfully vexed and troubled. Thus was sir Robert of Arthoys at the Queenes commaundement, but he durst not speake nor be acknowen thereof. For he heard the king say and sweare, that whosoeuer spake to him for the Queene his sister, should lose his landes and be banished the realme. And he knewe secretly howe the king was in minde and will, to cause his sister to be taken, and Edward her sonne, and the Erle of Cane, and sir Roger Mortimer, and to put them al in the handes of the king, and of sir Hugh Spencer. Wherefore he came on a night and declared all this to the Queene, and aduised her of the perill that she was in. Then the Queene was greatly abashed, and besaught him with weepyng eyes to geue her his best counsaile. Then he sayd, Madame I counsayle you that you departe and go into the Empire, where as there bee manye great Lordes, who may right well ayde you, and specially the Erle Guillam of Henault, and sir Iohn of Henault his brother. These two are great Lordes and wise men, true, drad, and redoubted of their enemies. Then the Queene caused to be made redy all her prouision, and payde for euery thing as secretly as she might, and so she and her sonne, and the Erle of Cane, and all her company departed from Paris and rode towarde Henault, and so long shee roade vntill at the last she came to Cambresey. And when she knewe that she was in the Empire, then she thought her selfe in some better assurance than she was in before: And so passed through Cambresey, & entered into Ostrenaunt in Henault, and lodged at Ambreticourt in a knightes house, who was called sir Dambricourt, who receyued her right ioyously in the best maner to his power. In somuch that afterward the Quene of England and her sonne had the same knight and his wife and children with them into Englande and aduaunced them in diuerse maners.

A friend in neede, is a friend in dede.

Sir Robert de Arthoys a true & faythfull friend to the Queene.

The Queene flyeth out of Fraunce.

And in this meane tyme (sayth Polydore) Water Stapleton Bishop of Exeter, which hetherto had bene with the Queene and was of her counsaile in Fraunce, did priuely flie from her into England vnto the king, and reueled vnto him all Queene Isabels counsayles and ententes, the which his doings was the beginnyng of his mischiefe, as shall be shewed.

Sone after the commyng of the Queene of England and her sonne into Henault, the same was well knowen in the house of the good Erle of Henault, who then was at Valenciens. And sir Iohn of Henault was certified of the tyme when the Queene came to the house of sir Dambrecourt, the which sayde Iohn was brother to the sayde Erle Guyllam. And the sayd sir Iohn as one all yong and lustie and desyrous of honor, mounted on his horse backe and departed with a small companie from Valenciens, and came the same night to Ambreticourt, and did to the Queene all the honour and reuerence that he could deuise.

The cõming of the Queene into Henault.

The Queene, who was right sorowfull, declared (complaynyng most piteously) vnto him

The great friendship and gentlenesse of the good knight Sir Iohn of Henault.

him with wepyng eyes her miserable case, whereof the sayde sir Iohn had great pitie, so that the water ran out of his eyen, and sayd, fayre Lady, beholde me here your awne knight, who will not fayle to dye for you in the quarrell, I will do the best of my power to conduct you and my Lorde your sonne, and helpe to bring you into your estates in England by the grace of God, and with the helpe of your friendes in those parties. And I and such other as I can desyre, will put our liues and goodes in aduenture for your sake, and we will get men of warre sufficient (if God be pleased) without the daunger of the French king your brother.

Then the Queene would haue kneeled downe for great ioy that shee had, and to haue yelded thankes for the good will that he had offred vnto her: But this noble knight tooke her vp quickly in his armes, and sayde: By the grace of God, the noble Queene of Englande shall not kneele to me. But Madame, recomfort your selfe and all your companie, for I will keepe you faythfull promise, and ye shall go see the Erle my brother, and the Countesse his wife, and all their fayre children, who will receyue you with great ioy, for so I hearde them say they would do.

The Queene is greatly comforted by Sir Iohn Heynault.

Then the Queene sayde, sir I finde in you more loue and comfort then in all the worlde. And for this that you haue sayde and affirmed vnto me, I thanke you a thousand times: and if you will do this that you haue promised, in all curtesie and honour I and my sonne shall be to you for euer bound, and the whole realme of Englande shall consider your great curtesy and gentlenesse, and it is right that it should so be.

And after these wordes, when they were thus agreed, sir Iohn of Henault took his leaue of the Queene for that night, and went to Douaingue, and lay in the Abbey. And in the morning he tooke his horse, and came againe vnto the Queene, who receiued him with great ioy: And before he came, the Queene had dyned, and was ready to mount on her horse, and to go wyth him: And forthwith the Queene departed from the Castell of Dambrecourt, taking her leaue of the knight, and of the Lady, and thanked them for their gentle enterteynment, and sayde, that shee trusted once that she or her sonne should remember well their curtesie.

The Queene vsed no delayeng of her weightie affayres.

Thus departed the Queene in the company of Sir Iohn Heynault, Lorde Beamont: who right ioyously did conduct her to Valenciens: and to salute and welcome her, there came many of the Burgesses of the Towne, and receaued her right honorably. And so was shee brought before the Erle Guyllam of Henault, who receaued her with great ioye, and in like maner did the Countesse his wyfe, and feasted her right nobly. And at the same time the sayde Erle had foure fayre daughters, Margaret, Philip, Iane, and Isabell. Among whome the young Prince Edward set most his loue, and had to his company Philip, and also that young Lady was in all honor more conuersaunt with hym, then was any of hir sisters. Thus the Queene of England aboade at Valencians by the space of. viij. dayes wyth the good Erle, and wyth the Countesse his wyfe, whose name was Iane de Valoys.

The Queene is right honorably receyued by the Erle of Henault.

The Queene applyeth her businesse.

In the meane season, the Queene prepared and called on for the settyng forward of her businesse: and the aforesayde Sir Iohn wrote letters very effectuously vnto knightes, and suche companions as he trusted best in all Heynault, in Brabant, and in Behaigne, and prayed them of all loues and friendships that was betwene them, that they would go with him in this enterprice into Englande, and there came great numbers, what of one Countrie and other, that were content to go with him for his loue. But this sayde Sir Iohn Henault was greatly discouraged, and counsayled to the contrary both of the Erle hys brother, and of the chiefe of the counsell of the countrie, because it seemed to them that the enterprise was right highe and perilous, considering the great discorde and hatredes that then were in Englande amongst the Barons themselues. And also considering that the Englishmen most commonly haue enuye at straungers. Therefore they doubted that the sayde Sir Iohn of Heynault, and his company shoulde not returne agayne with honour. But howsoeuer they blamed or counsayled him, the gentle knight would neuer

Sir Iohn of Heynault is aduised not to take this enterprise in hand, but his corage would forward, who euer said nay.

chaunge his purpose, but sayd that he had but one death to dye, the which should be when and howe as God would, and sayde moreouer, that all knightes ought to ayde, to their powers, all Ladyes and damoselles, chased out of their awne Countries, being bothe without counsayle and comfort.

Now thys courageous and lusty knight assembled his people, and appointed at a daye, the Henaulies to be readie at Hale, the Brabanders at Bredas, and the Hollanders at Durdright. Then the Queene of Englande tooke her leaue of the Erle of Henault, and of the Countesse, and thanked them greatly for their honorable feastyng and great cheere that they had made her, and kissed them at her departure. Thus the Quene with her sonne and all the rest of her company came forward with Sir Iohn of Heynault, who with muche adoe gate leaue to depart from his brother the Erle, sayeng vnto him: my Lorde and brother, I am young, and I thinke that God hath prouyded for me this enterprise for mine aduauncement. I beleue verily that wrongfully and synfully this Lady hath bene chased out of England, and also her sonne. It is almose and glorie to God, and to the worlde to comforte and helpe them that are comfortlesse, and specially so highe and noble a Lady as thys is, who is daughter to a king, and descended of a royall king: we be of her bloud, and she is of ours. I had rather renounce and forsake all that euer I haue, & go serue God ouer the sea, and neuer to returne into this coūtrey, rather then thys good Lady should haue departed from vs without our comfort and helpe. Therefore deere brother, suffer me to go with your good will, wherein ye shall doe nobly, and I will geue you most humble thankes for the same, and my voyage shal be the more prosperous. And when the good Erle of Henault had well heard his brother, and perceaued the great desyre he had to this enterprice, and sawe well it might turne hym and hys heyres to great honour hereafter, sayde to him. My dere brother, God forbid that your good purpose should bee broken or let: therefore in the name of God I geue you leaue, and kyssed hym, streynyng hym by the hande, in token of great loue.

The Quene departeth frō the Erle of Henault yeldyng great thankes for her honourable entertainment.

Howe Sir Iohn of Henault taketh his leaue of his brother the Erle.

Thus he departed, and roade the same night to Mounce in Heynauld with the Quene of England. What should I make long processe, they made so speedie iourneys, that shortly they came to Durdright in Holland, where they made their speciall assembly. And they prouyded for shippes great and small, such as they could get, and shipped their horses and harneys and other prouision, and committed themselues into the handes and defence of almightie God, and so tooke shypping, and set forward on their passage by Sea. In thys company there were of Knightes and Lordes: First, Sir Iohn Heynault Lorde Beamond, Sir Henry Dantonig, Sir Mighell de Lyne, the Lorde of Gomegnes. Sir Perciuall de Semeries, Sir Robert de Bailleull, Sir Sampes de Bossoyt, the Lorde of Vertoigne, the Lorde of Pocelles, the Lorde Villers, the Lord of Heyn, the Lorde of Sars, the Lorde of Boysiers, the Lorde of Dambreticourt, the Lorde of Sarmuell, and Sir Oulpharte of Gustell, and dyuers other knightes and esquyers, all in great desyre to serue their mayster. And when they were all departed from the hauen of Durdright, they were for their quantitie a very fayre fleete and well ordered, and the weather was fayre, cleere and temperate, and at their departing with the first flood they came before the dignesse of Holland. And the next daye, they hoysed vp their sayles and tooke their waye in coastyng Zeland & their entents were to haue taken land at Dongport, but they could not, for a tempest toke them in the sea, that put them so farre out of their course, ỹ they wist not of two dayes where they were, wherin God wrought mercifully for them, for if they had landed where they purposed to haue lāded, they had bene all lost, for they had fallen into the handes of their enimies, who knew wel of their comming, & abode them there to haue put them al to death.

The names of the Lords and knightes that accompanied Sir Iohn of Heynault.

Sir Iohn Heynault and the Quene with their company is embarked toward England.

Gods secret & most wonderfull worke.

And it came so to passe that by the ende of two dayes, the tempest ceased, and the maryners discried lande in England, and therevnto drewe right ioyfully, & there landed on the sandes without any hauen or port, nere vnto Harwich in Suffolk, as the English chronicle sayth, the. xxiiij. day of September 1325, and so taried on the sands three daies

Quene Isabell the wife of king Edward the second and her sonne Prince Edward landed beside Harwiche.

daies with smal prouision of victual, in ỹ which time they vnshipped their horse & harneys, not knowing in what part of England they were, whether among their friends, or in the daunger of their enimies. The fourth day they set forward in ỹ aduenture, desyring God to be their guyde, and as people that had suffred cold and tempests, with hunger also and feare went weakely onward as well as they might. And thus they kept their course by hilles and dales on the one side & on the other, vntill at the last they found Villages, & a great Abbay of black Monkes, the which was called S. Hamon, where as they three dayes refreshed themselues wel. And then newes was spread abrode thorough the realme, of the landyng of the Quene and of her sonne, so that at the last it came to the knowledge of the Barons, by whom the Queene was called again into England, and they appareled themselues in all haste to come to Edwarde her sonne, whome they would haue to their souereigne Lord. And the first that came and gaue them most comfort was Henry Erle of Lācaster with ỹ wrieneck, called Tort coll, who was brother to Thomas Erle of Lācaster ỹ was beheadded, as ye haue heard before, who was a right vertuous & good knight as after ye shal here.

How the Lordes came to the ayde of the Queene.

This Erle Henry came vnto the Quene with a great company of men of warre. And after him came from one part & other, Erles, Barons, knightes, and Esquiers, with so many people that they thought themselues out of all perilles, and their power still encreased as they went.

So sone as king Edward had knowledge of the landyng of the Quene his wife, and of his sonne Prince Edwarde, and heeryng also howe the Barons and Nobles of the realme resorted vnto her with great powers from al partes: The king beyng then at London, left the sayde Citie vnder the gouernment and order of Maister Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, who was nowe high treasurer of England, and the king himselfe accompanyed with the Spencers, and a few other, taketh his way into Wales: But when he came to Bristowe, he caused that towne to be fortefyed, and committed the charge and custodie thereof vnto sir Hugh Spencer the elder, and the Erle of Aroudell: and he himselfe with sir Hugh Spencer the yonger, entered into the Castell, and fortefied the same.

The Queene heeryng of the kinges departyng from London, did forthwith send her letter to the Maior and communaltie of the sayde Citie requyring of them aide to subdue the oppressors of the cōmon wealth of the realme, and that they would see that the Citie of London & the Tower might be kept to the vse of the Prince her sonne: and sondrie other thinges were conteyned in the sayd letter, but for that the Copie that came to my hande seemed to conteyne dyuerse repugnaunces, I haue therefore omitted the rehersall thereof. After the receipt of this letter, Fabian sayth, that Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Excester, to whome the custodie and gouernement of the Citie was committed, as aforesaide, sent to the Maior of London to haue the keyes of the Gates of the Citie by vertue of his commission, which the Maior, whose name was Hamond Chickwell, denyed. But the Bishop vsed such stoute wordes in the kings name, to the Maior and Citizens, who had an euill opinion of him, for bearyng with the Spencers, whom the people hated as euill as the Deuill, and also for betrayyng of the Queene and Prince as is aforesayde, that the sayde Citizens in a rage and fury tooke the sayde Byshop the. xiiij. day of October, and him with two of his housholde seruauntes beheaded at the Standard in Chepe in London, of the which two one was his brother, as appereth by a monument in the Cathedrall Church of Excester. And the same day, sayth Fabian, was taken for a spie a Citizen called Iohn Marshal, which fauoured the Spencers partie and was beheaded in the same place. And the dead corps of the sayd Bishop and his two seruants, & of Marshall were haryed vnto the Thamys syde, where the sayd bishop had begon to buylde a tower, and there in the rubbishe or sand of the same, they buryed the foure bodyes aforesaide. And Polidore sayth that after the Citizens had thys done with the Bishop, that then they went vnto the Tower and possessed the same, and there killed and spoyled all the kinges officers, and put in new officers geuyng them charge to keepe the same for the

Queene and her sonne the Princes vse. And when these thinges were done, the Maior sente vnto the Queene and her sonne three graue personages, and certefied them of all that the Citezens had done, with promise that they would obey whatsoeuer shoulde please the Queene and her sonne to commaund them, and that the Citie was quiet and at their commaundement: The which message the Queene and her sonne accepted very thankfully, and suffered not the Messengers to depart vnrewarded.

The Quene and her Lordes beyng thus assembled, as aforesayd, counsayled and agreed among themselues to go the streight way to Bristowe, where as the king was, who had with him the Spencers. The which was a good towne and a strong, and well closed, standyng on a good port of the sea, and a strong Castell, the sea beatyng round about it. And therein was the king, and sir Hugh Spencer the elder, who was aboue ninetie yeres of age, and sir Hugh Spencer his sonne, who was the chiefe gouernour of the king, and cousayled him in all his euill dedes. Also there was the Erle of Arondell, who had maryed the daughter of sir Hugh Spencer, & diuers other knightes and Esquiers attendyng and wayting on the kinges Court.

The king & sir Hugh Spencer the yonger glad to take the Castell at Bristow.

Then the Queene and all her companie, the Lordes of Heynault Erles and Barons, and all other Englishe men, tooke the right way to the towne of Bristowe, and in euery towne where they entered, they were receyued with great feast and honour, and alwayes their people encreased, and so long they roade by their iourneyes, that at the last they came to Bristow, and besieged the towne round about as nere as they might. But the king and Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger helde them in the Castell, and the olde sir Hugh, and the Erle of Arondell abode in the towne.

The Queene besieged the citie of Bristow wherein the king was.

And when the people of the towne sawe and considered what a power the Queene had, (for the greatest part of the whole power of England came with her,) and also perceiued what peril and daunger they themselues were presently in: They tooke counsaile among themselues, and determined to yelde vp the towne to the Queene, so that their lyues and goodes might be saued. And forthwith they sent to treate with the Queene and her counsaile in this matter: But the Queene nor her Counsayle would not agree therevnto, without she might do with sir Hugh Spencer, and with the Erle of Arondell, what her pleasure was.

When the people of the towne saw they could haue no peace otherwise, neyther saue the towne, their goodes, nor their lyues, beyng in that distresse they agreed to the Queene, and opened the Gates, so that sir Iohn of Heynault, and all her Barons, knightes, and Esquires, entered into the towne, and tooke their lodgyngs within as many as might, and the rest without.

Then sir Hugh Spencer, and the Erle of Arondell were taken, and brought before the Queene, to do her pleasure with them. Then also was brought to the Queene her awne children, Iohn her sonne, & her two daughters, which had beene in the kepyng of the sayd Sir Hugh Spencer; At the sight of whome the Queene much ioyed, because she had not seene them long before. And at this tyme, it may well be coniectured, that the king and Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger, had great sorow and care, to see that they themselues were fast enclosed, and that the greatest part of the realme turned to the ayde and succour of the Queene, and to Edward her eldest sonne.

Sir Hugh Spencer the elder and the Erle of Arondell are taken and brought before the Queene.

The heauy & daungerous estate ye king Edward the second and the yong sir Hugh Spencer stood in.

Nowe when the Queene and her Barons, and all the companie that came with her, were lodged at their ease, then they besieged the Castell as nere as they might. And the Quene caused sir Hugh Spencer the elder, & the Erle of Arondell to be brought forth before her, and her sonne, & before all the Barons that were present: and sayd, that she and her sonne would take right and lawe vpon them accordyng to their desertes. Then sir Hugh Spencer said, Madame, God be to you a good iudge, and graunt vnto you good iudgement: and if we cannot haue it in this worlde, I pray God we may haue it in another. Then stood foorth a good knight called sir Thomas Wage which was Marshall of the Queenes hoste, and there openly he red and rehersed their deedes in wry-

The arreignment of Sir Hugh Spencer and of the Erle of Arondell.

tyng: and turned him vnto another auncient knight, that he should proue him guiltie, and to shewe his opinion what was to be done with those persons, and what iudgement they should haue for such offences. Then the sayd knight counsayled with others, that is to say, with the Barons and Erles, and knightes there present, and then he reported their opinions and iudgementes. The which was, that they had well deserued death for their diuerse and horrible deedes that they had committed, and to haue iudgement three maner of wayes. First to be drawne, and after to be headed, and then their bodyes to be hanged on a Gibbet. And as this iudgement was geuen, so was it executed before the Castell gate of Bristow, in the sight of the king, and of sir Hugh Spencer the yonger. 1326.

The iudgement geuen against Sir Hugh Spēcer the elder and the Erle of Arondell.

1325

19

And after thys execution, the king and the yong Spencer seyng themselues thus trapped and besieged, and beyng wythout hope of any comfort: In a mornyng betymes, they two with a small companye entred into a little Vessell behinde the Castell, thinking to haue fled into the Countrie of Wales. And they were xj. dayes in the ship, and enforced it to sayle as much as they might: But whatsoeuer they did, the winde was so contrary vnto them (for it seemed that God would so haue it) that euery daye once or twise they were brought againe within a quarter of a myle of the sayde Castell. At the last it happened Sir Henry Beamond, sonne to the Vicount Beamond in England (espyeng the sayd small Vessell so often to come before the Castell) to enter into a Barge and certaine companye with hym, and rowed after this Vessell so long, that the ship wherin the king was, could not make any great way before them, but at the last they were ouer taken, & so brought agayne to the Towne of Bristowe, and delyuered to the Queene and her sonne as prisoners.

The king and Sir Hugh Spēcer the yonger fled, but fortune fauored them not.

The king and Sir Hugh Spēcer the yonger taken.

Thus it befell of this high and hardy enterpriee of syr Thon of Henault and his company. For when they came out of their countrie and entred into their shippes at Durdright, they were but three hundred men of armes. And thus by their helpe and the Lordes of England, Queene Isabell conquered agayne all her estate and dignitie, and put vnto execution her great enemies, to the great comfort and reioysing of the greatest parte of the realme.

A great enterprise of Sir Iohn of Heynault a courageous and faithfull knight.

And when the king and Sir Hugh Spencer were brought to Bristow by the aforesayde Sir Henry Beamond. Then the king by the counsayle of all the Barons and knightes was sent vnto the strong Castell of Barkeley, and put in good and honest keeping, for there were ordeyned people of estate about him and such as knewe right well what they ought to doe: But they were streightly commaunded, that they should in no wise suffer him to passe out of the Castell. Then Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne was delyuered to Sir Thomas Wage Marshall of the hoste.

The king committed to the Castell of Barkeley.

These things done, the Quene set forward towards London, the chiefest Citie in Englande, and her grace and her sonne with all her hoste and company, tooke so their iourneyes, that at the last they came to the City of Harfford. And in all the waye, Sir Thomas Wage had caused syr Hugh Spencer to be bounde and to be set vpon a lewde Jade, and was lead after the Quene, and he had put vpon him a Tabarte, such as Traytors & theeues were wont to weare, & thus he passed thorough the townes with Trumpes & Pipes of Reedes blowen before him, to do him the more scorne & despight.

Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger lead about for wondermēt lyke a beast.

And when the Quene was come to Herfford the Citizens receaued her very honorably with great solempnitie. And there she and all her company remayned & kept the feast of all Saintes very royally, and the more bountifully and honorably it was done, because of her sonne and the strangers that were present.

Nowe when this feast was done: then Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne who was nothing beloued, was brought foorth before the Queene and all the Lordes and knightes. And before him in wryting was rehersed all hys deedes, vnto the which he would make no maner of aunswere. And so was he then iudged by playne sentence. First, to be drawen on a hardell wyth Trompes and Trumpettes throughout all the Citie of Herfford, and after to be brought into the market place, where as all the people were assembled, and there

The arreigament & iudgement of Sir Hugh Spēcer yᵉ onger.

there to be tyed vpon
a great fyre to be made,
brent in the fyre before
into the fyre because he
that by his Trayterous co
the people thereof to a g
Lordes of his realme, by
ed. And he had so enduce
Edward hi eldest sonne, a
their lyues. And then his
to his iudgement he was execu

After this execution the Que
the Citizens both she and her s
after the straungers had bene the
and all his company, had great d
they thought they had well done t
tooke their leaue of the Quene an
the Lordes entreated them earnestly
shoulde be done with the king befo
home, that they would not be entreat
her counsayle sawe that, then yet she
past Christmas, and to reteigne with h
he lyke a gentle knight would not leaue t
Quene to tarrie as long as it should pleas
as he could entreat, which was but a fe
which he was displeased.

When the Quene and her counsayle saw
lenger: Then she made vnto them great cher
geuen vnto them plentie of Golde and Syluer
ed euerye of them wyth riche and goodly Iewe
so as they all helde themselues right well please
had money for their horsses, such as they would
without any grudging.

And thus Sir Iohn of Henault abode still in
was so beloued, chered, and feasted of the Englis
maner that they could imagyne) and recreated him
that the time seemed the lesse vnto him. And in
Ladies and Damosels: for at that tyme there was with
tesses, which came specially to accompany the Quene.

Nowe after that the most part of the companie of He
of Henault Lorde of Beamond taryed: The Queene disch
leaue to returne home euery man to his Countrie and plac
which she still kept about her and her sonne as their co
knightes and gentlemen she commaunded to returne againe a
she promised to keepe open houshold, and so she did. And
patche of these people, the Queene with her sonne, by the adu
moned her high Court of Parliament at Westminster which bega
And in this assembly it was declared that this realm could not
and gouernour: And therefore first they agreed to drawe into artic
of the king that was in prison, and all his euill doynges, which he
naughtie counsaile: And when the sayd articles were read and ma
Lordes, Nobles, and Commons of the realme, then they consulted h

ration of the aforesaid
h a man was not wor-
all agreed that Edward
should be crowned king
rue, and good counsaile,
, then before it had bene.
well and honestly kept as

was then further ordred &
should be sent vnto the king
determination of the three es-
lso to resigne vnto him in the
tyme they had done vnto him.
s, three Erles, two Abbots, two
ient, whose name was sir William
he kinges presence at Kenelworth
xv. day of Ianuary by the auctho-
es, vsed vnto the king these wordes

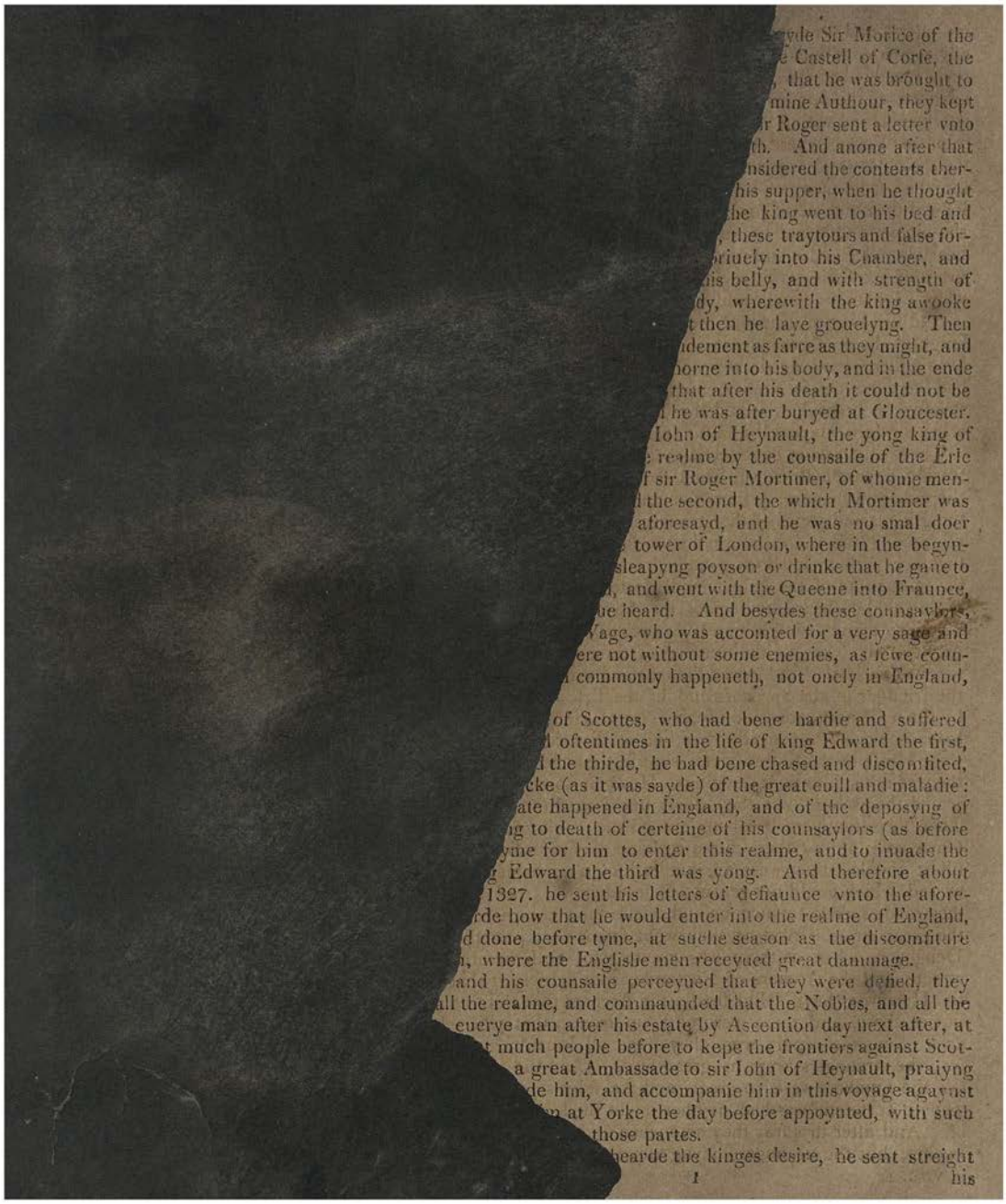
land of England, and speaker of the
t sometime was made vnto thee, and
r, and I shall neuer be attendant vnto

d with the Queene all the Christmasse,
d reigned king of this realme fully. xviij.
icence of the Queene, and would needes
to tary any lenger: Wherefore the Queene
e vnto him foure hundreth markes sterlyng,
ee, to be payde euery yere in the towne of
y was then valued, which was at. xx. pence the
ue shillynges the ounce, was after that rate of
ound yerely. And likewise the Queene reward-
er and Counsaylour, with one hundreth markes
sayde place. And also she deliuered vnto them
r costes and charges, when they were ouer the sea,
nes, and costly Iewelles, that she rewarded all the
im. And when this noble knight was readie to de-
onducted wyth many noble knightes and Gentlemen to
d all his passage free. And to the Ladyes that were
ne, and namely to the Countesse of Garennes, who was
to dyuerse other Ladyes and Damosells, there were geuen
t their departure.

e this history of king Edward the seconde, ye haue heard
mayned in the Castell of Kenelworth vnder the custody and
f Lancaster, which was brother vnto Erle Thomas of Lan-
t Pomfret. And Robert Baldocke, who was the kinges Chaun-
y euill name and fame, was committed to the prison of Newe-
hortly after he dyed miserably. And the Erle Iohn of Arondell
orde within foure dayes after sir Hugh Spencer the sonne.

E

AFter the deposicion of k
ward hys sonne, begotte
ỹ French king, was proclaymed
(hys father yet lyuyng) the xxvj
vpon Candlemas daye then next
In his begynnyng, sayth Fabia
teous, the ayre temperate, and th
And first he confirmed the liberti
that the Maior for the tyme beyng s
of the same for chiefe Iustice, the ki
that had bene Maior, should be Iusti
man that had not bene Maior, should
also be graunted to the Citezens, the
the yere, & that they should not be cōs
land for any neede. Also that after ỹ
seased into the kings hands, but onely
And at that time also Southwarke was ad
the Citie, and the Maiour of London to be
vnder hym suche a Bailife of that Borough a
to this day.
About the Moneth of Aprill, many great an
of king Edward that was in prison. But amon
called the Black Fryers, laboured most earnestly
by night and day which way to get him out of p
Fryers had priuely procured & brought, there was
haue bene the Chiefe Capitaine and worker of thei
taken, and then put into the Castell of Pomfret, and
Shortly after, syr Henry Erle of Lancaster that had
did by the commaundement of the king deliuer the say
rice of Barkeley. And then Sir Iohn Matreuers an
the Castell of Barkeley, and kept him there safely. A
there imprisoned, he would say vnto his keepers. W
wife or Edward my sonne which nowe is made king, that
me? And then his keepers aunswered, my worthy Lorde
truth: the cause is, for that they are certefied, in thys wise
came any thing nere you, that ye would strangle and kyll h
lykewise to the king your sonne. Then aunswered he with h
not I here in prison, & at your awne will? and God I take to
But I would to God I were deade, for then were I past all my
And shortly after, the king thorough the Counsell of Sir Ro
Caxton in his Chronicle (which he calleth the Frute of Tyme) gr
garde of Sir Edward his father vnto Sir Thomas Toiourley, and to



his letters, and his me
any company of men
such speede that he
knightes, to the number
ouerpasse, and within th
came to Yorke, where th
their Nobles, and a great
king had sente many of his
lodged them fiue or sixe mi
the king and Queene, he an
heartely welcõmed. And such
urbes of the Citie of Yorke,
white Monkes, where he and hi

And the king of England the
knightes, helde a great feast on
his mother were lodged, kepyng
had there besyde his Nobles, fiue
straungers, and lykewise had the
chere sir Iohn Heynault and the str

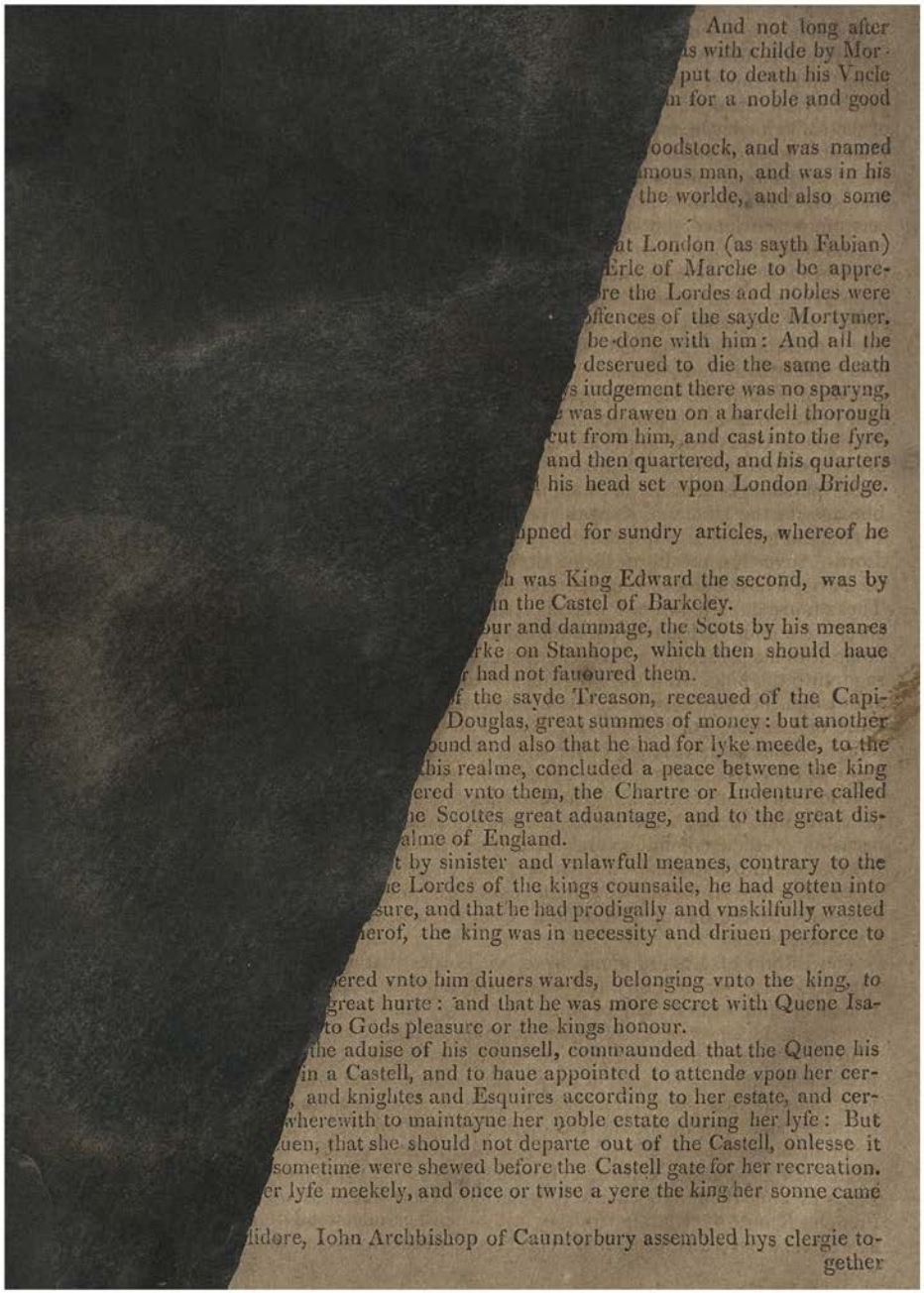
There might haue bene seene muc
freshly apparelled ready to haue da
the vnhappy chaunce, ỳ incontinent a
the gromes and pages of the straũgers,
ed among them in the sayd suburbe
together with their Bowes, and droue
the most parte of the knights and Master
assone as they heard tydings of the fray,
haste, so many as might enter, & such as c
Archers who were to the number of three t
ters nor varlets. And it was thought and sup
the friendes of the Spencers and of the Erle o
by the ayde and counsayle of Sir Iohn of Hena
to be somewhat reuenged by setting of discord
were Hosts to these straungers, shut fast their do
them to enter into their lodgings: Howbeit some
armed themselues, but they durst not issue out
Then the straungers breakyng out on the backsyd
Gardyns and drew them into a certaine playne place
till at the last they were an hundreth men of armes
nessed, which could not get into their lodgings. And w
they made speede to succour and releue their companio
the great strete. And as they went forth, they passed
Denghyen, when as there was greate gates both before
streete, and the Archers of Englande, shot fiercely at that
the Henawdes part. But finally the Archers that were at th
put to chase, and there were of them dead in that place abo
dred, & as the report was, they were all Lincolnshiremen.
fray the straungers were in great feare. And the king was
but the numbers were so great, and the tales so dyuerse of the
that no certaintie was had, neyther might the king as then go abo
of. And after thys fray they soiourned and remayned in the sam
weekes, but the straungers beyng afeard of the Englishmen, did

at the ende of three
, that the next weeke
d Pauilions to lye in
tent to draw into Scot-
oste heard of the fyres
owne to the kings armie
nde: But the king with all
from towne to towne, and
day to day, and weeke to
himselfe most sure of them
e gone where the king could
s were ouer such mountaynes
e lost both manye of his people
hich was deuided into three bat-
xiiij. thousande Archers, beside
mes, returned home agayne with
ut surely it was a very chargeable
ouision of all the Englishmen and
and the straungers that came with
entlye to pay them, and Sir Iohn of
erof, which, as Froissart sayth, was
g to his awne askyng. But the euil
Mortymer who afterwarde was charged

and, and breakyng vp of the sayd warre,
leaue of the king and Queene, and de-
trie.

his mother, the Erle of kent his Vncle, the
who then bare the chiefe rule of this realme
nd with the aduice and consent of the kinges
s Banerettes, with two notable Clerkes, to Sir
leaue that theyr Lorde the yong king of England
hter of the Erle of Henault his brother, named
of the Realme desyred rather to haue her then
hey bare vnto the said Sir Iohn of Henault. And
r Iohn of Henault (who right gently and honour-
had shewed their message and ambassade vnto him.
em and made vnto them great cheere) brought them
r, who also right honourably receyued them, and made
ostly cheere, which were to long here to reherse. But
wed the content of the message or ambassade vnto the
anke greatly and most hartely the king your Prince, and
the Lordes of England, for that they haue sent such suffi-
me suche honour as to treate for the mariage, to the which
if our holy father the Pope will consent thereunto. With
nbassadors were right well content, and forthwith they sent
es to the Pope to Auignion to purchase a dispensation for this
ence they might not mary, because they were of Kinne in the
o mothers were cosyn Germaynes, and issued of two brethren.
nce was graunted, and the Messengers returned and brought the
nto Valenciens, and then was this mariage concluded on both
ge was foorthwith made, and solempnized by procuration from the

king of England.
Queene came onwa
with all her companie
the Citie of London, w
sart. But Fabian sayt
Nowe when all thinge
then sir Iohn of Henault
Queene, and also of the
and so departed towardes h
diuers and sundrye Lordes.
Soone after his departure
Parliament at Northhampto
counsaile of syr Roger Mort
was) the king made with the Sc
three yeres. For first, he relea
vnto them theyr olde and auncie
and of diuerse Lordes of the lan
and Patentes, namely one called
selfe and them to be Feodaries to t
delyuered certeine Iewelles, which h
of England, and among other, the
not onely the king by thys doyng lost
land, so farre as he could passe from
men of Englande that had any landes
maner, except they would dwell vpon
liege men. And shortly after was conc
of Robert le Bruze, and Iane the kinges
of Towres.
Shortly after, there was another Parlian
at the which Parliament sir Roger Mortimer
and will of all the Barons, and sir Iohn of
of Cornewall: To the which Parliament, H
Wherefore the king was brought in beliefe, that
purposed the destruction of his person. For t
Roger Mortimer, caused to be assembled a gre
where Erle Henry lay with his company. Then t
made a peace betweene the king and the Erle of H
ry Lord Beamond, sir Fouke Fyzwayn, sir Thom
Thomas Wyther, and about an hundreth knightes, wi
lande, by the counsaile of Queene Isabell, and the E
timer was couetous, and thought to haue obteyned all
This yere Robert le Bruze the false king of Scottes
hinde him his sonne Dauid of the age of. viij. yeres, who
ly for their king.
Also about this tyme (as sayth Fabian) sir Edmond of W
posyng that his brother king Edward the second had beene a
and mindyng a reformation of the misorder of the realme, wr
conteynyng deuyses for his deliuery, and sent them vnto him:
shortly after accused, by the procurement of sir Roger Mor
lice. And by aucthoritie of parliament holden at Winchester,
yng, he for that deede was adiudged to haue his heade smitten
done in the sayd Citie of Winchester the. xxv. day of May folow



And not long after
s with childe by Mor-
put to death his Vncle
n for a noble and good

oodstock, and was named
mous man, and was in his
the worlde, and also some

at London (as sayth Fabian)
Erle of Marche to be appre-
re the Lordes and nobles were
ffences of the sayde Mortymer.
be done with him: And all the
deserued to die the same death
s iudgement there was no sparyng,
was drawen on a hardell thorough
cut from him, and cast into the fyre,
and then quartered, and his quarters
his head set vpon London Bridge.

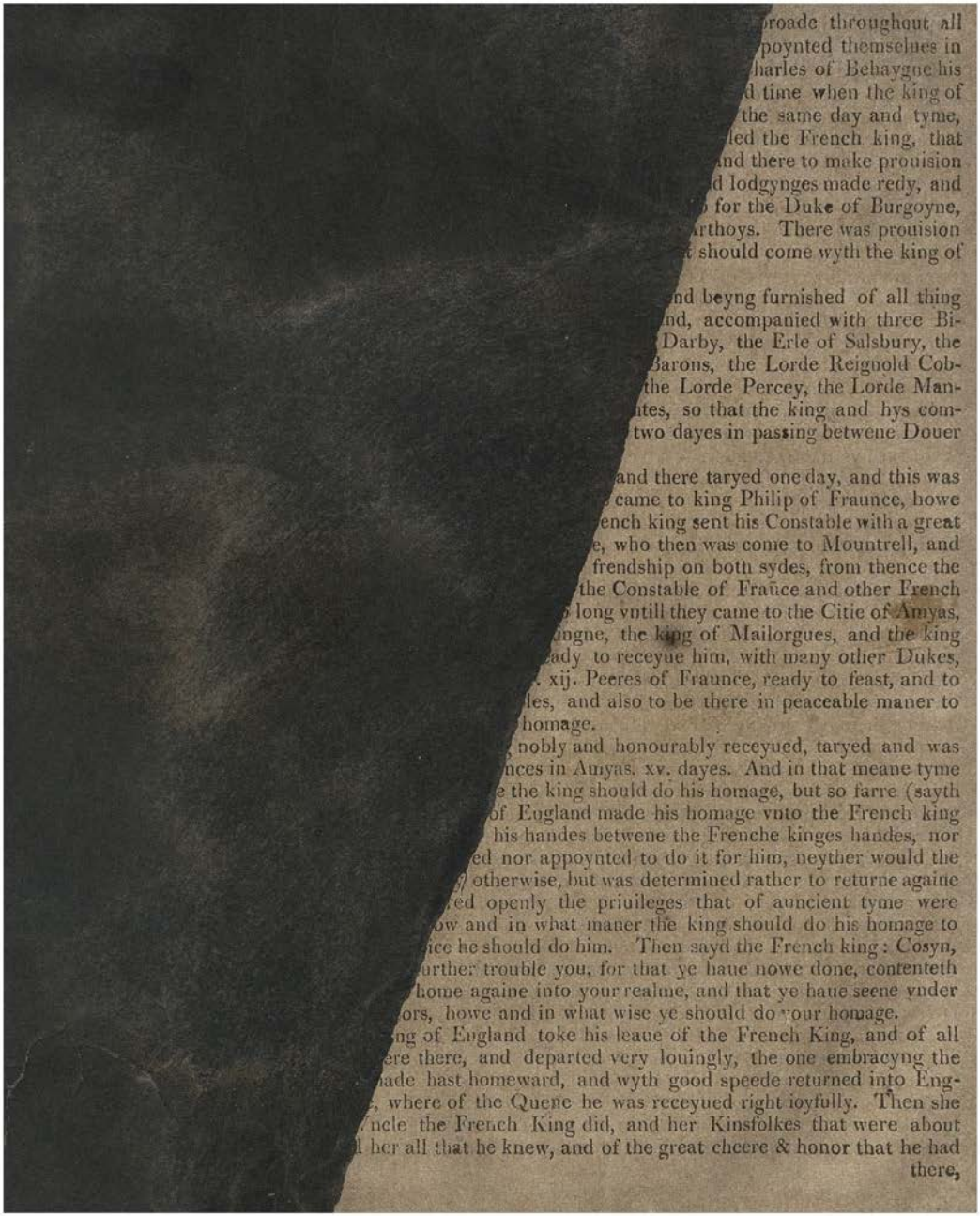
pned for sundry articles, whereof he

h was King Edward the second, was by
n the Castel of Barkeley.
our and dammage, the Scots by his meanes
rke on Stanhope, which then should haue
had not fauoured them.
f the sayde Treason, receaued of the Capi-
Douglas, great summes of money: but another
ound and also that he had for lyke meede, to the
his realme, concluded a peace betwene the king
ered vnto them, the Chartre or Indenture called
e Scottes great aduantage, and to the great dis-
alme of England.
t by sinister and vnlawfull meanes, contrary to the
e Lordes of the kings counsaile, he had gotten into
sure, and that he had prodigally and vnskilfully wasted
erof, the king was in necessity and driuen perforce to

ered vnto him diuers wards, belonging vnto the king, to
great hurte: and that he was more secret with Quene Isa-
to Gods pleasure or the kings honour.
the aduise of his counsell, commaunded that the Quene his
in a Castell, and to haue appointed to attende vpon her cer-
, and knightes and Esquires according to her estate, and cer-
wherewith to maintayne her noble estate during her lyfe: But
uen, that she should not departe out of the Castell, onlesse it
sometime were shewed before the Castell gate for her recreation.
er lyfe meekely, and once or twise a yere the king her sonne came

lidore, Iohn Archbishop of Cauntorbury assembled hys clergie to-
gether

gether at a Synode ho
good things restored i
of the saide Synode, ex
guiltie of the death of
of the same, or layde an
what straunge to mee, for
the Citezens as an enimie to
that king Edwarde the third
cers afore mencioned, but I
And Polidore sayth morcou
ture did foresee that he could
of his lyfe, and therefore (wher
should endure many hundreds o
ledge, and the other is called H
with right worthy and good main
Now after that the king had cau
hym newe counsaylours of the no
the ende of thys yere Philip Valoys,
of hys realme came to him to doe
noble personages that helde of him,
homage for the Duchy of Guyan, n
French king by the aduise of his cou
Lorde Auycenes, the Lorde Beausalt,
of Paris, whose names were, Mayster H
These foure departed from Paris, and can
sore. The king of Englande for the hono
come into his presence, and receaued then
sage vnto the king. And the king aunswered
about him, neyther was his counsell then pr
Citie of London, and there to stay awhile, and
tation. And so they dyned in the kinges Chan
night at Colbroke, and the next day at London.
And shortly after, the king came to his palace
his counsaile: And thether came the French Am
occasion of their comming, and deliuered their l
went aside into the counsell Chamber, and counsa
agreed that the Ambassadors should be aunswered b
decessors, by the Bishop of London. Then were the
Chamber.
The Bishop of London then sayde, ye Lordes that a
Fraunce. The kings grace my souereigne Lorde hath
tenour of your letters. And for aunswere, we say vnto you,
souereigne Lorde here present, that he go into Fraunce to s
who right louingly hath sent for him. And as touching his
his deuoyre in euery thing that of right he ought to doe. An
your master, that win short space that the king of Englan
Fraunce, and there to doe all that reason shall require.
Then these Messengers, after they had beene feasted, and t
them with great giftes, and riche Iewelles, they tooke theyr leau
Parys to king Philip, to whome they declared their aunswere an
Frenche King was right glad and ioyfull, when he vnderstood of
he was very desyrous to see him, because he neuer sawe him, and



there, and sayde that
of Fraunce.

It was not long after,
Englande, who were ce
shop of Beauuoys, the
Hercourt, and the Erle o
aforesayd, were sent to the
and kept at London, about

Now when the King of E
predecessors in doyng their h
many in England that murmu
cession vnto the crowne of Fr
yet the King nor hys counsaile
but the counsaile and assembly
were so long in the matter, that th
vntill May folowyng, before they
the aduice of his counsayle, vpon
great credite, did determine to writ
seale, knowledgyng therein the homa
Froissard ye may read more at large.

The King of Englande was now
maried his sister, was seased of the to
the realme of Englande, for king Edw
able possession. Also the King was en
in chiefe of the Crowne of England: an
done his homage. Wherefore the King
Scottes, desyryng him to make deliuerance
his heritage. And also that they should sc
the King of Englande, and to do his homag

Then the King of Scottes tooke counsaile
last, he aunswered the Ambassadors and say
realme meruayle greatly of that ye haue require
corde that the realme of Scotlande should be sub
by homage, nor other wayes: neyther did the n
the Kinges of England, for any warre that was ma
more doe I purpose to do. And as for the towne c
force of armes against king Edward your Kinges fat
of his life, as his good heritage, and we purpose to th
Notwithstandyng, we require you Lordes to be meane
sister we haue maryed, that he will suffer vs peaceably
as his auncetours haue done here before.

Then the Ambassadors aunswered and sayde, sir we h
swere, and we will declare it vnto the King our Lorde. A
turned into England to the King, and declared their aun
was nothing contented.

Then the king sommoned a Parliament to be holden at We
bles and wise men of this realme were assembled, to determ
done in this matter. And they concluded, that it was not for
those iniuries and wronges that the Scottes did daylie vnto him,
prouyde his force and strength of men of warre, to attayne thereby
and to enter into the realme of Scotland with such force, that he sh

es and commons of
him in that iourney.
o be in a redynesse, &
euery man went home

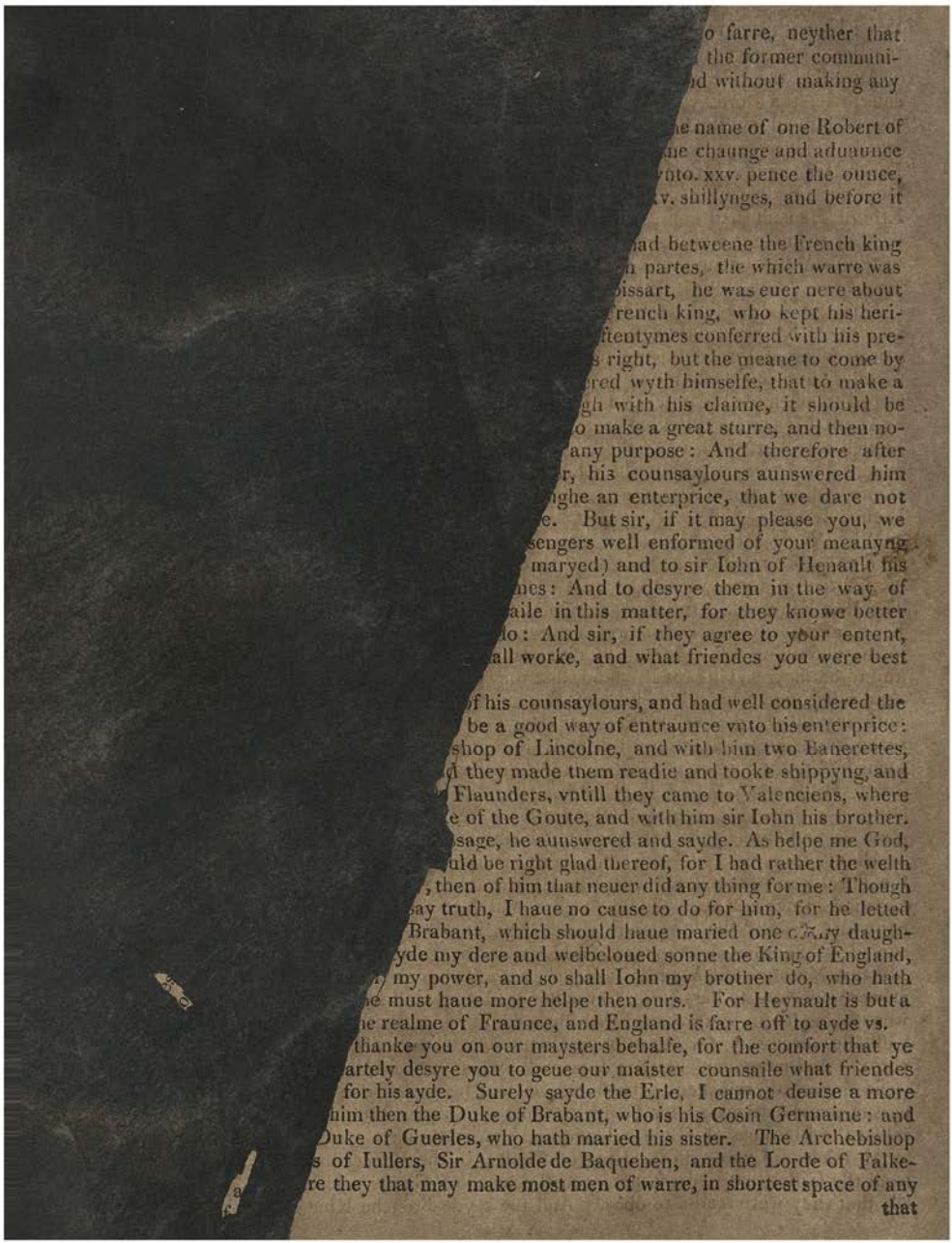
sufficiently to sommon
ng gaue them full auctho-

e on, at the which day the
d there taried three dayes
day he departed with all hys
the Lorde Percy, and of the
Lorde Rosse, and the Lorde

or the king of Scots made none
oned him, & then openly defyed
, but went forward into Scotlande
ourney he wasted & destroyed all
d many townes and villages & toke
garison. And then he passed ouer
ountrey there about to Scone, and
Dombritayne, and many other, for
nglishmen, for they were fled into the
y cared not much for that they left be-
were thus driuen, for the king of Scottes
y was but yong, and the Nephewe of Wyl-
lso of the same age. So as at that time
itaines.
he playne Countrie of Scotlande, and had
sawe that none would appere against him:
e Castels that he had wonne, thinking by them
rwarde he withdrew hymselfe fayre and easily
s siege round about, and sayde he woulde neuer
But after manye assaultes and sharpe skirmishes
e Towne defended the same manfully, yet at the
condicionally that they might haue their lyues and
rs might departe into their Countrie without any
into the Towne with great solempnitie, and taryed
here syr Edward Bailleol, whom also he made king of
ment of the whole realme vnto him.
all thinges in good order, he returned to London, where
d saluted of all hys people. And thus at thys tyme the
Scotlande, as sayth Froyssart.
king prepared the aforesayde voyage and army into Scot-
e Arthoys, who was one of the noblest men in Fraunce,
e him and the French king, to flie out of Fraunce and came
guysed in a Marchaunts apparell. This Sir Robert was he,
ard, that in the great distresse of the Quene and her sonne,
rother the French king, she found him an especiall friend and
as his counsell that she passed into Henault, where shee was re-
elpe of the gentle knight Sir Iohn of Henault was restored to

the

the quiet state and p
sayde Sir Robert, th
counsell and to him as
tence passed agaynst h
Ione Countesse of Arto
sore displeased, that he
king and by me he shal
the kinges vnderstandyng,
vnto the Crowne of Fraun
Duryng the time of the af
the aforesayde Sir Robert, w
often tymes in hande with the
beggerly) to leaue his warres i
ritaunce of the crowne of Frau
rightly did belong and apperteign
The king this yere in Wynter,
laude, and kept his Christmas at
where he layde siege to the Cast
and then he set the countrie in so
vpon Tyne, and taried there a certai
royaltie. And within short space af
and the. xix. day of Iune made his h
land, in the presence of many of the
fealty and fidelity. And that being do
went vnto Yorke and so to Wynsor. T
tyme in King Edward the secondes dayes
land, restored agayne to their possessions,
of Scots, sauyng theyr allegeaunce vnto th
Now shortly after, certaine Ambassadours
shop of Thuroyne and the Lorde of Ferrey, a
of variaunce, betwene their Lorde and the king
effect, sauyng that the king graunted to send v
of hys Lords to haue further communication wi
And this yere the king kept his Christmas in th
which Castell he caused to be newly repayred. A
der as before he purposed: Then he returned ag
sent the Archbyshop of Cauntorbury, Sir Philip d
into ỹ realme of Fraunce, to the entent to haue co
French king, which before in the last yere was moued
when these sayde Lordes were landed in Fraunce, the
could come to the kinges presence, in somuch that they
of Fraunce as were by the French king assigned to passe t
posed that it was not the kings pleasure to speake with the
By meane of which wordes, they were shortly after brou
of whome they were receyued with ioyous countenaunce,
tyme in furtheryng of their Ambassade, so that at the last
twene England and Fraunce was agreed vpon, so farre foort
bene published the next day in Parys by proclamation. But
minde altered, the Englishe Ambassadors were scantly returne
they were sent for againe, and further informed, that the Fre
minde was, to haue Dauid late king of Scottes to be included wi
that he should againe be restored vnto his Kingdome. Wherevn



o farre, neyther that
the former communi-
d without making any

e name of one Robert of
ne chaunge and aduaunce
nto. xxv. pence the ounce,
v. shillynges, and before it

ad betweene the French king
n partes, the which warre was
issart, he was euer nere about
rench king, who kept his heri-
ftentymes conferred with his pre-
s right, but the meane to come by
red wyth himselfe, that to make a
gh with his claime, it should be
o make a great sturre, and then no-
any purpose: And therefore after
r, his counsaylours aunswered him
ghe an enterprice, that we dare not
e. But sir, if it may please you, we
sengers well enformed of your meanyng
maryed) and to sir Iohn of Henault his
nes: And to desyre them in the way of
aile in this matter, for they knowe better
lo: And sir, if they agree to your entent,
all worke, and what friendes you were best

f his counsaylours, and had well considered the
be a good way of entraunce vnto his enterprice:
shop of Lincolne, and with him two Banerettes,
d they made them readie and tooke shippyng, and
Flaunders, vntill they came to Valenciens, where
e of the Goute, and with him sir Iohn his brother.
sage, he aunswered and sayde. As helpe me God,
uld be right glad thereof, for I had rather the welth
, then of him that neuer did any thing for me: Though
ay truth, I haue no cause to do for him, for he letted
Brabant, which should haue maried one of my daugh-
yde my dere and welbeloued sonne the King of England,
my power, and so shall Iohn my brother do, who hath
e must haue more helpe then ours. For Heynault is but a
e realme of Fraunce, and England is farre off to ayde vs.
thanke you on our maysters behalfe, for the comfort that ye
artely desyre you to geue our maister counsaile what friendes
for his ayde. Surely sayde the Erle, I cannot deuise a more
him then the Duke of Brabant, who is his Cosin Germaine: and
Duke of Guerles, who hath maried his sister. The Archebishop
s of Iullers, Sir Arnolde de Baquehen, and the Lorde of Falke-
re they that may make most men of warre, in shortest space of any

that

that I know: they are
that they haue wages t

After that the Erle h
enterprise, the aforesayd
shewed him all that the E
greatly reioyce, and took
Banerettes, and. xl. other
them went the bishop of L
Erle of Henault had name
eche of them kept a great es
of England had beene there
prayse.

Now while these thinges were
a crewe of Souldiours into Scotl
reason whereof the Scottes made
frendes, and put the lande to gre
forced to assemble his power, and

About Mydsomer the king entr
French men, at which tyme the king
dyuers prisoners. Among the whic
chiefe, which afterwarde was delyue
French Lord.

When King Edward had now againe
such as before rebelled, he then stablished
of Scottes, and committed the rule of th
Then the King of Scottes and the nobles
King, and partly in recompence of the grea
in the defending and orderyng of that realm
and to his heyres, kings of England, that they
And whensoeuer he or any king of Englande
with any other prince: The Scots of their pro
three hundreth horsemen well armed, and a th
furnished for the warre, the which. xiij. hundred
yere. And if the king of Englande ended not hi
and wage the sayde Scottes as he did his other s
grauntes and agreements were made, the king retu

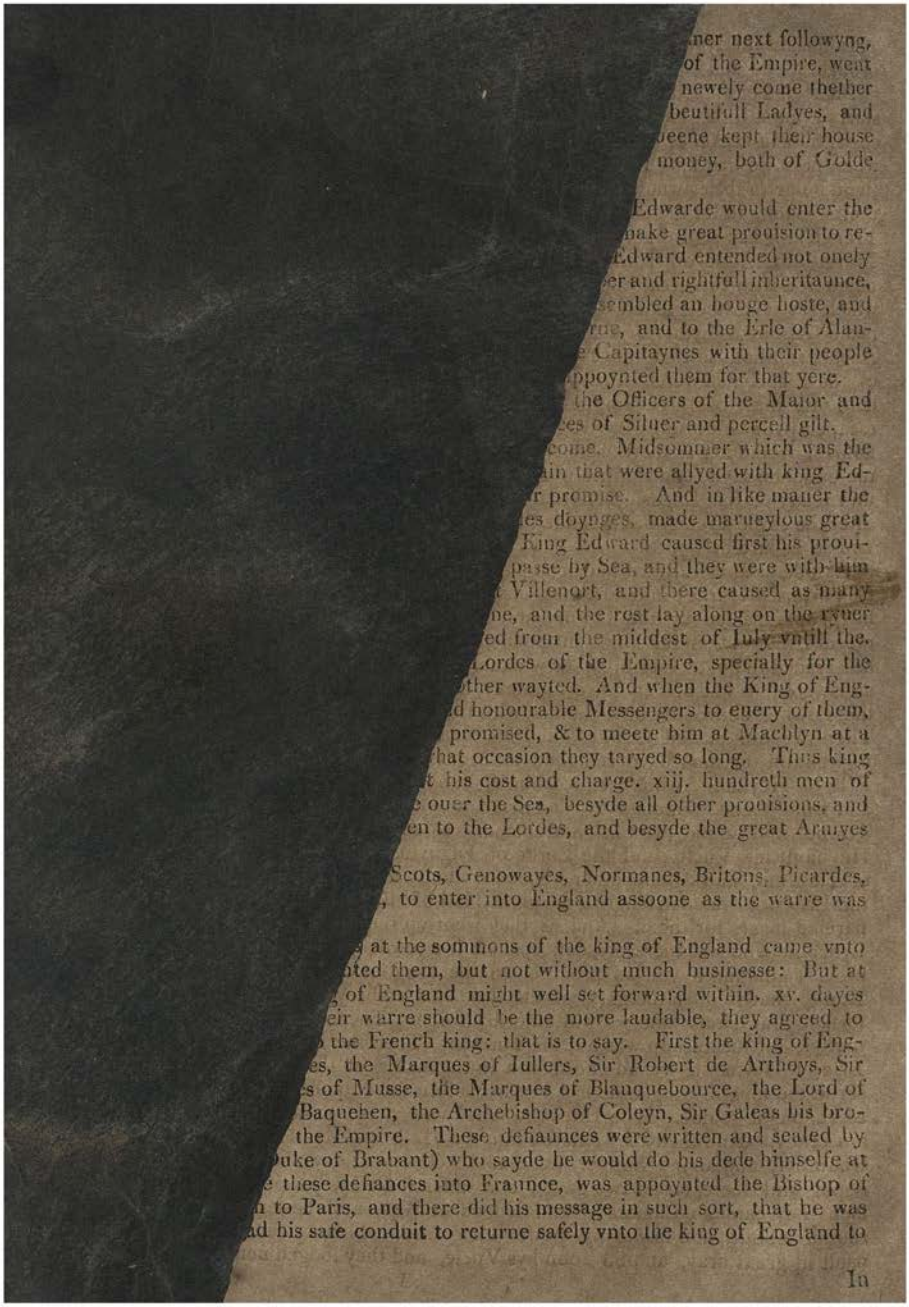
About thys tyme the French king, hauing purposed
the Turck, and for the furniture of that iourney ha
christian prince had done the lyke before, and vnto the
pany and ayde of the king of Englande, who, as afore
cupied: and hauing also prepared for his sayde voyage a
Mortuis, Narbone and Mountpillier suche a number of Ve
as were sufficient to passe ouer three hundred thousand
were most plentifully furnished with Bisket, Wyne, freshe
victualles necessary for the aforesayde number of men of
yeres. And moreouer, hauyng obtayned by his Ambassado
(who not a little reioyced at that message) that he would be in
passages and streytes of his Countrey, that the kynges souldy
called the Pilgrimes of God) might quietly passe through. At
to the King of Cypres, to the King of Cicilie, to the Venecians
to all the Cities that were situate vpon the ryuer of Geane, and h
all, that they were readie to obey. And the sayde Frenche King

and also to the Vene-
y, for the receyuing of
a readynesse.
of Englands entent and
ng Edwardes Ambassa-
all their counsailes and
ed and all the former tra-
to here of them, but bent
who purposed the inuasion
r to the same, as after more

ent into Henault as aforesayd,
will and fauour of all, or the
lt thought meete to be labored
bring the same to a full conclu-
aundyrs and there allyed himselfe
hen came to Andwarp in Brabant,
ld, and thether came vnto him peo-
estate that he kept. And daryng the
Duke of Brabant, and the Duke of
f Henault, and all suche as he trusted
betwene Whitsontyde and Mydsomer.
ed to knowe their good willes towardes
for saide I.e, I am vpon the promise of
ly remaine here at great expences, but
passeth away, therefore I pray you to let
swered, that they were at that time come
y thing: but they would returne home and
ithin three weekes next followyng to make
attend vpon his enterprise. And about the
were vnto ỹ King that they and all their men
esse, so that the Duke of Brabant woulde be
enforced once againe to talke with the Duke of
de promise to the French king, that though the
y, whome he might not denie, because he was his
wise conclude any amitie or friendship with him
uch ado at the last agreed to ayde the king of Eng-
ght once again speake with the aforesayd Lordes:
comunication they agreed and made vnto the King of
sayde they) assembled and conferred together, and we
that we maye defye the French King: But if your grace
will of the Emperour, who may commaunde vs, then we
ur can no lesse do, consydering how that many yeres past,
and sealed, that it should not be lawfull for the French King
anes to apprehend or take into his possession any thing apper-
it is euidently sene and knowne that Philip now French king
reuecure in Cambresey, and the Castell of Alues in Pallieull, &
and therfore the Emperour hath good cause to defie hym, and
The king then consydering with himselfe how farre he had
ow his purpose would come to none effect, onelesse he folow-
d deuyses of the sayde Lordes, did therefore with all speede send
the Emperour, with whome the sayde Lordes, for that they did

beare

beare vnto the king r
the which might more
land, if it might pleas
was done therein, and
Lewes of Bauyer beyng
mission vnto foure right h
preuie counsayle, to auct
throughout all the Empire,
Seales sufficiently auchoris
In this meane while, king
continually with Scotland: Bu
ble charges that must folowe
uers and sundrie meanes great
ney in this realme of England (
nesse and price, that at London a
for. vj. shillynges and. viij. pence,
Goose for twopence, a fat Pigge f
And in this. xij. yere of his reig
wherein great summes of money
warres. And so soone as the sam
realme of Englande in good order,
last stayed at Louayne Castell in Bra
perour, and also expected the commy
in the Castell aforesayde, kept there an
land for the Queene, for that he purpos
some notable acte in Fraunce.
And in the aforesayd Parliament there
rell, and good cause there was that it shou
not so much in costly and chargeable appa
sayth Caxton in his Chronicle, called the fru
much folowed and counterfeated the madness
the first commyng in of the Henaultes, they d
and wide, and at another tyme, cutted, short
vnhonest. And the apparel of the women w
clothes were made so streyt to their bodyes, that
their clothes, for to set forth and hyde their butto
deryded, and made foolishe rimes and ieastes of th
In the moneth of Nouember next folowyng, th
bant, and then to all the other Lordes that were a
them where their place of meting and Parliament sho
Duke of Brabant aunswered, it was best to kepe it at
then the King sent thether, and caused the great hall o
appoynted in as rich maner as if it had bene the Kinges
sate crowned with a crowne of Golde, fiue foote higher
read openly the letters of the Emperour, by the which the
& Lieutenant for the Emperour, and had power geuen
nister iustice to euery person in the Emperours name, and
Siluer. And it was further ordered and commaunded by the
of his Empire, and all other his subiectes should obey to the
as to himselfe, and to do him homage. And forthwith there
made betweene parties as before the Emperour, and order an
when all these thinges were done, the Lordes tooke a day that



ner next followyng,
of the Empire, went
newely come thether
beutifull Ladyes, and
beene kept their house
money, both of Golde

Edwarde would enter the
make great prouision to re-
Edward entended not onely
er and rightfull inheritaunce,
embled an houge hoste, and
me, and to the Erle of Alan-
Capitaynes with their people
ppoynted them for that yere.
the Officers of the Maior and
es of Siluer and percell gilt.
come. Midsommer which was the
in that were allyed with king Ed-
r promise. And in like maner the
es doynges, made marueylous great
King Edward caused first his proui-
passe by Sea, and they were with him
Villenort, and there caused as many
ne, and the rest lay along on the ryuer
ed from the middest of Iuly vntill the.
Lordes of the Empire, specially for the
ther wayted. And when the King of Eng-
d honourable Messengers to euery of them,
promised, & to meete him at Machlyn at a
hat occasion they taryed so long. Thus king
t his cost and charge. xiij. hundreth men of
ouer the Sea, besyde all other prouisions, and
en to the Lordes, and besyde the great Armyes

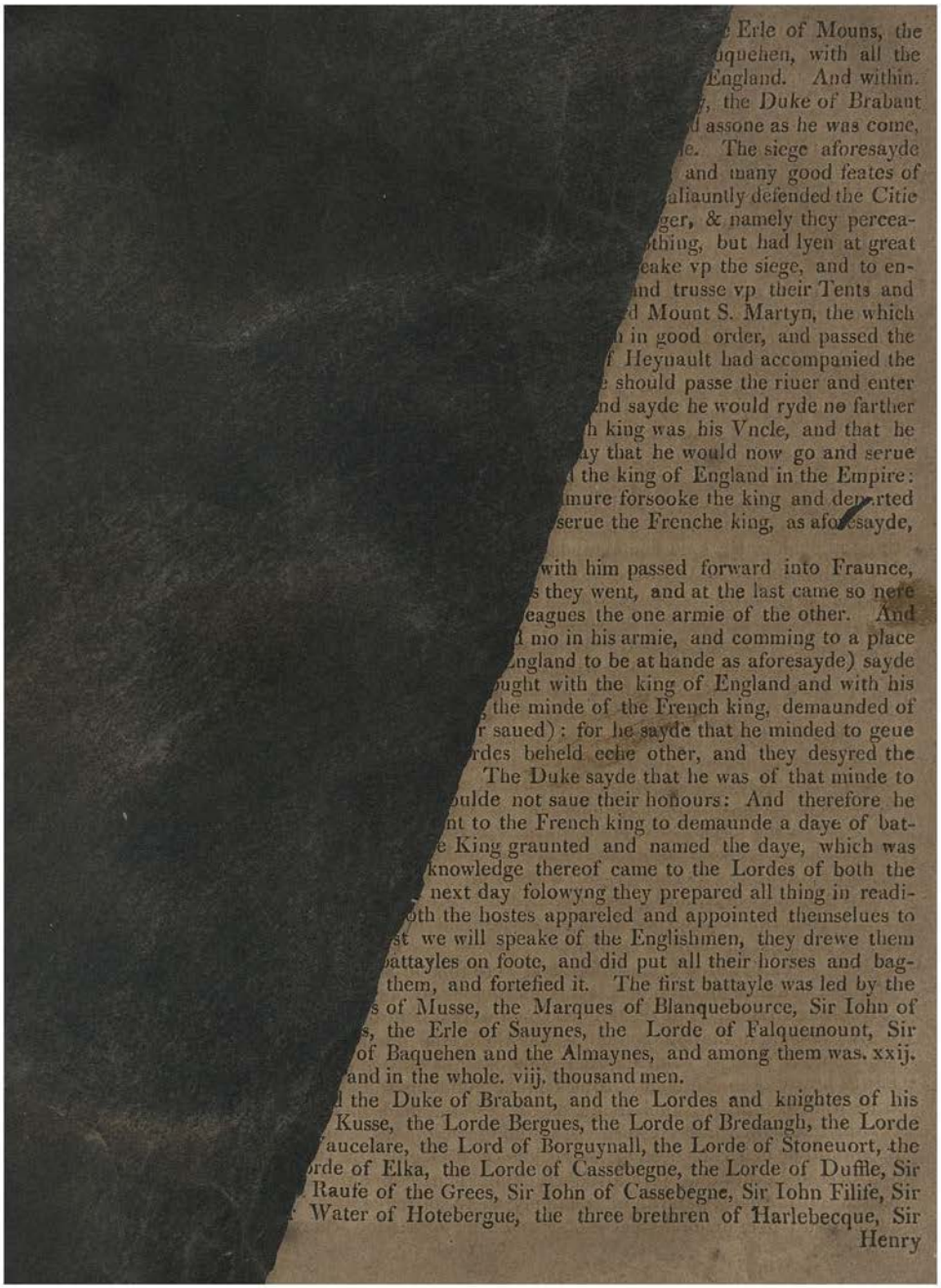
Scots, Genowayes, Normanes, Britons, Picardes,
, to enter into England assoone as the warre was

at the sommons of the king of England came vnto
nted them, but not without much businesse: But at
of England might well set forward within. xv. dayes
eir warre should be the more laudable, they agreed to
the French king: that is to say. First the king of Eng-
es, the Marques of Iullers, Sir Robert de Arthoys, Sir
s of Musse, the Marques of Blauquebource, the Lord of
Baquehen, the Archebishop of Coleyn, Sir Galeas his bro-
the Empire. These defiaunces were written and sealed by
uke of Brabant) who sayde he would do his dede himselfe at
these defiances into Fraunce, was appoynted the Bishop of
to Paris, and there did his message in such sort, that he was
d his safe conduit to returne safely vnto the king of England to

In

In this meane tym
brought a bed and de
Immediately after t
sturred not a little, bu
ed with them at Anias,
when he sawe that king
them home to their awne
thereaboutes, to let the pa
French king had sent diuer
Marchauntes, and other th
countered with two great Shi
which (as sayth the French C
ned. Assone as eyther of the
Arblasters shot, so that betwen
of the Frenchmen were. xiij. say
is to say, these two great shippes
escaped by swiftnesse of saylyng
houres, insomuch as there were s
the ende the sayde two shippes wer
and many of the English men that
after the sayde French nauie landed
and so departed.

Assone as king Edward had brought
his purposed iourney into Fraunce, and
his people passed by the Towne, and
maynes. And then the king sent once ag
he mynded to go to Cambrey, or whether
aunswered, it was best to go to Cambrey, a
the Towne, he would come thether with tw
Then the king passed forward, and the first
night, and the next daye remoued to Mons
Erle of Heynault, who receaued him right io
and from thence remoued to Valencianes, and
Towne, and no mo persons, and thether was co
Heynault his Vncle, and the Lorde of Faguyne
of Haureth, and dyuers other who were about th
the Erle went hand in hand to the great Hall of the
pareled meete for them. And as they went vp the
Lyncolne who was there present, spake out a lowde
brey, I admonishe you as procurer to the king of
Rome, that ye open the gates of the Citie of Cambrey
forfayt your lands, and we will enter by force. There
matter, for the Bishop was not there present. Then the
Erle of Heynault, we admonish you in the name of the
serue the king of Englande hys Vycare before the Citie of
as ye ought to doe. The Erle who was there present, sa
am ready. And then they entered into the Hall, and the
Chamber, and anone Supper was readie. The next day the
Asper and there taried two dayes, and suffered all hys peopl
then they came to Cambraye and lodged at Wys, and besieg
rounde about, and daylie hys power encreased. Thether cam
nault in great aray, and Sir Iohn hys Vncle, and they lodged ner



Erle of Mouns, the
uquehen, with all the
England. And within.
, the Duke of Brabant
assone as he was come,
e. The siege aforesayde
and many good feates of
aliauntly defended the Citie
ger, & namely they percea-
thing, but had lyen at great
eake vp the siege, and to en-
nd trusse vp their Tents and
d Mount S. Martyn, the which
in good order, and passed the
f Heynault had accompanied the
should passe the riuer and enter
nd sayde he would ryde no farther
h king was his Vncle, and that he
ay that he would now go and serue
the king of England in the Empire:
mure forsooke the king and departed
serue the Frenche king, as aforesayde,

with him passed forward into Fraunce,
s they went, and at the last came so nere
eagues the one armie of the other. And
mo in his armie, and comming to a place
ngland to be at hande as aforesayde) sayde
ught with the king of England and with his
the minde of the French king, demaunded of
r saued): for he sayde that he minded to geue
rdes beheld eche other, and they desyred the
The Duke sayde that he was of that minde to
ulde not saue their honours: And therefore he
nt to the French king to demaunde a daye of bat-
e King graunted and named the daye, which was
knowledge thereof came to the Lordes of both the
next day folowyng they prepared all thing in readi-
th the hostes appareled and appointed themselues to
t we will speake of the Englishmen, they drewe them
battayles on foote, and did put all their horses and bag-
them, and fortefied it. The first battayle was led by the
s of Musse, the Marques of Blanquebource, Sir Iohn of
s, the Erle of Sauynes, the Lorde of Falquemount, Sir
of Baquehen and the Almaynes, and among them was. xxij.
and in the whole. viij. thousand men.
the Duke of Brabant, and the Lordes and knightes of his
Kusse, the Lorde Bergues, the Lorde of Bredangh, the Lorde
aucelare, the Lord of Borguynall, the Lorde of Stoneuort, the
rde of Elka, the Lorde of Cassebegne, the Lorde of Duffle, Sir
Raufe of the Grees, Sir Iohn of Cassebegne, Sir Iohn Filife, Sir
Water of Hotebergue, the three brethren of Harlebecque, Sir
Henry

Henry of Flaundyrs
the Duke of Brabant
Villaynes, Sir Iohn of
wyn de la Mule and m
Pennons, and in all. vij.
The third battaile, and
Darby, the bishop of Li
Northhampton, & of Gl
then Erle of Richemond, t
the Lorde Mowbray, sir Le
of Laucome, the Lord Basse
sir Iohn Lisle, and diuers oth
dos, of whome much honour
xc. Pennons, and in his battail
And he had set another battaile
Pembroke, the Lorde Barkeley, t
were on horsebacke. Thus when
by the Marshalles: The king of E
with sir Robert de Arthoys, sir R
before all the battailes, and right g
that they would that day defend his
lyngly promised him so to do. The
thing in good order, and commaunde
Now let vs speake of the Lordes of F

In the armie of the French King, we
Erles, and mo then foure thousand Knig
lx. thousand. The Kinges that were there
the King of Nauarre, and the King of S
of Britayne, the Duke of Burbone, the Du
Erles, the Erle of Alanson brother to the
of Henault, the Erle of Bloys, the Erle of
the Erle of Armanack, the Erle Dolphyn of
Stampes, the Erle of Vandosme, the Erle of
of Guisnes, The Erle of Bouloigne, the Erle
Erle of Valentynoys, the Erle of Ancer, the Er
of Dreux, and of Gascoigne, and of Languedocke
as were to long to reherse. It was a beutifull sig
wauyng in the winde, and horses richely barded, an
The Frenche men ordeyned three battayles, and in
armes, and. xx. thousand footmen.

Now when both the armies aforesayd were thus in a
of them within sight of other, it was meruelous straun
any stroke striken. But the Frenche men were not all o
a great shame if they fought not, seyng their enemies w
Countrie, & raunged in field: And some other sayd, it sh
it was heard to knowe euery mannes minde and ieopardie o
tune were contrary to their King, as to leese the field, he
realme in a ieopardie to be lost. And though he did discomi
he should be neuer the nere of the realme of England, nor o
any of the Lordes that were alyed with him. Thus contendyng
passed vntill noone, and then sodainely their started a Hare
such as saw her, made a great shoute and crie, by reason where

t on their Helmettes,
ewe knightes, and spe-
knightes of the Hare.
nch King dislodged his
ard brake vp his armie,

t streight vnto Brusselles,
f Blanquebource, the Erle
and all the Lordes of the
e aduice and counsayle what
d for the more expedicion to
len at Brussels, and to come
thether with a great company,
In the which Parliament king
es of the Empire, that he would
rre, and to defie the Frenche king,
in their so doyng, he to promise
equest was well heard of the Flem-
mong themselues, and so they did,
made a request vnto vs to ayde you,
selues, we would gladly do it: But Sir
e of two Myllyons of Floreins in the
arre against the king of Fraunce, who
summe, and besydes that, to incurre
ake on you the armes of Fraunce, and
all your selfe king of Fraunce, as of right
full king of Fraunce, and demaund of you
s pardon thereof as King of Fraunce, and
nced withall, and then will we go with you

e thought that it was a sore matter to take on
and as then had conquered no peece thereof,
enterprice: And on the other syde he was very
nto him by the Flemynges, who might ayde him
he king had taken counsayle of the Lordes of the
rthoys, and other of his speciall friendes: He then
would sweare, and seale to this accorde and promise
a good will do all that they requyred, and promised
y, and Bethayne: And all they with one voyce aun-
there was a day assigned to meete at Gaunt, at which
part of the aforesayd Lordes, and all the Counsayles
the aforesayd matters were rehersed, sworne and sealed.
rmes of Fraunce with the armes of England: And from
me of the king of Fraunce, and so continued still vntill
r shall be shewed.
termyned agaynst the next sommer folowyng to prouide to
nce, promysing to besiege the Citie of Torney, whereof the
ey thought themselues strong inough to get it. And thus the
y mā departed home: The king of England went to Andwarp
at Gaunt, and was oftentimes visited by Iaques Dartuell, and
and Damoselles of Gaunt. And when the kinges shippes were
and then sayled into England, and so came to London, where he
was

was honorably recea
howe the Frenchmen
sundrie other hurtes in
that he trusted before it
And soone after the
Parliament at Westmynst
his right in Fraunce the. v
Realme, and the Custome
euery mannes corne: But
people turned into curssyng,
was forced to occupie money
pelled to borow of sundrie pe
of whome he borowed twentie
London, as appereth in Fabian
Also in this yere the king caus
of the Value of. vj. shillings. vi
tered the armes of Fraunce and
was, Edward by the grace of God
When king Edward had set all h
all things in a redynesse for the wa
Flaundyrs, and had with him two hu
of warre, and the king kept his cours
on the See, there was Sir Hugh Kyry
Cxx. great Vessels beside other, and
aboue the number of. xl. thousande.
withstande the landyng of king Edward
king drewe somewhat neere them and esp
farre of seemed as it had beene a great
Master of his Ship what people he thought
be Normans, layde here by the french king
the same that burned Southampton, and that
A quoth the king, I haue long desyred to fight
of God I shall meete wyth some of them, for the
the king caused all his shippes to be set in order
Archers, and euer betwene two shippes of Arche
And then he made another battaile to lye alofe,
most wearie if neede were. And in the sayde shi
Ladyes, Knightes wyues and other Damoselles that
These Ladyes the King caused to be well kept with
hundreth Archers.

Assoone as the king and his Marshalles had order
sayles and came with a quarter winde to haue the vaunt
last they turned a little, to haue the winde at wyll. But
cule back, they had maruell why they did so. And some
wyth vs, and therefore they go backe.

Then the french men beganne to set themselues in orde
warre on the Sea, and they did set the Christopher, which
sayde, formost, furnished with many Trumpets & Instrument
their enimies. And then began a sore battayle vpon both parte
beganne to shoote, and men of armes approched and fought
better to come together, they had great hookes and grappelers
Ship into another, and so tyed them fast together. There were many

pher was first wonne
Then was there great
ner with Archers, and
aile was right fierce and
dungerous, then are the
g, there is no remedy but
e.
arbenoyr which were the
good and expert men of
s noone, & the Englishmen
e foure agaynst one, and all

noble and valyaunt Prince of
his youth. And in lyke maner
on, Northampton and Glouces-
de Percy. S. Water of Manny,
ord Felton, the Lorde Brasseton,
on, Sir Robert de Artoys called the
ts, who shewed themselues so va-
Frenchmen, Normans and other
s not one that escaped.
t night abode in hys ship before Sluce
nents. And thether came to see the
the kinges comming: and then the king
ques Dartuell did: and they aunswered
the Duke of Normandy with three score

ich was Midsommer day, the King and all
age a foote to the Lady of Ardenborough,
nd then tooke his horse and roade to Gaunt,
ioy, and all his cariage came after him by lit-

le Heynault, and to them that were within the
arriuall and victory. And assoone as the Erle
ted the French armie vpon the Sea, he dislodged,
depart, and tooke with him all the great Lordes to
nourably, and specially the Duke of Brabant, and
Dartuell openly in the Market place in the presence
as would here him, declared what right the king of
aunce: And also what puyssaunce the three Countries
nd Brabant, and howe they were surely ioyned in one
grauely, and so eloquently, that all the people that heard
d he had nobly spoken, and as a man of great experience.
and promised within. viij. dayes to meete at Gaunt to vi-
l so they did, and the king feasted them right honorably,
nen was newly churched of a sonne called Iohn of Gaunt,
caster by hys wife, which was daughter to Henry Duke
after king Edward held a counsaile at Villenort, at a day

neard howe his armie on the sea was discomfited, he dislodged
gaue leaue to his men to depart vntill he heard other tydynges.
du Foye to Tourney, to see that there lacked nothyng, for he
feared

feared more the Flem
tayne, to kepe the
Omers, to Ayre and t
frontyng on Flaunders.

In this season there
great Astronomer, and h
and warne him in no wise
it is geuen to the king of
This king Robert would g
suche loue and affection vn
thinke of the desolation ther
Pope to be a meane to appeas

Ye haue heard a little befo
Villenort, which day was now
England, the Duke of Brabant,
Guerles, the Erle of Iullers, the
Erle of Mouns, Sir Robert de Ar
the Erle of Namure, Iaques Dart
towne of Flaundyrs thre or foure p

And in this counsayle was made a
dyrs, Brabant, and Heynault, that
comfort other in all cases. And furth
with any countrie, the other two shou
should fortune any of them to be at
should set an agreement betwene them.
should abyde the order of the king of
commit the same, and tooke their othes t
for further and better confirmation of this
to be made a lawe, and to be published tho
afterward was called the lawe of the Compa
it was also determined that the king of Engla
yng, beyng accompanyed with the ayde of the
good townes lay siege to Tourney. And so the
parted home to make prouision against the time

The French King after the departure of these
was informed of the most part of theyr determin
Tourney the chiefe men of warre that he had in all
Erle of Guynes his sonne, Constable of Fraunce, t
Erle Amery of Narbon, Sir Aymer of Poyters, Sir
Mountfaucon, the two Marshalles, Sir Robert Bertra
Lord of Cayeux, the Seneschall of Poyteau, the Lord
Landas, and these also had with them many other vali
came to Tourney, and founde there sir Godmer du Foy,
you haue heard. And so soone as they were come thethe
state of the towne, first for furniture of all necessary victu
nicion and armor.

And nowe approched the time that king Edward and his A
ney, for then the Corne beganne to ripe, which was the. xx
departed from Gaunt, accompanied with. vij. Erles of Engl
Baronettes. CC. knightes, foure thousand men of armes, and
syde men of foote, and all out of Englande: And all his h
Towne of Andwarpe, and so passed the ryuer of Lescaut, & h

ay. And shortly af-
, knightes, Esquiers,
of Lescault, betwene
d not long after, came
n many of Holland, and
f Brabant. Then came
hem of Ipre, Popynguy,
he sayde Iaques Dartuell
Guerles, the Erle of Iul-
e, the Erle of Mouns, the
f Baquehen, and all the Al-
nd thus the Citie of Tourney
t eche to other, so that none

great a number, yet were they
reasonable price, for the people
iege continued, there were daylie
ny Villages brent, and the Coun-
any and sundrie times there were
But this siege continued long, for
y valiauntly, yet at the last, victualles
rced to put out all their needie and
Brabants hoste, who caused them to
ay then at Arras, accompanied with a
made a most lamentable and pittifull re-

was by the space of ten weekes and more,
king, and mother to the Queene of Eng-
greatly, as well on the one parte as on the
the french king and the king of England and
rte without battayle. And dyuers times she
at behalfe. And in lyke maner made great la-
ecially to the Duke of Brabant and to the Duke
age, and also to Sir Iohn of Heynault. Inso-
the ayde and counsayle of Lewes Daugymount,
, that at the last it was graunted that ech partie
treate by the space of three dayes of some good
. The persons that should be appointed shoulde
the fieldes called Esplotyn. And at the daye appoint-
Ladye with them. Of the Frenche parte, there was
s Erle of Dalanson brother to the french king, the Bi-
lyrs, and the Erle of Armanack. Of the Englishe parte
the Bishop of Lyncolne, the Duke of Guerles, the Duke
nault.
, they made eche vnto other louyng salutations and great
eir treatie, and all that daye they commoned of dyuers wayes
good Lady of Valoys was among them, effecteously entreat-
they would doe their endeuour to make a peace: howbeit that
ng done, and so they returned and agreed to meete there agayne
ay they met, and streight waye entered to the matter of their
reed vpon certaine pointes: but it was then so late that they
d order, that which they had agreed vpon. The thirde day they

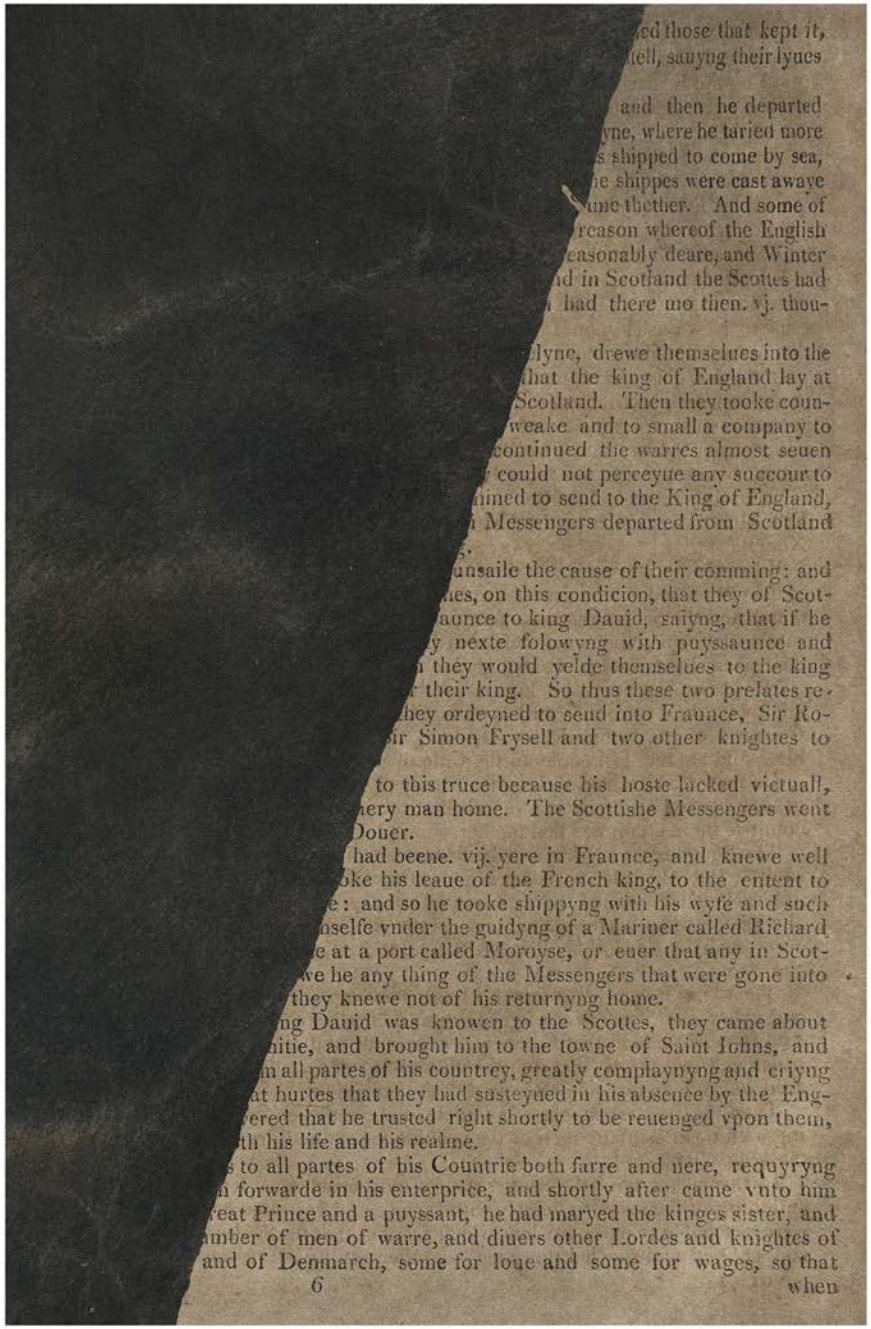
met

met agayne, and fin
all parties and all thei
as made warre in Ga
dayes next ensuyng: an
without male engyne :
their choise. But as f
bounde to this peace with
the hostes of the two kin
determyned that eyther of
Ambassadors, and to meete
and there to make a full con
dered, that euerie partie sho
possession of. This truce wa
Brabanters were right glad, fo
so that the nexte day, assone as
of Tentes and Pauilions, such
throwing of their armour, such s
the people remouing so thick, that
a new world.

Thus the king of Englande depart
haue done otherwise, but he was fayn
counsayles, and then he came to Gau
into Englande with all his people, excep
bly at Arras, as aforesayde, and vnto t
from the Pope as Legates, the Cardinall
came to Paris where the french king rec
them to Arras. For the French king thet
French king, the Duke of Burbon, the Erle
of Senes, the Bishop of Beawayes, and the
lande, came the Bishop of Lyncolne, The Bi
Robert de Arthoys which was Erle of Richem
of Flaundyrs. In the which treaty many matte
xv. dayes, but agreed to no one point of effect,
the french men would nothing graunt, but one
which was geuen to Quene Isabel in mariage with
bly brake vp, and nothing done, but that the tr
& that was al that the Cardinals could get graun
departed, & the two Cardynals went thorough Hena
them right nobly. *Froissart.*

After king Edward was returned out of Fraunce int
passage of the Sea, he had an exceedyng and most horrib
dunger, which tempest after the opynion of sundrie wryte
Necromanciers of the French king to the intent to haue de
abated his courage for attemptyng the Sea any more.

In the time that the king lay at the siege of Torney, a
agayne recouered the greatest parte of their lande, & all the
fore the king was now counsayled to make a voyage into Scot
thetherward betweene Mighelmas and Halontyde, commaund
gather their men together and to folow him to Barwike, and so
and came thether as they were commaunded. The king at the las
taryed for his people. The Lordes of Scotland were enforme
king of Englande, wherefore they gaue most sore and fierce ass



ed those that kept it,
ell, sauyng their lyues

and then he departed
yne, where he taried more
s shipped to come by sea,
e shippes were cast awaye
me thether. And some of
reason whereof the English
easonably deare, and Winter
d in Scotland the Scottes had
had there mo then. vj. thou-

lyne, drewe themselues into the
hat the king of England lay at
Scotland. Then they tooke coun-
weake and to small a company to
continued the warres almost seuen
could not perceyue any succour to
med to send to the King of England,
Messengers departed from Scotland

nsaile the cause of their comming: and
es, on this condicion, that they of Scot-
aunce to king Dauid, saiyng, that if he
y nexte folowyng with puyssaunce and
they would yelde themselues to the king
their king. So thus these two prelates re-
hey ordeyned to send into Fraunce, Sir Ro-
ir Simon Frysell and two other knightes to

to this truce because his hoste lacked victuall,
ery man home. The Scottishe Messengers went
Douer.
had beene. vij. yere in Fraunce, and knewe well
ke his leaue of the French king, to the entent to
e: and so he tooke shippyng with his wyfe and such
nselfe vnder the guidyng of a Mariner called Richard
e at a port called Morayse, or euer that any in Scot-
we he any thing of the Messengers that were gone into
they knewe not of his returnyng home.
ng Dauid was knowen to the Scottes, they came about
nitie, and brought him to the towne of Saint Iohns, and
m all partes of his countrey, greatly complaynyng and criyng
at hurtes that they had susteyned in his absence by the Eng-
ered that he trusted right shortly to be reuenged vpon them,
th his life and his realme.
s to all partes of his Countrie both farre and nere, requyryng
n forwarde in his enterprice, and shortly after came vnto him
reat Prince and a puyssant, he had maryed the kinges sister, and
mber of men of warre, and diuers other Lordes and knightes of
and of Denmarch, some for loue and some for wages, so that

when

when they were all
men armed after th
ward toward Englan
then expired, or else t
noyed them.

Thus the Scots depa
day there they passed a
passed by Edenbourgh,
made there no tariance,
into Scotland. And so they
it also without any assault g
came to the ryuer of Tyne,
came to New Castel vpon Ty
that towne all night.

In the morning a certeine n
to the number of two hundreth
in so sodeynely vpon the Scotte
in his armor Syluer, thre Oreylle
many, before the host was moued,

Then they returned into the Tow
Erle Moret as prisoner to the Capi
Neuell.

When the Scottes were vp, they ar
of the towne, and gaue a great assault
them, and the Scots lost there many n
within the towne, the which defended t
their great losse were fayne and glad to

Now when the Scottishe king sawe th
and that he had there neyther hope of gayn
Countrie of the Bishoprick of Durham, a
him, and at the last came to the Citie of
made many terrible and desperate assaultes
of Moret, and also they knewe well that the
countrie there about was fled thether.

The Scots made Ingines and Instruments to
sault. But when the Scots were gone from N
Iohn Neuell Captaine there, mounted on a go
the Scottes, and made suche good speede that w
where as king Edward lay then, & there declared
the Scots.

Then king Edward sent foorth Messengers into eue
yng euery man betwene the age of. xv. and. lx. all excu
and to meete him in that Countrie, for the ayde and def
attempted to destroy, and foorthwith the king departed
fred euery man to come after as well as they might.

Then the Lordes, knightes, Esquiers, and gentlemen dr
ing with them as many men as they coulde make, and drew
the king.

In this meane tyme the Scottes gaue a most cruell assault
and folowed the same so fiercely with Ingines and Instruments
were not hable to make any lenger defence, but that the Scottes
and robbed and spoyled the same, and then set it on fyre, an

Chanon, and suffred
Chapels and all that

the Towne of Durham,
e, and to come to Car-
a Castell of the Erle of
warre, and syr Wyllian
e thereof. The next day
caryage with them of suche
agew sawe howe the Scottes
ed on horsback, and issued
f the Scottes, who had horses
pace. And he ouertoke them
lue and hurt of the Scottes mo
e, and so ledde them towarde the
syr Wylliam Dowglas who had the
. When he sawe the Scottes came
ll, and then he and all his company
of the Castell, and mounted the hill
en were entred, and had closed the
ttes beganne to assayle fiercely, and
ylliams did what they might eche to
st the king and all the hoste came back

how his men were slaine, lyyng in the
nnyng of any thing, then he commaunded
man began to seeke for his lodgyng, and
them that were hurt. The next day the
ady to assaile, and they within were as redy
rillous: But there might haue beene seene
nes. There was within the Castell, the noble
uted and taken for the sagest and fayrest Lady
s taken prisoner with the Erle of Suffolke be-
gland gaue the sayde Castell to the sayde Erle
he prowes and good seruice that he had done be-
n Mountagew. This noble Lady comforted them
weete countenaunce and gentle speche, she made
dured long, and the Scottes lost many of their men,
hardly, and caryed wood and tymber to haue filled
heir engines to the walles, but they within defended
auntes were faine to drawe back. Then the king of
to be well kept that nigat, and the next day to enforce
rewe backe to his lodgyng. Some wept & bewailed their
er sort comforted them that were hurt: and they of the
Dauid continued his siege, that they should haue much ado
herefore they tooke counsaile among themselues to sende to
at Yorke, as it was shewed them by such prisoners as they
Then one of them behelde another, as who should say, who
cary this message, and not one of them would offer him selfe,
Mountagew perceyuyng, stepped forth and sayd, sirs I will put
lo this Message, for I haue such trust in you, that you will right
vntill my returne: and on the other side I haue such trust in the

king,

king, that I shall shortly bring you succours, which will cause you to be ioyful, and I trust the king will so reward you, that ye shall be content. And when night came, the sayde sir William made him readie as priuely as he might, and it happened well for him, for it rayned all night, so that the Scottes kept still within their lodgynges. At midnyght sir William passed through the hoste of the Scottes, and was not seene, and so roade forth vntill it was day, and then he met with two Scots a mile from the hoste, driuyng before them two Oxen, and a Cowe towarde the hoste. Sir William knewe well that they were Scottes, and therefore set vpon them, and wounded them both, and slue the Cattaile, to the entent that they of the host should take no profite by them, and then sayde vnto the two hurt Scottes, go your wayes, and say to your king, that William of Mountagew hath thus passed through his hoste, and is goyng to fetch ayde of the king of England, and so departed.

In the mornyng the king of Scottes made a fierse assault, but yet he preuayled nothing, and dayly they assaulted it, but all in vaine. Then the king of Scottes and his counsayle, consideryng that there they did but lose theyr men, and that the king of England might wel come thether before the Castel were wonne, and therefore by one assent they sayd vnto the king, that theyr abydyng there, was neyther for his profite, nor yet for his honour. And further they sayd, Sir ye haue right honourably atchieued your enterprice, and haue done great despyte to the Englishe men, in that you haue bene nowe in this countrie of England. xij. dayes, and taken and destroyed the Citie of Durham. Wherefore sir all thinges considered, it were good now that you returned, and to take with you the Pillage that ye haue wonne, and another time ye may returne againe when it pleaseth you. The king who would not do against the opinions of all his counsayle, agreed to them sore against hys minde, and the next mornyng he dislodged, and tooke the way streight to the great Forest of Gedours, there to tary at their ease, and to vnderstand what the king of England purposed further to do, eyther to go backe againe, or else to go further into Scotland.

The Scottishe king flieth for feare of king Edward.

The same day that the Scots departed from the sayd Castell, King Edward came thether with all his hoste aboute Noone, and came to the same place where as the Scottes had lodged, and he was sore displeased that he found not the Scottes there, for he came thether in such haste, that hys horse and men were sore traueyled. Then he commaunded to lodge there all that night, and sayd that he would go see the Castell and the noble Lady therein, for he had not sene her sith she was maryed before, then euery man tooke his lodgyng as he lust.

And assoone as the king was vnarmed, he tooke. x. or. xij. Knightes with him, and went vp to the Castell to salute the Countesse of Sarisbury, and to see the maner of the assaultes of the Scottes, and the defence that was made against them. Assoone as the Lady knewe of the Kinges commyng, she set open the Gates, and came out so richely besene, that euery man marueyled at her beutie, and could not ceasse to regarde her noblenesse, and the pleasant wordes and gracious countenaunce that she had. And when shee came to the King, she kneled downe on the earth, thanking him of his succours, and so led him into the Castell, where she made him honourable chere, as she was one that could right well do it. The King beyng in the Castell went into a Window, and leaned on his elbow as one beyng in a great studie: The Ladie went about to make cheere to the Lordes and knightes that were there, and commaunded the Hall to be dressed for dinner. And when shee had made all thinges in a readinesse, then shee came to the Kyng wyth a merye cheere, who was in a great studie, and she sayde: dere Sir, what meaneth your grace so to studie without cause, it doth not apperteyne vnto you sir so to do, but rather ye should make good chere and be ioyfull, chieflye for that you haue chased away your enemies, who durst not abyde your commyng, and let other men studie for the remnaunt. Then the king sayd, A dere Lady, know for a truth, that sithe my entrance into this Castell, there is such a matter entered into my minde, that I can not choose but muse, neyther can I tell what may fall thereof, for put it out of my heart I cannot. Sir quoth the Lady, ye ought al-

An amorous Prince.

wayes to make good cheere to comfort therewith your people, and chiefely ye haue cause to reioyce in God, for that he hath ayded and supported you in all your great affayres and enterprises, and hath made you the most renoumed and famous Prince in all Christendome: And if the Scottishe king haue done you any dispite or dammage, ye may well reuenge it when it shall please you. Wherfore sir, I pray you leaue your musyng, and come into the Hall (if it please you) for your dinner is all ready. A fayre Lady quoth the king, other thinges lie in my heart that ye know not off, but surely the swete and gentle behauiour of you, the great wisedome, noblenesse, and excellent beautie which I beholde in you, hath so sore surprised my heart, that I can not but loue you, and without your loue I am but dead. Then aunswered the Lady saiyng: A right noble Prince for Goddes sake mocke not, nor tempt me not, I can not beleue that it is true that ye say, neyther that so noble a Prince as ye are, could haue so euill a thought, as to dishonour me and my Lord my husband, who is so valiant a knight, and hath done your grace such good seruice, and as yet remayneth prisoner in Fraunce for your cause and quarell: Certeinly sir, ye should in this case haue but a smal praise, and nothing the better thereby: I geue almightie God thankes, that hetherto I had neuer such a thought in my heart, nor I trust in God shall haue at the request or perswasion of any man: And if I had any such lewde intencion, your grace ought not onely to blame me, but also to punish my bodie, and by true iustice to be dismembred: and therewith the Ladie sodenly departed from the King, and went into the Hall to hast forward the dinner, and then she came againe and brought some of his Knightes with her, and sayd: sir, if it please you to come into the Hall, your Knightes abideth for you to washe, ye haue bene to long fastyng. Then the King went into the Hall and washed, and sate downe in the Hall among his Lordes and knightes, and the Lady also. The King did eate very little, but sate still musing, and euer as he durst, he cast his eyne vpon the Lady. Of his sadnesse the Knightes had much maruell, for he was not accustomed so to be: Some thought it was because the Scottes were escaped from him. But to be short, although the king fared right honourably, yet could he not by any meanes be made mery, so that after dinner done, yet remayned he there all that day. And beyng wrapt in the snares and bondes of loue, he had sundrie imaginations: Sometime he imagined that honour and truth forbad him to set his heart in such a case, to dishonour such a Lady, and so true a Knight as her husband was, who had alwayes serued him so truely and valiauntly: On the other part, loue so constrained him, that the power thereof, surmounted both honour and truth: And thus was the King troubled in himselfe all that day and night. In the Mornyng the King arose and dislodged all his hoste, and drewe after the Scottes to chase them out of his realme. And at his departure he tooke his leaue of the Lady, and sayd, my dere Lady, to God I commend you vntill I returne againe, requiryng you to aduyse you otherwise then you haue sayde to me. Noble Prince quoth the Lady, God the father most glorious be your guide and conduct, and remoue from you all vileyne thoughts: & sir, I am and euer shall be redy to do your grace such seruice, as may be to your honour and mine, & therewith the King departed, altogether abashed.

The answere and speech of a vertuous and wise Lady.

The departure of the king from the Ladye and her Castell.

Then the king folowed the Scottes vntill he came to Berwick, & went still forward, vntill he came within foure leagues of the Forest of Gedours, where as king Dauid and all his company was entred, in trust of the great wildernesse. The king of Englande taryed there three dayes, to see if the Scottes woulde issue out to fight with him, in the which tyme there were sundrie skirmishes on both partes, and dyuers of the Scottes taken, slayne and sore hurt. Sir William Dowglas was he that did most hurt to the Englishmen, he bare Azure a Comble siluer, and three starres Goules.

In this tyme that king Edwarde laye there, there were certayne noble men vpon both partes that treated for a peace to be had betweene these two kinges: And the same treatie tooke suche effect, that a truce was agreed to endure for two yere, if the French king would thereto agree. For the king of Scottes was so allyed to the French king, that he might take no peace with the king of Englande without the consent of the french king.

A truce take with the Scottes for two yeres, if the French king would agree therevnto.

And

And therfore it was then agreed, that if the French king would not agree to the peace, then the truce to endure vntill the first day of May next folowyng. And it was also agreed that the Erle of Moret which was prisoner in Newcastel, should be delyuered of his imprisonment, if the king of Scottes could doe so muche with the french king as to purchace that the Erle of Salsburie might lykewise be quyte out of prison in Fraunce, And the same to be done before the feast of saint Iohn Baptist next after.

King Edward agreed the rather to this truce, for that at this instant he had warre in Fraunce, in Gascoyn, in Poyteau, in Xaynton, in Britayne and almost in euerye place he had men in wages to hys maruellous great costes and charges: And when all thinges were concluded, as aforesayde then the king returned into Englande.

The Erle of Sarisbury, Husband to the Ladie a little before spoke of was exchaunged for another prisoner in Fraunce, and sent home to his wyfe.

And sone after, the king of Scottes sent great messengers to the french king to agree vnto this truce: The French king was content at the desyre of the king of Scottes, and then was the Erle of Salsburie, who had beene long prisoner in Fraunce, sent home into Englande. And the king of England sent incontynent the Erle Moret into Scotland.

And in the ende of this yere the Queene was deliuered of a man childe at the Towne of Langley, the which after was named Edmond, and surnamed Edmond of Langley.

1342

A little before ye haue head how the king was striken in loue with the Countesse of Salsbury. And now it happened, that for the loue of the sayde Lady, who yet was not out of his minde, he caused a great feast to be publyshed abroad, and a Iustes to be holden in the Citie of London (in the place now called west Smithfield) in the middes of August next followyng, the which was also proclaymed in Flaundyrs, in Henault, in Brabant, and in Fraunce, graunting to all commers out of euery Countrie safe conduyte to come and go. And also he gaue speciall commaundement thorough his awne Realme, that all Lords, Knights, Esquyers, Ladyes and Damosels should be there without any excuse, and commaunded expresly the Erle of Salsbury, that the Lady his wyfe should be there, and to bring with her all the Ladyes and Damoselles of that Countrie. The Erle graunted the king, as he that thought none euill. The good Ladye durst not saye nay, although shee knewe right well what was ment thereby: But yet shee durst not discouer the matter to her husband, notwithstanding she thought within her selfe that she would order the matter well ynough.

17

A great feast and royall Iustes.

Thys was a royall feast, and at the same was the Erle Wylliam of Heynault, and syr Iohn of Heynault his Vncle, and a great number of Lordes and knightes of high lynage. There was great triumphyng and iustyng the space of xv. dayes. And running at the same iustes was slaine the Lorde Iohn, eldest sonne to the Vycount of Beaumond of England. And at this triumph all the Ladyes and Damoselles of England were freshly trimmed and attyred, according to their degrees, except the Lady Alice Countesse of Salsbury, for she went as simply as she might, to thentent that the king should not phansie her, for she was fully determyned that she would doe nothing that should dishonour her husband and her selfe. At this feast were syr Henry with the wrie neck Erle of Lancaster, and syr Henry his sonne Erle of Darby, syr Robert de Artoys Erle of Richemond, the Erles of Northhampton, of Gloucester, of Warwike, of Salsburie, of Pembroke, of Hereford, of Arondell, of Cornewall, of Oxenford, and of Suffolke, and the Baron of Staumforde and dyuers other Lordes and knightes of England.

And before this great triumph was altogether ended, and the Noble men departed, king Edward receaued sundrie and dyuers Letters out of sundrie Countries, as Gascoyn, Bayon, Flaundyrs from Iaques Dartuell, and out of Scotland from the Lorde Rose, and the Lorde Percy, and from syr Edward Baileoll Captaine of Barwike, who certefied the king, that the Scottes held but simply the truce concluded the last yere, for they newly assembled together much people, but for what entent they could not tell. Also the Capitaines in Poyteau, Xanton, Rochell and Burdeloys, wrote to the king how the Frenchmen made great preparations for the warre, because the peace that was made at Arras was almost expired, which caused ỹ king to hasten the ende of his feasting. And so sone as the straungers

straungers were departed. The king by the aduise of his counsayle did answere the former letters.

1343

After the former feast ended, the king called his Court of Parliament, who assembled together at Westmynster shortly after Easter, then next followyng. And in the time of the sayde Parliament, the king created Edward his first begotten sonne (who was borne in the thirde yere of his reigne) Prince of Wales, and he prooued the most royall Prince in Chiualrie that was in all Christendome. And in the sayde Parliament was graunted vnto the king toward the finishyng and ending of his warres with Fraunce of the commons and of the Townes and Cities of the Realme of Englande, foure fiftenes to be paide in two yeres next folowing. And likewise ỹ Clergy graūted vnto him three fiftenes to be paid in three yeres, but both the commons and the clergie had graunted vnto them by the king suche liberties as ye may read in the statute made in the sayd. xviij. yere, as counterueyled their gift. And these fiftenes were also graūted with these cōdicions, that all such somes of money as should be leuied of the aforesayde grauntes, should be onely and wholy employed vpon the exployte and expedition of the full fynishing and ending of the warres with Fraunce, and the same to be disposed by the aduice of certayne Lordes and other great men that were specially nominated and appointed thervnto by the Parliament house. And also, that the king should not for any friend, letter or letters, entreatie or entreaties, nor for any fayre promises, withdraw his enterprice in the expence of this money in his warres of Fraunce vntill he had fully ended and fynished the same eyther by conquest, or else by the conclusion of a finall peace. And herevpon the Lordes of the realme graunted to go with the king, and to aduenture their lyues with him in the same.

18

A parliamēt holden at Westminster.

Edward the Kinges first sonne created Prince of Wales.

The Clergie are politique.

It shoulde seme that the king was nere partlye out of credite with ye commons because he had consumed so great summes of money in his warres as before had bene leuied of his subiectes, & the same came to smal purpose.

And at this time also the king made a newe coyne of Golde and named it the Floreyn, that is to saye, the penny of the value of. vj. shyllings. viij. pence, the halfe penny of the value of. three shyllings, foure pence, and the farthyng of the value of twentie pence, the which Coyne was speciallye ordeyned for his warres in Fraunce: For the Golde thereof was not so fyne as was the Noble, which as before in the. xiiij. yere of hys reigne he caused to be coyned.

A new coyne called the Floreyn.

Nowe after the aforesayde Parliament ended, king Edward woulde needes ayde the Countesse of Mountforde agayust the Lorde Charles of Bloys. And for her reliefe he sent Sir Robert de Arthoys, Erle of Richemond accompanied with a certayne number of good men of warre, and Archers, the which Sir Robert by reason of tempestes on the Sea, was long before he came thether: But for the time he remayned there, he did very valiauntly, notwithstanding at the last he was sore wounded, and returned into England and dyed in London and was buried in the Quier, or vpper parte of Paules Churche, whome king Edward caused to be buried with as solempne an obsequy, and as nobly was it done, as if it had bene for his awne Cosyn Germayn the Erle of Darby.

The death of Sir Robert de Arthoys Erle of Richemond.

King Edwarde being greatly offended with the death of Sir Robert de Arthoys, sware a great othe that he would neuer reast but he woulde reuenge his death, wherefore incontinently he sent out letters thorough out all the Realme, commaunding euery noble man and other to attend vpon hym within one Moneth next after. And in the meane tyme he prepared a great number of shippes, and at the ende of the Moneth he tooke the Seas and landed in Britayne not farre from Vannes, where Sir Robert de Arthoys arryued before: he was three dayes in landyng of all his prouision, and the fourth day he went toward Vannes. And all this meane tyme the Erle of Salsbury and the Erle of Pembrooke lay at the siege of Renes. And shortly after, the king besieged Vannes, and did many noble feates of warre, and at the last the Duke of Normandy came with a mightye power to breake vp the siege: But in the ende, by the meanes and labour of two Cardynalles, a truce for three yeres was agreed vpon, and so the warres brake vp, and the king returned againe into England about Christmas.

King Edward with a great power landeth in Britayn.

A peace made with the French king for three yere.

1344

After the king was thus returned, he went to his Castell of Windsore, the which was first builded by king Arthure (as sayth sir Iohn Froyssard) and nowe newely reedified by

19

king

king Edwarde, wherein he tooke great pleasure. And the sayde sir Iohn Froissart sayth, that in this Castell king Arthure did first begin the order of the round table, whereby sprang the fame of so many noble knightes throughout all the worlde. But other write that the same was ordeyned first at Winchester, for there is yet the table that is called king Arthures round table. And nowe king Edward purposyng a lyke encouragement of noble and worthie knightes, beyng at Windsore as aforesayde, did ordeyne and establishe in the same Castell the most honourable order of knighthood of the blewe Garter, and a solempne feast to be kept for the same yerely vpon Saint Georges day. And to begin this noble order, the king caused to be assembled together all the Erles, Lordes, and Knightes of his realme, and expressed vnto them his purposed deuice, wherein they toke great pleasure, because they sawe it was that which tended to great honour, and that by the same, great amitie, frienship & loue might growe among the nobles of this realme. And then were there chosen out a certeine number of the most valiauntest men in ỹ realme, and they right gladly swore and were content to seale, to mainteine those ordinaunces that then were deuised for the sayde order.

Windsore castell first buildled by king Arthure.

The order of the Garter.

And then also the King builded a Chappell of Saint George within the sayde Castell of Windsore, and stablished therein certein Chanons, and other Ministers, for the saiyng of deuine and dayly seruice, and endued them with right good liuynges and possessions.

The Chappell within the Castell of Windsore builded by King Edward ỹ^e^ third.

Then the King sent to publish this his royall feast by his Heraults, into Fraunce, Scotland, Burgoyn, Henault, Flaundyrs, Brabant, and into the Empire of Almaine, geuyng and promisyng euery Knight and Esquier that would come to the sayd feast. xv. dayes of safe conduict, before the feast, and xv. dayes after the feast, the same feast to begyn on the day of Saint George next folowyng, which was in the yere of our Lorde. 1344. and the Queene to be there, accompanyed with three hundred Ladyes and Damoselles, all of noble linage, and apparelled accordingly.

When the day of this royall feast drew nere, thether came a noble company of Erles, Barons, Ladyes and Damoselles, Knightes and Esquiers. And also diuerse Lordes and knightes of straunge Countries came thether out of dyuerse places, as out of Flaundyrs Heynault, and Brabant, but out of Fraunce came none.

A roiall feast.

Duryng the time of this feast newes, came to the king out of dyuerse Countries: Thether came knightes out of Gascoyne, as the Lorde of Lespare, the Lorde of Chawmount, the Lord of Musident, who were sent from the other Lordes of the Countrie, such as were Englishe: as the Lorde de Labreth, the Lord of Puniers, the Lord of Mouferaunt, ỹ Lord of Duras, the Lorde of Carton, the Lorde of Grayly, and diuers other. And in like maner came sundrie Messengers from sundrie other places, and all aduised the king to send vnto them succours in due season, for they were in great feare of their enemy the French King, who made great prouision to annoy them.

These troubleous newes caused the king the soner to shorten his feast and triumph. And when the same was ended, and all the straungers departed, and the Ladyes and Damoselles, then the king went to counsayle wyth his Lordes what was best to be done. And shortly they agreed that it were meete some chiefe Capitaine and succours were sent vnto Burdeaux, for the defence thereof, and for the rest of Gascoyne. Then the king agreed to sende ouer the Erle of Darby his Cosyn Germaine as Cheuetaine, who wyth all possible speede prepared himselfe, and he was accompanied with the Erle of Pembrooke, the Erle of Norffolke, the Baron of Stafford, Sir Gualtier of Manny, Sir Richard Haydon, the Lorde Franque de la hall, the Lieure de Brabant, sir Hugh Hastynges, sir Stephen de Tombey, the Lorde of Manney, the Lord Normant of Fynefroyde, sir Robert of Lerney, sir Iohn Norwich, sir Richard Rockclefe, sir Robert of Quenton, and diuers other, to the number of. v. C. Knightes and Esquiers, and two thousand Archers. And the King sayd to his Cosyn the Erle of Darby, take with you Gold and Siluer ynough, ye shall not lacke, and depart largely thereof vnto your men of warre, whereby ye shall get their loue and fauor, and thus the Erle of Darby departed vnto Burdeaux, who after his

The Erle of Derby sent to Burdeaux with a goodly company to withstand the malice of the French king.

his comming thether did many noble and valiaunt deedes of armes, aswell in assaultyng of diuerse townes, as also in conquering & recouering from ŷ French men many rich Cities & townes.

Iaques Dartuell of Gaũt a great louer & friend to King Edward.

In this time (as before you haue heard) reigned in Flaundyrs in great prosperitie and puyssaunce, Iaques Dartuell of Gaunt, who was a speciall friend and louer of king Edward. And the same Iaques had promised the king that he would make him Lorde and inheritour of Flaundyrs, and to endue his sonne the Prince of Wales therewith. For the which cause, aboute the Feast of Saint Iohn Baptist, king Edward went ouer vnto Sluce with many of his Lordes and knightes, and brought thether with him the young Prince his sonne, vpon the worde and promise of Iaques Dartuell. The King with all his nauie laye in the hauen of Sluce, and there he kept hys house, and thether came to visite him his friendes of Flaundyrs. There were great counsayles betwene the King and Iaques Dartuell on the one parte, and the Counsayles of the good townes of the other part. So that they of the Countrie were not of the agrement with the king, neyther with Iaques Dartuell, who went aboute to perswade them to disenherite the Erle Loys their awne naturall Lorde, and also his yong sonne Loys, and to inherite the sonne of the King of Englande, to the which they sayde they would neuer agree vnto. And so the last day of their Counsaile which was kept in the Hauen at Sluce in the kinges great ship called the Katheryn: They with one minde and voyce gaue a determinate aunswere and sayd: sir, ye haue desired vs to a thing that is great and weightie, the which hereafter may sore touche the Countrie of Flaundyrs and our heyres: Truely we knowe none at thys day whose preferment and honour we would be more glad to aduaunce then yours: But sir, this thing we can not do alone, we must haue herevnto the whole commonaltie of Flaundyrs. Therefore for this present we will go home, and euery man to speake with his friendes generally within euery towne, and as we finde the most part to agree, so will we be right well content: and within a moneth we will be here againe with you, and geue you such aunswere as we trust ye will be content. The king neyther Iaques Dartuell could haue none other aunswere at that time: Howbeit they required a shorter day, but that would not be.

So thus departed that Counsaile, and euery man went home to theyr awne townes: But Iaques Dartuell taryed a little with the King, and still he promised the king that he would bring them vnto his entent, but he was foule deceyued as after will appere.

Iaques Dartuell tooke his leaue of the king and went first to Bruges and perswaded with the Lords there, and lykewise with the rulers of Ipre, and in the ende they graunted vnto him, so that Iaques made a full accompt that he had obteyned and ended this matter, for he assured himselfe of the towne of Gaunt, whom as he thought he might rule as he lust, but he found it otherwise. When he had ended at Bruges he returned to Gaunt, not suspecting any thing, but that they were his verie friends: and before he came to the towne, it was tolde to the inhabitaunts that Iaques Dartuell went about to disenherite the right Erle of Flaundyrs and his sonne, and to geue the inheritaunce vnto the sonne of king Edward of England, a straunger, at the hering wherof they assembled themselues in the Market place, and were in a great furie agaynst Iaques Dartuell, but at the last they departed from the Market place, and euery man went home to his awne house. Shortly after about noone, came Iaques Dartuell into Gaunt, not knowyng anye thing of the former doing of the men of the towne, but they knewe well of his comming, and therefore walked in the streetes in heapes, euen where he should passe. And when they sawe him, they beganne to murmour, and began to whisper together and to fall to secret talke, and at the last they spake out alowde one to another and sayde. Beholde, yonder commeth the great master that will rule all Flaundyrs as he lust, and geue the inheritance therof where he thinketh meete. Also there was a brute blowen abroade among the inhabitaunts of the Towne, that Iaques Dartuell for the space of ix. yeres past had in his handes all the reuenues of Flaundyrs, and neuer did accompt for the same. And farther that he had sent

Iaques Dartuell was greatlye deceaued.

The behauiour of the people of Gaunt at the entring of Iaques Dartuell into their towne.

great ryches and treasure vnto the king of England: These tales set them of Gaunt on a fyre. And as Iaques Dartuell roade through the streete, he perceaued that there was some matter in framing against him, for he saw, as he came by, such as were wont to doe reuerence vnto him, turne their faces from him, and went into their houses. Then he began to doubt, and assone as he was alighted in his lodging, he closed fast his gates, dores and wyndowes. This was scant done, but all the streete was full of men, and specially of them of meanest occupations, then they beset his house both behinde and before and round about, and began to breake vp the house: But he and his defended themselues within the house along space, and slue and hurt many without. But finally he could not endure, for three partes of the men of that towne were at that assault. When Iaques sawe that he was so sore oppressed, he came to a wyndow with great humilitie barehedded and spake in gentle maner and sayde: Good people, what ayleth you, why are you so sore offended at me? Wherein haue I displeased you, let me vnderstande it, and I will gladly make suche amends as I trust shall content you. Then such as heard him, aunswered all with one voyce, we will haue accompt made of the great treasure of Flaundyrs, that you haue sent out of the waye without any title or reason. Then Iaques meekely aunswered and sayde: Certainely Sirs, of the treasure of Flaundyrs I neuer tooke any thing. I pray you withdraw your selues paciently into your houses, and come againe to morow in the morning, and I will make you so good an accompt, that ye shall be well pleased and contented withall. Then they all cryed and sayde, nay, we will haue an accompt incontynent, thou shalt not scape our handes so: we knowe for truth that thou hast sent great riches into England without our knowledge, and therefore thou shalt die. When Iaques heard that worde, he ioyned his handes together and sore weeping sayde: Sirs, such as I am ye haue made me: and ye haue sworne to me or this to defende me agaynst all persons. And will you now slay me agaynst all reason, and no cause heard nor examined? ye maye doe it if ye will, for I am but one man amongst you all, but yet for Gods sake take better aduise, and remember the tyme past, and consyder the great graces and friendship that I haue shewed and done vnto you: and then I trust ye will not so vngently reward me, and chiefely for the great goodnesse that I haue shewed vnto your towne. Ye know right well that the trade of marchaundise was cleerely decayed in this towne, and countrey, and by my meanes ye haue recouered it. Also I haue gouerned you in great peace and rest, for in the time of my gouernement ye haue had all things as your harts desyred, corne and all other marchaundise.

The poorest and of least discretion are euer commōly the most busiest.

The wise and mylde speech of Iaques Dartuell to the common people.

A hard matter to satisfie rude and disorderly persons.

Then the people eryed all with one voyce, come downe to vs & preach not so high, and geue vs accompt of the great treasure of Flaundyrs which ye haue gouerned so long without compt making, which becommeth no officer so to doe, to receaue the goodes of hys Lorde, or of hys Countrie, and make none accompt.

When Iaques sawe that he could not appease them: he drewe in his head and closed in his Wyndow, and thought to haue stollen out on the backside into the Church that ioyned to his house: But his house was so broken that foure hundred persons were entred into it, and finally, there he was taken and slaine without any pitie or mercie, and one Thomas Denyce gaue him his deathes stroke. And thus ended Iaques Dartuell.

Iaques Dartuell taken & slaine without all mercy and pitie.

When king Edward, who lay all this while at Sluse, abyding the aunswere of the Flemyngs, heard how they of Gaunt had slaine Iaques Dartuell his great friend, he was sore displeased. Wherefore incontinent he departed from Sluce, and entred into the Sea, sore threatning the Flemynges and the countrie of Flaundyrs, and sayde, how his death should be reuenged.

King Edwar heering of the death of Iaques Dartuell returneth into England.

Then the Counsaylours of the good townes of Flaundyrs thought no lesse but that the king of England would take the death of Iaques Dartuell greeuously, wherefore they determined to go to the king and excuse themselues, and specially they of Bruges, Courtray, Iper, Andwarp & Franke: They sent into Englande to the king for a safe conduyt that they might come to their excuse. The king then being somewhat cooled of his great furie, graunted

The rulers of ye townes in Flaūdyrs come to king Edward to make their excuse for the death of Iaques Dartuell.

graunted their desire. And then there came into England men of estate out of the good Townes of Flaundyrs, except out of Gaunt there came none. This was aboute Mighelmas, and the same time the King laye at Westmynster besides London.

When they were come vnto the kinges presence, they in most lowly maner humbled themselues before the king, and clerely excused themselues of the death of Iaques Dartuell, and sware solemply that they knewe nothing thereof vntill it was done. And if they had, he was the man that they would haue defended to the best of their powers, and sayde that they were ryght sorie of his death, for he had gouerned the Countrie right politikely and wisely. And also they sayde, that though they of Gaunt had done that dede, yet should they make a sufficient amendes. And further they sayd vnto the king and his counsaile, that though he be deede, yet the king of England was neuer the further off from the loue & fauour of them in Flaundyrs in all things, except the enheritance of Flaundyrs, which by no meane nor way they wyll put from the right heyres. And saiyng also further vnto the king: Sir you haue a yong daughter, and we haue a yong Lorde, who is the enheritour of Flaundyrs, we haue him in our kepyng, may it please you to consent to a maryage to be made betweene them two, and by that meanes the Countie of Flaundyrs may for euer be in the issue of your Childe. These wordes and many such like did greatly pacifie the king, and finally the king was content with the Flemyngs, and they with him, and so by litle and litle the death of Iaques Dartuell was quite forgotten.

A new offer of amitie made by the Flemynges to king Edwarde.

And shortly after the death of Iaques Dartuell, dyed also William Erle of Henault, the kinges great louer and friend, and not long after sir Iohn of Heynault the kinges most chiefe and speciall friende (who from the first beginnyng and entraunce of the king into the Realme and Kingdome of England, assisted and defended him) did now refuse the king of England and became French, because as some write, that the King of Englande, refused to pay him his pencion that he graunted vnto him. And thus was King Edward destitute of a great many of his chiefe and speciall friendes, euen vpon a sodeyne.

The death of Wyllia Erle of Heynault the louer and great friend of king Edward.

1345. About this time the King heard howe his men were in sore distresse at the siege of the Castell of Aguillon in Gascoyne, and therefore prepared him selfe with a great and puissaunt army to go ouer for their reskue. And in this meane time, the Lord Godfrey of Harecourt, beyng banished out of Fraunce came into England, and was well receyued with the king, and he retayned him to remaine and continue about him, and assigned him landes in England to mainteine his degree.

20 The Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt being banished out of France was ioyfully receaued in Englande by king Edward.

Then the king caused a great nauy of shippes to be readie in the Hauen of Southhampton, and caused all maner of men of warre to be there at the feast of Saint Iohn Baptist. 1345. And at that time the king departed from the Queene, and left her in the guidyng of the Erle of Cane his Cosyn. And he ordeyned and appoynted the Lorde Percey, and the Lorde Neuell to be Wardeynes of his realme, with the Archbishop of Yorke, the Bishop of Lincolne, and the Bishop of Durham: For the king at no time departed out of this realme, but that he left sufficient behind him to defend the realme if nede were. Then the king roade to Hampton, and taryed there for winde: And at the last he entred into Ship and the Prince of Wales with him, and the Lorde Godfray of Harecourt, and all other Erles, Barons, Lordes, and Knightes, with all their companies. They were in number foure thousand men of armes, and ten thousand Archers, beside Irishemen and Welshmen that folowed the hoste on foote and. xj. C. sayle of shippes, as some write.

A royall nauy and army that sayled with the king into Fraūce.

And here I thinke it not amisse to name vnto you all the Lordes that went in this iourney with the king. First Edward his eldest sonne Prince of Wales, who as then was of the age of. xvj. yeres, or there aboutes, the Erles of Herford, Northhampton, Arondell, Cornewall, Warwike, Huntyngdon, Suffolke, and Oxenford. And of Barons, the Lorde Mortimer, who was after Erle of Marche, the Lordes, Iohn, Lewes, and Roger of Beauchamp, and the Lorde Reynold Cobham. Of Lordes, the Lord of Mowbray, Rose, Lucy, Felton, Brastone, Myllon, Labey, Maule, Basset, Barlet, & Willoughby, and diuers other Lordes.

Lordes. And of Bachelers, there were Iohn Chandoys, Fitzwaren, Peter and Iames Audeley, Roger of Vertuall, Bartholemew of Bryes, Richard of Pembruges, with diuers other that I can not name.

Thus they sayled forth that day in the name of God, and they were well onward on their way toward Gascoyn: But on the thirde day, there arose a contrary wynde, and draue them on the Marches of Cornewall, and there they lay at anker. vj. dayes. In that space the king had other Counsayle by the meanes of Sir Godfrey Harecourt: he counsayled the king not to go into Gascoyn, but rather to set a land in Normandie, and he sayde to the king, Sir the Countrie of Normandie is one of the most plenteous Countries of the worlde. And Sir, on ieopardie on my head, if ye will land there, there is none that will resist you: The people of Normandie haue not bene vsed to warre, and all the Knightes and Esquiers of the Countrie are nowe at the siege before Aguillon with the Duke. And Sir, there ye shall finde great Townes that be not walled, whereby your men shall haue such wynnyng that they shall be the better thereby. xx. yere after: & ye may follow with your armie vntill ye come to Cane in Normandie. And Sir, I pray you beleue me, and take this voyage. The King who was as then but in the flower of hys youth, for he passed not. xxxv. yeres of age, and desiryng nothing so much as to haue deedes of Armes, enclined greatly to the saiyng of the Lorde Harecourt, whome he called Cosin. Then the King commaunded the Mariners to set their course to Normandie: And he tooke into his ship the Baner or Badge of the Admirall the Erle of Warwike, and sayde howe he would be Admirall in that voyage, and so sayled on before, as gouernour of the nauie. And they had wind at wil: Then the king arriued in the Isle of Constantine, at a port called Hoggue Saint Waste.

The counsail of sir Godfray Harecourt to king Edwarde, which counsayle was good as it after proued.

King Edward tooke vpon him to be Admirall to the whole nauye.

The king arriued at Costantine an Isle in Normandie.

Tydings anone spreade abroade, howe the Englishmen were landed: The townes of Constantyne sent downe woord to Parys to king Philip. And he had heard before how that king Edward was on the sea with a great armie, but he vnderstood not what waye he woulde take, whether into Normandy, Gascoyne, or Briteyn.

Assoone as he knewe that the king of Englande was landed in Normandy, he sent his Conestable the Erle of Guynes, and the Erle of Tankeruile, who were but newly come to him from his sonne from the siege of Aguillon, to the towne of Cane, commaunding them them to keepe that towne agaynst the Englishmen: They sayde they would doe their best, and so departed from Parys with a good number of men of warre, and daylie there came mo vnto them by the waye. And so at the last came to the towne of Cane, where the men and people of that towne receyued them with great ioy. And assone as these Lordes were come, they busily prouyded for the good defence of the sayde Towne, and set all things in good order.

The king of England, as aforesayd, was arriued at the Porte Hoggue Saint Waste, neere to Saint Sauyour the vicount, which was the right heritage to the Lord Godfray of Harecourt, who as then was there with the king of England. Assone as the king was arriued in the aforesayde porte, as he lept out of his ship, the first foote that he stepped on the grounde he felt so vntowardly, that the blood brast out of his nose. The knightes that were about him, tooke him vp and sayde, syr for Gods sake enter againe into your Ship, and come not a lande this daye, for this is but an euill signe for vs. Then the king aunswered quickly and sayd, wherfore? this is a good token for mee, for the lande desyreth to haue mee. Of the which aunswere all his men were ioyfull: So that day and night the king lodged on the sandes. And in the meane time discharged the ships of their horses and other baggages. There the king made two Marshalles of his hoste, the one, Lorde Godfray of Harecourte, and the other the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Arondell Constable: And he ordeyned that the Erle of Huntyngdon should keepe the Fleete of shippes with an hundreth men of armes and foure hundred Archers. And also he ordeyned three battayles, one to go on his right hande close to the sea side, and the other on his left hande, and the king himselfe in the middes, and euery night to lodge all in one field.

The Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt & the Erle of Warwike made Marshalles of the kings armie.

Thus they set foorth as they were ordeyned, and they that went by the Sea tooke all the shippes that came in their wayes, and so long they went foorth what by sea, and what by lande, that at the last they came to a good porte, & to a good towne called Harflew, the which incontinent was wonne: For they within gaue vp for feare of death. And albeit the sayde towne was robbed and spoyled, and much Golde, Siluer, and riche Iewels taken out of the same, yet there remayned so muche riches that the boyes and villaynes of the hoste set nothing by good furred Gownes. And before they entred into the rifelyng of the Towne, they caused all the inhabitauntes of the towne to come foorth and go into their shippes, because they would not suffer them to be behinde them for feare of rebellyng againe. And thus was the towne of Harflewe taken and spoyled without brenning.

Harflewe wonne.

Then the armie spreade abroade in the Countrie, and did what they lust, for there was none to resist them. And at the last they came to a great and riche towne called Chierbourgh. The towne they wanne and spoyled and brent parte of it: But into the Castell they coulde not come, it was so strong and well furnished with men of warre. Then they passed forth & came to Mountbourgh, and tooke and spoyled it and brent it cleane. In thys maner they spoyled and brent many other townes in that countrey, and wanne so much ryches that it was incredible. Then they came to a great towne called Quarentyne, where there was also a strong Castell, and many souldyours within to keepe it. Then the Lordes came out of their shippes and made a fierce assault: The Burgesses of the towne were in great feare of their lyues, wyues and children. And they gladly suffered the Englishmen to enter into the towne against the minde and will of all the souldyours there: They put all their goodes vnto the Englishmens pleasures, because they thought they should so the better obtaine their fauour, and mitigate their rygour. When the French souldyours sawe the Englishmen enter into the towne, then they fled, and went into the Castell. And the Englishmen kept the towne two dayes, and therein made sore assaults vnto the Castell, and at the last the Frenchmen seing no remedy, did geue it ouer. And thus were the Englishmen possessed both of that good towne and Castell. And when they sawe they might not maintaine nor keepe it, they set it on fyre, and brent both towne and Castell. And while they were thus spoyling of the Towne, they made all the Burgesses and people of the towne to go into their shippes as before they had done with them of Harflew, Chierbourgh & Mountbourgh and other townes that they had wonne on the Sea side. All this was done by the battayle that went on the Sea side, and by them on the sea together.

Chierbourgh taken and spoyled.

Mountbourgh take and spoyled.

Quarentyne a good towne taken & spoyled and brent.

Now let vs speake of the kinges battayle, when he had sent his first battaile along by the sea side, as ye haue heard before, whereof the Erle of Warwyke was Captaine and the Lorde Cobham with him. Then he made his other Marshall to leade his hoste on the left hande, for he knewe the issues and entries of Normandy better then any other did. The Lorde Godfray as Marshall roade foorth with fiue hundred men of armes, and roade of from the kings battayle sixe or seauen leagues, in brennyng and spoylyng the Countrey, the which Countrie was plentifull in euery thing. The Granges were full of Corne, the houses full of all ryches, riche Borgesses and Citezens, Horse, Swine, Sheepe and other beastes and Cattell great plenty: They tooke what pleased them, and brought into the kinges hoste. But the souldyours made none accompt to the king nor to none other of his officers of the Golde, Siluer, and Iewels that they did get, for that they kept to themselues.

Thus Sir Godfray of Harecourt road euery day from the kings host, and yet for the most parte euery night he resorted into the kings fielde.

The king tooke his way to Saint Clowe in Constantine, but before he came there, he lodged by a ryuer, abyding for his men that went along the Sea side. And when they were come, they set foorth their caryage: And the Erle of Warwike and the Erle of Suffolke, Syr Thomas Holland and Syr Raynold Cobham, and their company road out on

the one side & wasted and spoyled the countrey as the Lorde of Harecourt had done. And the king euer roade betwene these battayles, and euery night they lodged together.

In this meane time the French King sent for Sir Iohn of Heynault, who came to him with a great number of men. And in like maner the sayde king sent for other men of armes, Dukes, Erles, Barons, knightes, and Esquiers, and assembled together such a great number of people as had not bene sene in an hundreth yeres before. He sent also for men into so farre Countries, that it was long before they came, so that the king of Englande did what him lyst in the meane season. The French king knew well ynough what he did, and sware that he shoulde neuer returne out of his Realme vnfought withall, and that such hurtes and dammages as they had done, should be deerely reuenged. The French king gathereth together a great power.

King Edward hauing in his battaile three thousand men of armes, and. vj. thousand Archers, and ten thousand footemen, besydes them that roade with the Marshals, left the Citie of Constance, and went to the great towne called Saint Clowe, which was a rich towne of Drapery, and many riche Burgesses therein. When the King came thether, he tooke his lodging without the towne, for he would neuer lodge within any towne for feare of fire: But he sent his men before, and the towne was immediately taken and spoyled. The ryches of that towne was very great, namely in Canuas. Then the king went towarde Cane, the which was a greater towne, and full of Drapery of Lynnen and Wollen cloth, and other riche Marchandise, and the inhabitauntes of the towne were very riche men, noble Ladies, beutifull Damoselles, goodly and riche Churches, and two great riche Abbeyes, one of the Trinitie, another of Saint Stephen. And on the one syde of the towne one of the fayrest Castels in all Normandy, of the which sir Robert of Blargny was Capitaine, with three hundreth Genowayes, and in the Towne was the Erle of Ewe, and of Guynes Constable of Fraunce, and the Erle of Tankeruile with a good number of men of warre. The towne of S. Clowe taken and spoyled.

The King of England roade all that day in good order, and lodged all his battayles together that night, about two leagues from Cane, in a towne with a little hauen called Haustreham: and thether came also all his nauie of ships with the Erle of Huntyngdon, who was gouernour of them.

The Constable and other Lordes of Fraunce that night watched well the towne of Cane, and in the mornyng armed themselues, and all the fightyng people in the Towne. And then the Constable tooke order that none should issue out of the Towne, but kepe their defences on the Walles, Gate, Bridge, and Riuer, and left the suburbes voyde, because they were not closed: For they thought they should haue ynough to do to defende the towne, because it was not closed, but with the riuer. But they of the towne sayd they would issue out, for they were strong ynough to fight with the king of England. When the Constable sawe them so bent, he sayde, in the name of God be it, ye shall not fight without me. Then they issued out in good order, and made good face and shewe to fight with the Englishe men, and to put theyr liues in aduenture.

The Englishe men roase earely in the mornyng, and made themselues ready to go to Cane. The King heard noyse before the sonne risyng, & therefore he and the Prince his sonne tooke their horse, and sir Godfrey of Harecourt, Marshall and leader of the host, whose counsaile the king much folowed. And the kinges army went forward in good array, and approched nere to the good towne of Cane.

When they of the Towne, who then were ready in the field, sawe these thre battayles comming in good array, with their Banners and Standards wauyng with the winde, and the Archers which they had not bene accustomed to see: they were so sore afrayde that they fled towarde the towne, without any order or good array, and the Constable could not stay them: But the Englishe men pursued them egerly.

When the Constable and the Erle of Tankeruyll sawe that, they tooke a Gate at the entrie and saued themselues and certeine with them, for the English men were entred into the towne as sone as they. And suche of the Frenche as knewe the way to the Castell, Cane besieged taken and spoyled.

went

went thether, and the Capitaine thereof receyued them all, for the Castell was large. The Englishe men in the chace slue many, for they tooke none to mercy.

Then the Constable and the Erle of Tankeruyll beyng in the little towre at the Bridge foote, looked along the strete, and sawe their men slaine without mercy, they doubted to fall in their handes. At the last they sawe an English knight with one eye called Sir Thomas Holland, and fiue or sixe other knightes with him, they knewe them, for they had seene them before in Prace, in Granado, and in other voyages. Then they called to sir Thomas and sayde, howe they would yelde themselues prisoners. Then sir Thomas came thether with his companie, and went vp into the Gate, and there found the sayd Lordes, and xxv. knightes with them, who yelded them all vnto sir Thomas, and he tooke them for his prisoners, and left companie to keepe them. And then he tooke his horse againe and roade into the streetes, and saued the lyues of many Ladies and Damoselles, and Cloysterers from deflowryng, for the Souldiours were without all compassion and mercie. And it chaunced so happely the same time for the Englishmen, that the riuer which was well able to beare shippes, at that tyme was so lowe, that men went in and out beside the bridge. And such of the towne as were entred into their houses, cast downe into the streete, stones, timber, and yron, and slue & hurt mo then fiue hundreth English men, with the which doing the King was sore displeased. And at night when he heard thereof, he commaunded that the next day that all should be put to the sworde, and the towne to be brent. But then sir Godfray of Harecourt sayd: dere sir, for Goddes sake asswage somewhat your courage, and let it suffice you that ye haue done, ye haue a great exployt to do before ye come to Calice, whether ye purpose to go: And Sir, in thys towne there are much people that will defende their houses, and it will cost many of your mennes liues, before that ye haue all your will, and by that meane ye may fortune to be disappoynted of your voyage to Calice, the which would turne to your great griefe: Wherefore sir, saue your people, for ye may chaunce to haue nede of them before this moneth passe, For I thinke verely that your aduersarie King Phillip will meete with you to fight, and ye shall find many streight passages and reencountries. Wherefore your men, and ye had mo shall stande you in good steede, and Sir without any further sleayng, ye shall be Lorde of this towne, men and women will put themselues and all that euer they haue vnto your pleasure.

Then the King sayd, Sir Godfray, you are our Marshall, order euery thing as best shall seeme vnto you. Then sir Godfray with his Banner roade from streete to streete, and commaunded in the kinges name, none to be so hardy as to put fire in any house, to slay any person, or to violate any woman.

When they of the towne heard that crie, they receyued the Englishmen into their houses, and made them good cheere. And some opened their Coffers, and bad them take what they woulde, so that they might be assured of their lyues: Howbeit at that time there were many murders, robberyes, and euill deedes done in that towne.

Cane taken and sacked by the Englishe men.

Thus the Englishmen were Lordes of the towne of Cane three dayes, & wanne great ryches, the which they sent awaye by Barkes and Barges by the ryuer of Austrehen vnto their Nauie with two hundred men of Armes and foure hundred Archers, and so the Nauie departed into Englande wyth great riches and many riche prisoners. And the king bought of syr Thomas Holland two of his prisoners, which was the Constable of Fraunce, and the Erle of Tankeruyll, & gaue him for them ten thousand Marks in old nobles.

Then the king departed from Cane, and roade in the order that he did before, brennyng and spoylyng the Countrie, and tooke the way to Ewreus, and so past by it. And from thence they road to a great towne called Louyers, it was the chiefe towne of all Normandy of Drapery, ryche and full of all Marchandise: The Englishmen soone entred into it, for as then it was not closed, and it was ouer runne, ransacked and spoyled without all mercie, and there was wonne great rychesse.

Louyers taken & spoiled.

Then they entered into the Countrie of Eureux, and brent and spoyled the Countrie,

except the walled townes and Castells, to the which the king made none assault for sparyng of his people and his artillery.

On the ryuer of Seyn nere vnto Roane, there was the Erle of Harecourte brother to Sir Godfray of Harecourt, but he was on the French partie, and the Erle of Dreux with him, with a good number of men of warre. But the Englishmen left Roane and went to Gysours, where was a strong Castell, they brent the towne, and after brent Vernon and all the Countrie about Roan and Pount de Larche, and came to Nauntes and to Meulence and wasted all the Cruntrie about, and passed by the strong Casteil of Robboys, and in euerie place along the ryuer of Seyne they founde the bridges broken. At the last they came to Poyssey and found the bridge broken, but the Arches and Ioystes lay in the ryuer. The king laye there fiue dayes, and in the meane time the bridge was made to passe the hoste without perill. The Englishe Marshalles ranne abroade euen iust to Parys, and brent Saint Germayns in Lay, and Mountioye and S. Clowde, and pety Boleyn by Parys, and the Quenes Bourgh. They of Parys were not well assured of themselues, for it was not as then walled nor closed.

Gysors, Vernon, & Pontlarche brent and spoyled.

Saint Germain, Moutioye, Saint Cloude, Pety Boleyn, al destroyed.

The French king vnderstanding the king of Englande to be so nere, remoued from Paris to Saint Dionyce which is nere vnto Paris: and before he went, he caused all the Penthehouses of the Towne of Parys to be pulled downe. And vnto Saint Denyce there were al ready come to the aide of the French king, the king of Behayne, the Lorde Iohn of Heynault, the Duke of Loreyne, the Erle of Flaundyrs, the Erle of Bloys and many other great Lordes and knightes.

When the people of Paris saw their king depart, they came to him and kneeled downe and sayde: A syr, and right Noble king, what will you doe? will ye nowe departe and leaue both vs and this noble Citie as a spoyle to your enemies? The king aunswered them and sayde, be not afrayde good people, for the Englishmen will come no nere you then they are. Why so syr quoth they, for they be within these two leagues: And assone as they knowe of your departure they will come and assayle vs, and we be not able to defend them, wherefore good syr, for Gods sake tarie here still and helpe to defende your noble Citie of Paris. Speake no more to me quoth the king, for I will go to Saint Dionyce to my men of warre, and I will encounter the Englishmen and fight with them, whatsoeuer fall therof.

At this time the king of Englande being at Poyssy, lay at the Nonery there, and kept there the feast of our Ladye the Assumption, and sate in his robes of Scarlet furred with Ermins, and that feast being ended, he then went foorth in the same order that he did before.

The Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt road out on the syde with. v. C. men of armes and. xiij. C. Archers: And by aduenture he encountred a great number of the Burgesses of Amyens on horseback, who were ryding by the kinges commaundement to Paris. The Englishmen quickly gaue them the onset, and they valiauntly defended themselues, for they were a great number and well armed, and had to their Capitaines foure knights of Amyens. This skirmish dured long, at the first meeting many were ouerthrowne of both partes: But finally the Burgessses were taken and almost all slaine, and the Englishmen tooke all their caryages and harnesse: Of this number there were slaine. xij. hundred that lay in the field.

A skirmishe wherein were slaine. xij. C. Burgesses of Amiens.

Then the king of England entred into Beauuosyn brennyng and spoyling the plaine countrie, and lodged at a fayre Abbey and a riche, called saint Messene, nere to Beaways, and there the king taried one night, and in the morning departed. And when he was on his way, he looked back and saw the Abbey on fyre, and he caused incontinent. xx. of them to be hanged that set it on fyre, for he had commaunded before vpon paine of death none to spoyle any Church, nor to brenne any Abbey or Monastery.

Then the king passed by the Citie of Beaways without anye assault geuing, because he would not trouble his people nor wast his artillery. And so that daye he took his lodging betimes in a little towne called Nully. The two marshalles came so neere to Beaways, that they

they made a skirmishe at the Barryers in three places, the which assault dured a long space: But the Towne within was so well defended by the meane of the Byshop, who at that tyme was within the towne, that finally the Englishmen departed and brent cleane heard to the gates all the suburbes of the same. And at night they came into the kinges field.

The next day the king departed, brennyng and spoyling all before him, and at night lodged in a good village called Gracuiellure. And the next daye the king passed by Argies, and there was none to defend the Castell, wherefore it was soone taken and brent. Then they went foorth, destroyeng the Countrie all about, and so came to the Castell of Poys, where there was a good towne and two Castels. There was no body in them, but two fayre Damoselles daughters to the Lorde of Poys, and they were sone taken, and had bene violated if two Englishe knightes had not beene, syr Iohn Chaudos and Sir Basset: They defended them and brought them to the king, who for his honour made them good cheere, and demaunded of them whether they woulde faynest go, and they sayde to Corbe, and the king caused them to be brought thether without any perill. That night the king lodged in the Towne of Poys. And they of the towne and of the Castels spake that night with the two Marshals of the host, to saue them and their towne from brennyng, and they to paye a certaine some of Floreyns, and the same was graunted vnto them. The next daye the king departed in the morning with all his hoste, except certayne that were left there to receaue the money which the towne had promised to paye. When they of the towne sawe the hoste departed and gone, and that there were few left behinde: then they sayde, that they would pay neuer a penny, and so ranne vpon the Englishmen, who defended themselues as well as they might, and sent after the host for succour.

When Sir Thomas Holland, and Sir Reignold Cobham, who had the rule of the rereguarde, heard therof, they returned & cried treason, treason and so came againe to Poys ward, & found their Companions fighting styll with them of the towne. Then anone they of the towne were nighe all slaine, and the towne brent, and the two Castelles beaten downe. Then they returned to the kinges Hoste, who was as then at Araynes, and there lodged, and commaunded all maner of men vpon paine of death to do no hurt to no towne of Arsyn, for there the king was minded to lie a day or two to take aduise howe he might passe the riuer of Some: For it was necessary for him to passe the riuer, as after ye shall here.

Poys brent & destroyed.

The Frenche king was nowe in great redinesse to folowe the king of England, and was so farre forward, that he with a merueylous great armie of the number of a hundreth thousande men and mo, were come as farre as Amyens, and thought to haue enclosed the king of England with the water of Some, for he had caused all the Bridges to be broken, and those that remayned to be so garded and kept, that there was no way left for the King of England to escape.

The King of England beyng thus enclosed, first caused his two Marshalles with a thousand men of armes and two thousand archers to go along the ryuer to seeke out some passage. And as they went, they entered into a towne called Founteynes, that standeth on the riuer of Some, and by reason it was not closed, they sone conquered, spoyled, and brent it. And from thence they went to sundrie passages, but all were so well defended, that there was no way for the king of England to passe the riuer of Some.

Founteynes spoyled and brent.

The King of England beyng verye pensife, did the next mornyng rise very earely and dislodged, and euery man folowed the Marshals Banners, and so roade into the Countrie of Vimew, approchyng to the good towne of Abbeuile, and found a towne thereby wherevnto was come many people of the Countrie, in trust of a little defence that was ther: But the English men shortly wanne it, and all that were within wereslaine taken, and many taken of the towne and of the Countrie. The King tooke his lodgyng in a great Hospitall that was there. And the same day that the King departed from Araynes, the French King the next day came thether with all his armie into the same lodgyng where the king was, and found there a great

Vimew won.

a great deale of the prouision of the king of England, which for hast he was faine to leaue behinde him.

That night the King of Englande was lodged at a towne called Oysement, And at night when his two Marshalles were returned, who had that day overrunne the Countrie to the Gates of Abbeuile, and to Saint Valery, where they had made a great skirmishe, who brought him worde that they could find no passage: Wherefore the King caused to be called before him all the prisoners that he had taken in the Countries of Ponthieu, and Vimew, and gently demaunded of them, that if there were any among them that knewe any passage beneth Abbeuile, that he and his host might passe the ryuer of Some, if any of them would shewe him thereof, he should be acquited of his raunsome, and twentie of his companie for his loue. There was at that time among the Prisoners, a verlet called Gobyn a Grace, who hering the kinges request, stepped forth and sayd to the King. Sir, I promise you on the ieopardie of my head, that I will bring you to such a place, where as you and all your host shall passe the ryuer of Some without perill. There are certeyne places in the passage that ye shall passe. xij. men on Front two times in a day and night, & that ye shall not go in the water aboue the knees: but when the flood commeth, then the riuer encreaseth so great, that no man can passe, but when the flood is gone, it is so low, ỳ it may be passed without all daunger, both on horsebacke and on foote, and the passage is hard in the bottome, so that all your caryage may go safely through, and therefore the passage is called Blanchaque, and if you make readie to depart betymes, ye may be there before the sonne risyng or soone after. The King beyng somewhat comforted with this tale, aunswered and sayde: if this be true that thou hast sayde, I will quite the thy raunsome and all thy company, and moreouer I will geue thee an hundreth nobles in thy purse. Then the king commaunded euery man to be readie at the sound of the Trompet, and to depart.

Oysement. Gobyn a Grace. Blanche taque.

At the breakyng of the day, the king with all his hoste departed from Oysement, and roade after the guidyng of Gobyn of Grace, so that they came by the sonne risyng to Blanche taque: but as then the flood was vp, so that they might not passe, wherefore the king taried the ebbe.

The Frenche king had his currours in the Countrie, who brought him worde of the demeanor of the Englishe men, then he thought verily to haue closed the king of England in betweene Abuile and the riuer of Some, and then to haue fought with him at his pleasure. And while the French king was at Amience, he appoynted a great Baron of Normandy, called Sir Godmar du Foy, to go and keepe the passage of Blanche taque, where the English men must passe, or else in none other place: he had with him a thousand men of armes, and sixe thousand a foote with the Genowayes. And also he had with him a great number of the men of that Country, and also a great number of them of Mutterell, so that they were a. xij. thousande men one and other.

When the Englishe hoste was come thether, Sir Godmer du Foy arraunged all his companie to defende the passage. The king of Englande stayed not for all that, but when the Tyde serued, entered into the water, & so did they on the other syde, and many a man drowned. There were some of the French men of Arthoys in Picardie, that were as glad to iust on the water as on the drie land. The French men defended so well the passage at the issuyng out of the water, that the Englishe men had much ado to recouer the land, the Genowayes did them great trouble with their Crosbowes: And on the other syde the Archers of England shot so wholy together, that the Frenche men were faine to geue place to the Englishe men. There was a sore Battaile, and many a noble feate of armes done on both sides: Finally, the English men passed ouer, and assembled themselues together in the field, and the king and the Prince passed, and all the Lordes, and then the Frenche men kept none aray. When Sir Godmar saw this discomfiture, he fled and saued himselfe. Some fled to Abuyle, and some to Saint Reignyer: but those French men that were there on foote could not flee, so that there were slaine a great number of them, & the chase endured more then a great league. And as yet all the Englishe men were not passed the riuer, and certeine currours of the king of Behayne, and of Sir Iohn of Heynaultes, came vpon them

A great skirmishe with the French men at the passage of Blanchtaque.

that were behinde, and tooke horses and caryages, and slue dyuerse before they could take passage.

The Frenche king the same morning was departed from Areines, trusting to haue found the Englishe men betwene him and the riuer of Some: But when he heard how that sir Godmar du Foy and his company were discõfited, he taryed in the field, & demaunded of his Marshals what was best to do: and they sayde, Sir ye can not passe the ryuer but at the Bridge of Abbeuile, for the flood is come in at Blanche taque, wherefore he returned and lodged at Abbeuile.

The King of England, when he was past the riuer, thanked God, and so roade foorth in like maner as he did before. Then the King called vnto him Gobyn a Grace, and did quite him his raunsome, and all his companie, and gaue him an hundreth nobles, and a good horse. And so the king roade foorth fayre and easily, and thought to haue lodged in a great towne called Norell: But when he knewe that the towne did apperteyne to the Countesse of Dammerle, sister to the Lorde Robert of Arthoys, the King assured the towne and Countrie, asmuch as apperteyned to her, and so went foorth, and his Marshalles roade to Crotoy on the See syde, and brent the towne, and found in the Hauen many Shippes laden with wynes of Ponthieu belongyng to the Marchauntes of Xaynton, and of Rochell: They brought the best thereof to the kinges hoste.

Crotoy brẽt.

Then one of the Marshalles road to the gates of Abbeuyle, and from thence to Saint Reignyer, and after to the towne of Rue Saint Espirite. And this was on a Friday, and both the Marshalles battayles returned to the kinges hoste about noone, and so lodged all together neere vnto Cressy in Ponthieu.

The king of Englande was well informed howe the French king folowed after him to fight. And therefore he sayde vnto his company, let vs take here some place of grounde, for we will go no farther vntill we haue seene our enimies: I haue good cause here to abyde them, for I am on the right heritage of the Quene my mother, the which land was geuen her at her mariage: I will challenge it of mine aduersarie Philip of Valoys. And because he had not the eight man that the French king had, therfore he commaunded his Marshalles to chose out a plot of ground, somewhat for his aduantage, and so they did, and thether the king and his hoste went. And then he sent his Currours vnto Abbeuyle to see if the French king drewe that daye into the field or not. They went foorth and returned agayne, and sayde they sawe none apparence of his comming. Then euery man tooke their lodging for that day, and to be readie in the Morning at the sounde of the Trumpet in the same place.

Thus all the Fridaye the French king taried still in Abbeuyle, abidyng for his company, and sent his two Marshalles to ryde out to see the dealing of the Englishmen: And at night they returned and sayde, howe that the Englishmen were lodged in the fieldes.

And that night the French king made a Supper to all the chiefe Lords that were there with him, and after Supper, the king desyred them to be friends eche with other: The French king looked for the Erle of Sauoye who promised to haue come vnto him with a thousand Speares, for he had receaued wages for three Monethes of them at Troy in Champaigne.

The. xxvj. of August in the morning very early, being Saturday, the king of Englande arose and set forward his armie, commaunding euerye man to drawe to the field to the same place before appointed. And then the king caused a Parke to be made by the Wood syde behynde his hoste: and there was set all Cartes and cariages: and within the Parke were all their horses, for euery man was on foote. And into this Parke there was but one entrie, And then he ordeyned three battailes.

The order of king Edwards battayles.

In the first was the yong Prince of Wales, with him the Erle of Warwike and Canford, the Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt, Sir Reignald Cobham, Sir Thomas Holland, the Lorde Stafford, the Lorde Manny, the Lorde de laware, Sir Iohn Chandos, Sir Bartholomew de Bomes, Sir Robert Neuyll, the Lorde Thomas Clyfford, the Lorde Bourchier, the Lord de

de la Tumier and dyuers other knightes and squires that I cannot name: They were eight hundred men of armes and two thousand Archers, and a thousand of other with the Welshmen, euery Lorde drewe to the field appointed, vnder his awne penone and Banner.

In the second battayle was the Erle of Northampton, the Erle of Arondell, the Lorde Rosse, the Lorde Lygo, The Lorde Willoughby, the Lorde Basset, the Lorde of Saint Aubyne, Sir Lewes Tueton, the Lord of Myleton, the Lorde de la Sell and dyuers other, they had eyght hundred men of armes and xij. hundred Archers.

The thirde battayle had the king: he had. vij. hundred men of armes and two thousand Archers, beside Lords and knights that I cannot name. When all these battayles were set in an order, then the king lept on a Hobby with a whyte rodde in his hande, one of his Marshalles on the one hande, and another on the other hande, and he road from ranke to ranke, desyring euery man to take heede that day to his right and honour. And he spake it so gently and with so good a countenaunce, that all suche as heard him tooke great courage and comfort by him.

And when he had thus ordered and visited all his battailes, it was then. ix. of the clock in the forenoone. And then he caused euery man to eate and drinke a little, and so they did at their leasure. And afterward they ordered againe their battayles, and then euery man layde him downe on the grounde and his Salet and Bowe by hym, to be the more freshe when the enimies shoulde come.

This Saturday also early in the morning the French king came forwarde, and when he was come about two leagues from Abbeuyle, some of his Lordes sayd vnto him: Sir, it were good that ye ordered your battailes, and let your footemen passe on somewhat before, that they be not troubled with the horsemen. Then the king sent foure knightes, the Moyne Bastell, the Lorde of Noyers, the Lorde of Beauieweand the Lorde Dambegny to ryde to viewe the Englishe hoste: And they roade so nere, that they might well see parte of their dealyng. For the Englishmen sawe them well, and knewe that they were come thether to vewe them, and they let them alone, and made no countenaunce toward them, but suffered them to go as they came. And when the French king sawe these foure knightes returne, he taried vntill they came vnto him, and sayde, Sirs what tydings? These foure knightes eche of them looked on other, for there was none that offered to speake: finally, the king sayde to Moyne which belonged to the king of Behayn, and had done in his dayes suche good seruice that he was reputed one of the valyauntest knightes in the worlde. And the French king bade hym speake. And he sayde, Sir we haue ridden and seene the behauing of your enemies, and knowe ye for a truth that they are rested in three battailes abidyng for you. Sir, I would counsayle you for my part, sauing your displeasure, that you and all your company woulde rest here and lodge this night. For or they that be behinde of your company come hether, and or your battayles can be set in good order, it will be very late, and your people be werie and out of araye, and ye shall finde your enimies freshe and readie to receaue you: Farely in the morning ye may order your battayles at more leasure, and aduise vpon your enimies with better deliberation, and to consyder well what waye ye will assayle them: for Sir surely, they will abide you. Then the king commaunded it should be so done. Then his two Marshalles, one roade before and another behinde, sayeng to euery Banner: tarie and abide here in the name of God and Saint Dionyce. They that were formost stayed a little, but they that were behinde, would not staye vntill they were come as farre as the formost. And then they before sawe them come on behinde, then they roade forward agayne, so that the king nor his Marshalles could not rule them: And so they roade without order or good array, vntill they came within the sight of their enimies. And assone as the formost sawe them, then they reculed back without all order: whereof they that were behinde had great maruaile and were amased at the matter, and thought that the formost company had bene fighting, and that then they might haue had leasure to haue gone forward if that they would. Some went foorth and some aboade still. The common people, of whome all the high wayes betweene Ab-

beuile and Cressy, stood full. When they sawe that they were nere to their enemies, they drewe out their swordes and cryed out, downe with them, let vs slay them all. There was no man though he were present at this battayle that was hable to imagine or declare the euill order that was among the Frenche partie, and yet they were a marueilous great number. That I write in this thing (sayth Sir Iohn Froissart) I learned it specially of the Englishmen, who well behelde their dealyng, and also of certaine knightes of syr Iohn of Heynaultes, who was alwayes about king Philip, and they shewed me as they knewe.

The Englishmen lyeng on the ground to rest them, assone as they saw the Frenchmen approche, they roase fayre and easely, and stood vpon their feete and aranged in their battayles. The first which was the Princes battaile, the Archers therein stood in maner of a hersse and the men of armes in the bottome of the battayle. The Erle of Northampton and the Erle of Arondell, with the second battayle were on a wyng in very good order, readie to comfort the Princes battayle if neede were.

The Lordes and Knightes of Fraunce came not to the assemblie in good order, for some came before, & some came after, in such hast that one of them troubled another. When the French king sawe the English men, his countenaunce chaunged, and he sayde to his Marshalles, make the Genowayes go on before and begin the battaile in the name of God and saint Dionice. There were of the Genowayes Crosbowes about. xv. thousand: But they were so wery in goyng on foote that day a sixe leagues armed with their Crosbowes, that they sayde to their Constables, we be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in case to do any deedes of armes, we haue more neede of rest. These wordes came to the Erle of Alanson, who sayde, a man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of Raskalles to be faint and faile nowe at most neede. And the same season there fell a great raine and a clipse, with a terrible thunder: and before the raine there came fleyng ouer both the battayles a great number of Crowes, for feare of the tempest commyng. Then anone the ayre began to waxe cleare, and the sonne to shine fayre and bright, the which was right in the French mennes eyen. When the Genowayes were set in order and began to approche they made a great leape and crie to haue abashed the English men: but they stood still and stirred not one foote. Then the Genowayes againe the seconde time made another leape and a foule crie, and stepped forwarde a little, and the Englishe men remoued not one foote: Thirdely, againe they lept and cryed vnreasonably and so went forth vntill they came within shot, and then shot off fiercely with their Crosbowes. Then the Englishe Archers stepped forwarde, and let flie their arrowes, so wholy and so thicke, that it seemed Snowe. When the Genowayes felt the Arrowes pearcyng thorough their heades, armes & breastes, many of them cast downe their Crosbowes, and cut their stringes, and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them flie away, he sayd, slay these Raskalles, for they will let and trouble vs without all reason. Then ye should haue seene the men of armes haue dashed in among them, and killed a great number of them. And euer still the Englishe men shot where as they sawe thickest preasse: The sharpe arrowes pearced the men of armes and their horsses, and many fell horse and men among the Genowayes, and when they were downe, they could not releue again, the prease was so thicke that one ouerthrew another. And also among the Englishe men there were certaine Raskalles that went a foote with great k[illegible]es, and they went in among the men of armes and slue and murdered many of them [illegible] they lay on the ground, both Erles, Barons, Knightes and Esquiers, wherewith the ki[illegible] of England was afterwards sore displeased, for he had rather they had bene taken prisoners.

The battaile of Cressy.

The valiant king of Behaine, called Charles Luzenbourgh, sonne to the noble Emperor Henry of Luzenbourgh, for al that he was nere blind. When he vnderstood the order of the battaile, he sayde to them about him, where is the Lorde Charles my sonne? And his men aunswered, sir we can not tell, we thinke he be fightyng. Then he sayd, sirs ye are my men, my companions and my frendes in this iourney. I require you bring me so farre forwarde, that I may strike one stroke with my sworde, they sayde they would do his commaundement.

commaundement. And to the entent ỳ they should not leese him in the prease, they tyed all the reynes of their Bridels eche to other, and set the king before to accomplishe his desyre, and so they went on their enemyes. The Lorde Charles of Behayne his sonne, who wrote himselfe king of Behayne and bare the Armes, he came in good order to the battaile: But when he sawe the matter went awrye on their partie, he departed, I can not tell you which way. The king his father was so farre forwarde, that he strake a stroke with his sworde, ye and more then foure, and fought valiauntly.

The French king would faine haue come thether when he sawe their Banners, but there was a great hedge of Archers before him. The same day the French king had geuen a great blacke Courser to Sir Iohn of Heynault, and he made the Lorde Iohn of Fusselles to ryde on him, and to beare his Banner. The same horse tooke the Brydle in the teeth, and brought him through all the Currours of the Englishe men: and as he would haue returned againe, he fell into a great ditche and was sore hurt, and there had dyed if his Page had not beene.

This Battaile betwene Broye and Cressye was right cruell and sore foughten, and many a feate of armes there done that came not to my knowledge. And when night came, diuerse knightes and Esquiers lost their masters, and sometime or they knew, they came vpon the English men, who receyued them in such wise that they were slaine downe right, for there was no taking to mercie nor raunsome, for so the Englishe men were determined in the mornyng. At one tyme duryng this battaile, it chaunced certeine French men and Almaynes to geue such a charge and onset of the English hoste, that perforce they opened the Archers of the Princes battaile, and came & fought hand to hand with the men of armes. Then the second battaile of the English men came to succour the Princes battaile, the which was tyme: For they had as then much ado. And they that were with the Prince, sent a Mesenger to the king, who was on a little windemill hill heard by, and sayde vnto him, Sir, the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Camfort, and sir Reignold Cobham, and other such as are aboute the Prince your sonne, are nowe fiercelye fought withall, and are sore handeled: Wherefore they desyre that you and your battaile will come and ayde them. Then the king sayde, is my sonne dead or hurt, or felled to the ground? No Sir quoth the knight, but he is hardly matched, and therefore hath neede of your ayde. Well sayd the King returne againe to him and them that sent you hether, and bid them that they send no more to me for any aduenture that falleth, as long as my sonne is aliue: and say also to them that they suffer him this day to winne his spurres: For if God be pleased I will this iourney to be his, and the honour thereof, and to them that are about him.

Then the knight returned againe, and shewed the kinges wordes, the which greatly encouraged them, and then they repented that they did send to the king as they did.

Sir Godfrey of Harecourt, would gladly that the Erle of Harecourt his brother might haue bene saued, for he heard say by them that sawe his Banner, how that he was there in the fielde on the French partie: But syr Godfrey could not come to him betimes, for he was slaine before he coulde come at him, and so was also the Erle of Aumerle his Nephew. In another place the Erle of Alanson and the Erle of Flaundyrs fought valiauntly, euery Lorde vnder his awne Banner, but finally they could not resist against the puyssaunce of the Englishmen, and so there they were also slaine and dyuers other knights and squires. Also the Erle Lewes of Bloys Nephewe vnto the French king, and the Duke of Loreyn fought vnder their Banners, but at the last they were closed in with Englishmen and Welshmen, and there were slaine for all their prowes. Also there was slaine the Erle of Ausser, the Erle of S. Paule and many other. And in the euening the French king, who had as then left about him a. lx. persons one and other, whereof Sir Iohn of Heynault was one, who had remounted once agayne, for his horse was slaine with an arow. Then he sayde to the king, Sir departe hence, for it is time, leese not your selfe wilfully, if ye haue losse at this time, ye shall recouer it agayne at another season. And so he tooke the kinges horse by the bridle, and led him away, in maner perforce. Then the king roade, vntill he came to the Castell of Broy, the gate was closed, because it was

at that time darke. Then the king called the Captaine, who came to the walles & sayde: who is it that calleth there at this time of night: Then the king sayde, open your gate quickly, for thys is the fortune of Fraunce. The Capitaine knewe then that it was the king, and opened the gate and let downe the bridge, and then the king entred in, and had with him but fiue Barones, Sir Iohn of Heynault, Sir Charles of Momorency, the Lorde of Beauiewe, the Lorde Dabegny and the Lorde of Mountford. The king woulde not tarie there, but dranke and departed thence about Midnight and so roade to Amyence and there rested. And the Englishmen kept the fielde all this Saturday at night.

The victory of the Englishe men at the battaile of Cressie.

And assone as night was come, and the Englishmen perceauing that no mo Frenchmen approched, then they accompted among themselues that the victorie was theirs, for the Frenchmen were discomfited, slayne or runne away. Then they made great fyres and lighted vp Torches and Candels, for it was very darke. Then the king came downe from the little hill where as he had stande all the day long, and his Helmet neuer came of his head.

Then he went with all his battayle to his sonne the Prince, and embraced him in his armes and kissed him and sayde, good sonne, God geue you good perseueraunce, you are my good sonne, and you haue done very nobly, ye are worthie to keepe a realme. The Prince bowed himselfe to the earth honouring the king his father. This night they thanked God for their good aduenture, and did neither crake nor boast therof, but wholy gaue the prayse and thankes vnto almightie God the geuer of victorie.

The nexte daye in the morning, which was Sunday there was suche a Miste, that a man coulde not see the breadth of an Acre of lande from him. And then the king commaunded his Marshalles to go abroad, and to viewe whether any Frenchmen gathered agayne together in any place, and they had with them fiue hundred Speares and to thousande Archers. And the same morning out of Abbeuile and Saint Reignyer in Ponthew, the commons of Roane and of Beuioys issued out of their townes, not knowyng of the discomfiture the day before, and sodainely met with the Englishe Marshalles, wenyng to them they had bene Frenchmen.

And when the Englishmen sawe them, they set on them freshly: and there was a sore fight, but at the last the Frenchmen brake their araye and fled, and there were slaine in the wayes, and in the hedges and bushes mo then. vij. thousand. And if the day had bene clere, there had not escaped a mā.

And anone after, another companye of Frenchmen were met by the Englishmen. The Archbishop of Roane, and the great Priour of Fraunce, who also knewe nothing of the discomfiture the daye before, for they were enformed that the French king should haue fought the same Sonday, and they were going thetherwarde. But when they met with the Englishmen there was a great battayle, for they were a great number, but they coulde not endure against the Englishmen, for they were nigh all slayne, few scaped, the two Lordes were slayne. And this morning also the Englishmen met with diuers companies that had lost their way on the Saturday, and had lyen all night in the fieldes, and wist not where the king was, nor their Capitaines: and the Englishmen slue them all as many as they met. And it was shewed me (sayth Froyssart) that of the commons and men on foote of the Cities and good Townes of Fraunce, there were slayne foure times as many on the Sunday, as there were slain on the Saturday at the great battayle. And after these sundrie great and wonderfull victories, the Marshalles of the Englishmen with their men returned to the kinges battayle, and sayde vnto the king, Sir, we thinke surely that there is nowe no more apparence of your enimies.

A great slaughter.

And then the king commaunded Sir Reignold Cobham and syr Richard Stafford with three Heraulds, to serche the field and countrie for the number of them that were slaine, and they roade in the fieldes all that daye, and made a diligent vewe, and returned agayne about Supper time, and made reporte to the king and sayde, howe there were in the field dead. xj. great Princes. lxxx. Banners, twelue hundred knightes and mo then. xxx. thousand

sand other. The Englishmen kept still their fielde all that night, and on the Monday in the morning the king prepared to departe. But before hys departure he caused proclamation in the Countrie to be made, and graunted a truce for three dayes to the entent they should come and bury the dead: And all the great Lordes he caused to be brought with him and caryed them to Mounterell, and there were buried, and his Marshalles went toward Hedyn, and brent Vambam and Seram, but they did nothing to the Castell, it was so strong and so well kept. They lodged that night on the riuer of Hedyn towardes Blangye. The next day, they roade towardes Boleyn, and came to the towne of Vnysame: There the king and the Prince lodged and taried a daye to refreshe his men. And on the Wednesday, the king came before the strong towne of Calice.

A notable victory at the battayle of Cressy.

Vambam and Seram brent.

At the same time in the towne of Calice was a knight called Sir Iohn Vien chiefe Captaine thereof, and with him also was Syr Andrewe Dandrehen, syr Iohn de Sury, syr Bardon de Belborne, syr Godfrey de lament, syr Pepyn de Vrmew, and diuers other knights and squiers.

When king Edwarde was come before Calice, he layde his siege therevnto, the thirde day of September, and ordeyned Bastides betweene the towne and the hauen. And he caused Carpenters to make houses and lodgynges of great timber, and set the houses like streetes, and couered them with Reede and Broome: so that it was like a little towne, & there was euery thing to sell, and a Market place, and Market kept euery Tuesday, and euery Saturday, for fleshe and fishe, for Mercery ware, houses for cloth both linnen and wollen: Also there was bread, wine, and all other necessary thinges, which came out of England, and out of Flaundyrs, and there they might buy what they lust.

Calyce besieged.

The king would not assayle the towne of Calice, for he thought it but a lost labour, and therefore he spared his people and artillarie, and sayde he would famishe them within the towne with long siege, without the Frenche King came to rayse his siege perforce.

When the Capitaine of Calice sawe the maner and order of the Englishemen, then he constreyned all meane and poore people to issue out of the towne. And on a Wednesday there issued out of the towne, of men, women, and children, mo than. xvij. hundreth. And as they passed through the hoste, they were demaunded why they departed, and they aunswered and sayde, because they had nothing to liue vpon. Then the king of his mere pity and mercye suffered them to passe through his hoste without daunger, and gaue them meate and drinke to dyner, and vnto euery person two pence sterlyng in almose, for the which diuerse of them prayed for the kinges prosperitie.

In this meane while that the King lay at the siege of Calice, Dauid king of Scotland by the styrryng of the French king, made his sommons to his people to mete him at Saint Iohns Towne, vpon the riuer of Taye in Scotland. Thether came Erles, Barons, and Prelates of Scotland, and there agreed that in all haste possible they should enter into England, and to ayde them in that iourney, Iohn of the Isles, who ruled the wilde Scottes should go with them. The same Iohn came with a three thousand of the most outrageous people in the whole worlde. When all the Scottes were assembled, they were one and other fiftie thousand fightyng men.

The Scots rebell

A great army of the Scots.

The Scots could not make their assembly so secret, but that the Quene had knowledge thereof, beyng at that time at Yorke. Then she sent all about for men, and then with as much speede as might be, the people came to the Queene from all places. But the Scottes were fully perswaded that there were no men left in England, for they were eyther with the king at the siege of Calice, or else in Gascoyne and Breteyne defendyng of the French king.

In this meane time the king of Scottes departed from Saint Iohns towne, and went to Domefremlyne the first day, and the next day they passed a little arme of the Sea, and so came to Estreuelyne, & then to Edenbourgh. And there they numbred their people, and they were a three thousand men of armes, Knightes and Esquiers, and a. xxx. thousand of other vpon small Hacqueneyes, besyde foote men. Then they came to Rous-

bourgh

bourgh the first fortresse Englishe on that part, whereof Sir William Mountagew was Capitaine. The Scottes passed by without offeryng of any assault, and so went forth brennyng and destroiyng the Countrie of Northumberland, and their Currours ran to Yorke, and brent as much as was without the walles, and returned againe vnto their host, which then was within a myle of newe Castell vpon Tyne.

The Queene of England who desyred to defend her Countrie, came to newe Castell vpon Tine, and there taried for her men, who came dayly from all the partes of the Realme.

The Quene of England gathered a great power agaynst the Scottes, and gaue them battaile.

When the Scottes knewe that the Englishmen were assembled at new Castell, they drewe thetherward, and their Currours came runnyng before the towne: and at their returnyng they brent certeine small Hamlets thereaboutes, so that the smoke therof came into the towne of new Castell. Some of the Englishe men would haue issued out, to haue fought with them that made the fyre: But the Capitaynes would not suffer them to go out.

The next day, the King of Scottes with. xl. thousand men one and other came and lodged within three English myles of the towne of newe Castell, in the land of the Lorde Neuyll: and the king sent to them within the towne, that if they would issue out into the fielde, he would fight with them gladly, and they had answere, that they would come out & fight with him in the field. Then the Lordes and Prelates of England sayde vnto the Queene, we are content to aduenture our lyues with the right and heritage of the king of England our Maister. And then they all issued out of the Towne, and were in number. xij. hundreth men of armes, three thousande Archers, and. vij. thousand of other with the Welshemen.

Then the Scottes came and lodged agaynst them nere together: and euery man was set in order of battaile. And then the Queene came among her men, and her battayles were thus ordered.

The order of the Queenes battailes.

There was ordeyned foure battayles, one to ayde another. The first was in the gouernaunce of the Bishop of Durham, and the Lorde Percy: The seconde, the Archebishop of Yorke, and the Lord Neuyll: The thirde, the Bishop of Lincolne, & the Lord Mowebray: The fourth, the Lord Edward Bailiolt Capitaine of Barwike, and the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and the Lord Rosse, euery battaile had like number after their quantity: and the Quene went from battaile to battaile, praiyng them to do their deuoyre for the defence of the honour of their Lord and maister the king of England, and in the name of God euery man to be of good heart and courage, promisyng them that to her power, she would remember them as well and better, as though the king her Lorde were there personally. And so the Queene departed from them, recommendyng them to God.

And anone after, the battayles of the Scottes began to set forward: and in likewise, so did the Englishmen. Then the Archers beganne to shote on both parties: howbeit the shot of the Scottes endured but a short space: But the shot of the Englishmen was long and fierce. So that when the battayles approched, the battayle was cruell and daungerous.

A cruell battaile.

They began at nyne of the clock in the morning, fought vntill it was noone. The Scottes had great Axes heard and sharpe, and gaue with them many sore and cruell strokes: howbeit in the ende the Englishmen obteyned the victorye of the fielde, but they lost many of their men.

There were slaine of the Scots, the Erle of Sys, the Erle of Ostre, the Erle of Patrys, the Erle of Surlant, the Erle of Dastre dure, the Erle Mare, the Erle Iohn Dowglas and the Lorde Alexander Ramsey, who bare the kings Banner, and diuers other knightes and squiers. And there the Scottishe king was taken, who had fought valiauntly and was sore hurt: A squire of Northumberland tooke him called Iohn Copland. And assone as he had taken the king, he went with him out of the field with an eyght of his seruaunts with him, and roade all that daye vntill he was. xv. leagues from the place of the battayle, and at night he came to a Castell called Orgulus. And then he sayd that he would not deliuer the king of Scots to no man nor woman lyuyng, but onely to the king of England his Lorde.

The Scottishe king taken by a Squire of Northumberlande called Iohn Copland.

Lorde. The same day there was also taken in the fielde the Erle Moret, the Erle of Marche, the Lord Wylliam Dowglas, the Lord Robert Vesy, the Byshop of Dadudame, the Byshop of Saint Andrewes & diuers other knights and Barones. And there were slaine of one and other. xv. thousand, and the other saued them selues as well as they might. This battaile was foughten besides New Castell vpon Tyne in the yere of our Lorde. 1346. Prisoners taken

Now when the Quene of Englande being at New Castell vnderstood of the victorie: she then tooke her horse and roade to the place where the battayle had bene. And there it was shewed her how the king of Scottes was taken by a squier called Iohn Copland, and he had caryed him awaye, no man knew whether. Then the Quene wrote to the squire, commaunding him to bring his prisoner the king of Scottes vnto her, and that he had not well done to depart with him without leaue. All that day the Englishmen taried in that place, and the Quene with them. And the next day they returned to New Castell. 1346 21

When the Quenes letter was brought to Iohn Copland, he aunswered and sayde: That as for the king of Scottes his prisoner, he would not delyuer him to no man nor woman lyuing but onely to the king of England his souereigne Lorde. As for the king of Scottes he sayde should be safely kept, and he would geue accompt for him. Then the Queene sent letters to the king to Calice, wherby the king was informed of the state of his realme. Then the king sent incontinent to Iohn Copland, commaunding him forthwith to come ouer the sea to him to Calice. Then the sayde Iohn did put his sayde prisoner in a strong Castell in safe keeping, and so road thorow England vntill he came to Douer, and there toke the sea & arriued before Calice. The answere of Iohn Copland.

When the king of England sawe the squire, he tooke him by the hande and sayde, welcome my squire, which by your valiauntnesse haue taken mine aduersarie the king of Scottes. The squire kneeled downe and sayde: syr, if God by his grace haue suffered me to take the king of Scottes by true conquest of armes, I thinke no man ought to haue any enuie thereat: For as well God maye sende by his grace suche a fortune to a poore Squire, as to a great Lorde. And Sir, I require your grace not to be miscontent with me, though I did not delyuer the king of Scottes to the Queene at her commaundement. For syr I holde of you as mine othe is to you, and not of her, but in all good maner.

The king sayde to him, Iohn, the good seruice that ye haue done and your valiauntnes is so much worth, that it must counteruayle your trespace, and to be taken for excuse, and blame haue they that beare you any euill will. Therefore ye shall returne againe home to your house, and then my will and pleasure is, that ye delyuer your prisoner the king of Scottes to the Quene my wyfe. And in rewarde, I assigne you here to your house, where as ye thinke best your selfe fiue hundreth pound starling of yerely rent to you and to your heyres for euer: and here I make you squire for my body.

Then the thirde daye he departed into Englande, and when he came home to his awne house, he assembled together his friendes and kinsmen, and so they tooke the King of Scottes and roade with him to the Citie of Yorke, and there from the King of England he presented to the Queene the King of Scottes, and excused himselfe so discretely as the Queene and the counsayle were content.

Then the Queene made good prouision for the Citie of Yorke, the Castell of Rokesbourgh, the Citie of Dureham, the towne of New Castell vpon Tyne, and in all other garrisons on the marches of Scotlande: And left in those Marches the Lorde Percy and the Lorde Neuyll as Gouernoures there, and then the Quene departed from Yorke to London.

Then she placed the King of Scottes in the strong tower of London, and the Erle Moret and all the other prisoners with him, and set good keepyng ouer them. Then she went to Douer and there tooke the Sea, and had so good winde, that within a short space she arriued before Calice, three dayes before the feast of all Saintes: For whose comming the king made a great feast and dinner to all the Lordes and Ladies that were there. The

Quene brought many Ladies and Damoselles with her, as well to accompany her, as also to see their husbandes, fathers, brethren and other friendes that laye at that siege.

The French king assembleth his lordes at Amiens, & counsayleth which way to raise the siege at Calice.

The Frenche king vnderstanding well that his men in Calyce were charged sore, sent forth his commaundement throughout Fraunce, that euery man should be with him at the towne of Amyens at Whitsontyde next followyng, and there was none that durst say naye. And when Whytsontyde came, the French king kept there a great feast, and thether came vnto him the Duke of Odes and of Burgoyn, and the Duke of Normandy his eldest sonne, and the Duke of Orleance his youngest sonne, the Duke of Burbon, the Erle of Foytz, the Lorde Lewes of Sauoy, Sir Iohn of Heynault, the Erle of Armanack, the Erle of Forestes, the Erle of Valentenoys, and dyuers other Erles, Barons, Lordes, and knightes.

When they were all at Amiens, they counsayled together, howe they might best enter towarde Calice, to rayse the siege. And some counsayled the French king to make meanes to the Fleminges to haue the passages of Flaundyrs open, and then might he come in by Grauelyng, and not only raise the siege, but also on that syde he might easely geue them battaile. And soone after the Frenche king sent great Ambassadors into Flaundyrs, to treate in the aforesayde matter. But the king of England had made there suche fast friendship, that they would not agree to that request: And then the Frenche king sayde that he would enter on the syde towarde Burgoyn.

In this meane time the king of England saw that he could not get Calice, but by famine, and therefore he made a strong Castell, and a highe, to close vp the passage by the sea: And this Castell was set betwene the towne and the sea, & was well fortefied with Springaldes, Bombardes, Bowes, and other Artillery. And in this Castell were. lx. men of armes, and two hundreth Archers, and they kept the Hauen in suche wise, that nothing coulde come in nor out, but by their licence.

And in this time also the king of Englande had so laboured and solicited the Counsaile of Flaundyrs, that they came out of Flaundyrs with an hundreth thousand men, and went and layd siege to the towne of Ayre, and brent the Countrie round about, as Menyuell la Gorge, Estelles Le Ventre, and a Marshe called la Loe, and to the Gates of Turwyn, and Saint Omere. Then the French king went to the towne of Aras, & sent many men of warre to the Garrison of Arthoys, and specially he sent his Constable, sir Charles of Spaine to S. Omers: For the Erle of Ewe, and of Guynes, who was Constable of Fraunce, was then prisoner in England, as before it is shewed.

The Fleminges did the French men great trouble before they departed. And when the Fleminges were returned, then the French king and his companie departed from Arras, and went to Hedyn. His host with their cariages helde well in length three Leagues of that Countrie, and there he taried one day, and the next day he went to Blangy: And there he rested to take aduice what waye to go foorth: Then he was counsayled to go through the Country called la Belme: and that way he toke, and with him two hundreth thousand one and other, and so passed by the County of Franqueberg, and so came streight to the hill of Sangates, betwene Calice and Wyssant. They came thether in goodly order, theyr Banners displayed, that it was greate beutie to beholde theyr puyssant array. They of Calice, when they saw them lodge, it seemed to them to be a newe siege.

A houge armie of french men.

When the king of Englande knewe and sawe the Frenche king come with such a power to rayse the siege. Then he had made so good prouision for the stoppage of the passages, that he was sure that the French king coulde not with his armie come nere to Calice, except it were in two places, the one was by the downes by the sea syde, or else aboue by the high way: and there were many ditches, rockes, and marishes, and but one way to passe ouer a Bridge called Newland Bridge. And all alongest the Downes, the king of England caused all his nauye to lie, and euery ship wel furnished with Bombardes, Crosbowes, Archers,

Archers, Springalles, and other artillary, whereby the French hoste might not passe that way.

And the king caused the Erle of Darby to go and keepe Newelande Bridge with a great number of men of armes, & Archers, so that the Frenche men coulde passe no way, without they would haue gone through the Marshes, the which was a thing impossible.

On the other syde towarde Calice, there was a high Tower kept with. xxx. Archers, and they kept the passage of the Downes from the Frenche men, the which was well forteſied with great and double Ditches.

When the French men were thus lodged on the hill of Sangate: The Commons of Tourney who were. xv. C. came to the Tower last aboue named, and they within shot at them: But they passed the ditches, and came to the foote of the wall with Pikes and Hookes, and there was a sore assault, and many of them of Tourney hurt: But at the last they wanne the Tower, and slue all that were therein, and the Tower beaten downe.

The French king sent his Marshalles to aduyse what way hee might approche to fight with the Englishe men: and so they went foorth, and when they had well aduised the passages and streytes, they returned to the king and sayde, that by no meanes he could not come at the Englishe men without he would leese his people. So the matter rested all that day and night. The next day the French king sent to the King of England, the Lorde Godfrey of Charney, the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount, Guy of Nele, and the Lorde of Beauiewe: and as they roade that strong way, they sawe well that it was harde to passe that way. They prayseđ much the order that the Erle of Darby kept at Newland bridge, by the which way they passed. Then they road forth vntill they came to the king of England, who was well accompanied wyth Noble men about him.

Then they foure alighted, and came to the king, and did their reuerence vnto him: Then the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount sayde, Sir, the king my Maister sendeth you worde by vs, that he is come to the hill of Sangate to do battaile with you, but he can finde no way to come at you: And therefore sir he would that ye should apoynt certeyne of your counsaile, and he will do likewise of his, and they betwene them to deuise a place for the Battaile.

The king of Englande was readie to aunswere and sayde, Sirs, I haue well vnderstand that ye desire me on the behalfe of mine aduersary, who keepeth wrongfully from me mine heritage: Wherefore I am sory. Say vnto him from me if ye list, that I am here, and so haue bene nere a whole yere: and all this he knewe right well: he might haue come hether sooner if he had would, but he hath suffered me to abide here so long, the which hath beene greatly to my costes and charges. And I now could do so much if I would, soone to be Lorde of Calice. And therefore I am not determined to folowe your maisters aduice, nor to depart from that which I am at a poynt to win. Wherefore if he nor his men can passe this way, let them seeke some other passage if they thinke to come hether, for I entende not to styrre my siege to come to them.

Then these Lordes departed, and were conueyed vntill they were past Newelande Bridge: And then they shewed the Frenche king, the King of Englandes aunswere.

And in this tyme, while the French king studyed howe to fight with the king of England, there came into his host two Cardinalles from Pope Clement in message, who tooke great paine to ryde vp and downe betwene these two hostes, and they laboured and endeuoured themselues so much, that they obteyned a graunt for an entreatie of an accorde and peace, and a respite betwene the two kings, beyng the one at the siege, & the other in the field onely. And so there were foure Lordes appoynted on eyther party to counsayle together for a peace. For the French king, there was the Duke of Burgoyn, and the Duke of Burbon, Sir Lewes of Sauoy, and Sir Iohn of Heynault. And for the English partie, the Erle of Darby, the Erle of Northhampton, the Lorde Reignald Cobham, and the Lord Gualtier of Manny, and the two Cardinals were as indifferent meanes betwene both parties.

Two Cardinalles labored betwene ye two kinges for peace.

These Lordes met three dayes, and many deuises put foorth, but none tooke effect: And in the meane season the king of Englande alwayes fortefied his hoste and fielde and made diches on the downes, that the Frenche men should not come sodainely vpon him. These three dayes passed without any agreement, and then the two Cardinalles returned to Saint Omers. And when the French king sawe that he could doe nothing, the next daye he dislodged betymes and tooke hys waye to Amyens and gaue euerye manne leaue to departe.

The French king departeth with all his great and houge armie.

When they within Calyce sawe their king departe, they made great sorowe. Some of the Englishmen folowed the tayle of the Frence armie, and wanne Sommers, Cartes and cariages, horse, wine and other things, and tooke dyuers prisoners and brought them to Calyce.

After the departure of the french king from Sandgate, then they with in the towne perceauing they were vtterly without reliefe and succor, cryed vpon their Capitaine syr Iohn of Vyen that he would entreate the king of Englande for mercie. And at the last the Capitaine graunted so to doe, and went to the walles, and made a signe to speake with some of the hoste: whereof knowledge was immediatly brought to the king. And when the King heard thereof, he sent thether syr Gualtier of Manny and syr Basset. Then syr Iohn of Vyen sayde vnto them: Sirs, ye be right valiant Knights in deedes of armes, and you knowe well how that the King my master hath sent me and other vnto this towne, and commaunded vs to keepe it to his behoofe, in such wise as we take no blame nor yet be to him any dammage, and we haue done all that lyeth in our power to doe: And now our succours hath fayled vs, and we be so sore streyned, that we haue not to lyue withall, but that we must all die or perish by famine: except the noble & gentle King of yours will take vs to mercy, the which thing to doe we praye you to be a meane of entreatie for vs, that it would please him to take pitie of vs, and to let vs go and departe as we be, and let him take the towne and the Castell and all the goodes that be therein, the which is a great abundaunce.

The French men within Calice pray king Edwardes mercy and licence to depart the towne.

Then syr Gaultier of Manny sayde, Sir we knowe partly the kinges minde, for he hath shewed it vnto vs. And therefore know you for a truth, it is not his minde that you nor they that are within the towne should departe so: For it is his will that ye all shall yeelde your selues simply to hys wyll and pleasure, to raunsome or put to death whome & as he please. Then sayd the Capitaine, this is to heard a matter to vs, we are in thys towne a small sorte of knightes and squiers, who haue as truely serued the King our master, as you haue serued yours, and in lyke maner we haue endured great vexation and paine, and we will endure as much paine as euer Knights did rather then to consent that the worst lad in the towne that should susteyne any more euill then the greatest or best of vs all, therfore syr we pray you of your humanitie and gentlenesse that ye will go and speake with the king of England and desire him to haue pittie vpon vs, for we trust so much in his gracious goodnesse that his minde will chaunge, and that he will take pittie and compassion vpon vs.

Sir Gualtier of Manny and syr Basset returned to the king, and declared to him all that had bene sayde. The king being in a great furie, sayde that he would none otherwise but that they should yelde themselues vp simply to his will and pleasure. And then syr Gualtyer sayde, syr sauyng your displeasure, in this ye may be in the wrong: For ye shall geue by this an euill ensample, if ye sende any of vs your seruauntes into any fortresse, we will not be very glad to go, if ye put any of the towne to death after they be yeelded, for in lyke case they will deale with vs, if the case fall lyke, the which sayeng diuers other Lords that were there susteyned and mainteyned. Then the King sayde: Sirs, I will not be alone against you all, therefore Syr Gualtier of Manny, ye shall go agayne to the Capitaine and saye, that all the grace that ye nowe can finde at oure handes is, that they let vj. of the chiefe Burgesses of the Towne come out barchedded, barefooted and barelegged, and in their shertes with halters about their neckes, with the keyes of the

How king Edward required sixe Burgesses of the towne to be deliuered vnto his mercy.

the Castell and towne in their handes: and let them. vj. yelde themselues simply to my will, and the residew I will take to mercy.

Then Sir Gualtier returned and found Sir Iohn of Vyen still on the wall, abyding for an answere: Then sir Gualtier shewed him all the grace that he could get of the king: well sayde syr Iohn, I require you to tarie here a certaine space till I go into the towne, and shewe this vnto the commons who sent me hether.

Then syr Iohn went into the market place, and there tolled the common Bell, and then incontinent men and women assembled there.

Then the Capitaine made report of all that he had done, and sayde, Sirs, it will be none otherwise, and therefore nowe take aduise and make a short aunswere. Then all the people beganne to weepe and to make suche sorow and lamentation that there was not so heard a hart, if they had seene them but would haue had pittie vpon them. The Capitaine himselfe wept also and that pittifully: At the last the most riche Burgesse of all the towne called Eustace of Saint Peters, rose vp and sayd openly: Sirs, both great and small, a most pittifull and horrible thing were it, to suffer such a number of people to dye as are in this Towne, eyther by famine or otherwise, so long as there is any meane to saue them: I thinke he or they shoulde haue great merite of our Lorde God that would delyuer them from such mischiefe as for my parte I haue so good a trust in our Lorde God, that if I dye in the quarell to saue the residew, that God wyll pardon mee, wherefore to saue them I will be the first to put my lyfe in ieopardie. When he had thus sayde, euery man worshipped him, and diuers kneeled downe at his feete, weeping and wringing their hands most greuously. Then another honest Burgesse stood out and sayde, I will keepe company with my Gossyp Eustace, his name was Iohn Dayre, then came Iaques of Wyssaunt who was riche both in goodes and heritage, he sayde also that he would keepe companye with his two Cosyns, and so sayde Peter of Wyssaunt his brother, and after came two other and sayde they would doe the same, and then they went and apparel-ed them as the king desyred. Then the Captaine went with them to the gate, there was great mone and lamentation made at their departyng both of men, women and children. Then the gate was opened, and the Captaine issued out with the. vj. Burgesses, and closed the gate agayne: So that they were betweene the gate and the barryers. Then he sayde to syr Gualtier of Manny: Sir, I delyuer here to you as Captaine of Calice, by the whole consent of the people of the towne these. vj. Burgesses, & I sweare to you truely that they be and were to day the most notable, riche and worthyest Burgesses of all the towne of Calice: wherefore, gentle knight I require you to pray the King to haue mercy vpon them that they die not. Then sayde syr Gualtier, I cannot tell, neyther can I say what the king will doe, but I will doe for them the best I can. Then the Barryers were opened and the. vj. Burgesses went towardes the king, and the Capitayne entered agayne into the Towne.

The maner howe the sixe Burgesses were appointed and sent to king Edward.

When Sir Gualtier presented those Burgesses vnto the king, they kneled downe and helde vp their handes, and sayde: Gentle king, beholde here vs sixe who were Burgesses of Calice, and great merchauntes, we haue brought to you the keyes of the towne and Castell of Calice, and we submit our selues wholy vnto your will and pleasure, onely for the safetie of the rest of the people of Calice, who haue suffered great paine and miserie: Sir we besech your grace to haue mercie and pitie upon vs through your high noblenesse. Then all the Erles and Barons, and other that were there, wept for pitie. The king looked felly and cruelly vpon them, for greatly he hated the people of Calice, because of the great dammages and displeasures that they had done him on the Sea before. Then the king commaunded their heades to be stryken off: Then euery man cryed and besought the king to haue mercie, but he would here no man in that behalfe. Then Sir Gualter of Manny said, A noble king, for Gods sake refraine your courage, ye haue the name of souereigne noblenesse, therefore nowe do not a thing that should blemishe your renowne, neither geue occasion for any to speake vilanie of you: for euery man will say

Howe the sixe Burgesses are presented to the king.

The submission of the sixe Burgesses vnto the king.

it

it is a great tyranny to put to death suche honest personnes, who of themselues haue willingly put themselues into the handes of your grace, for the safetie of their companie. Then the king turned from him, and commaunded him to send for the Hangman, and sayd: They of Calice haue caused a great number of my men to be slaine, and therefore these also shall die likewise. Then the Queene beyng great with childe, kneled downe, and sore wepyng sayd, O gracious king, sithe I passed the sea in great perill, I haue desired nothyng of you: Therefore now I humbly require you in the honour of the virgin Mary, and for the loue of me, that ye will take mercy of these sixe Burgesses. The king beheld the Queene and stood still in a study a little while, and then sayde, A Dame, I would ye had bene as now in some other place, for I am not able to denie your request: Wherfore I geue them to you, to do your pleasure with them. Then the Queene caused them to be caryed to her Chamber, and made the halters to be taken from their neckes, and caused them to be new apparayled, and gaue them their dinner at theyr leysure. And then she gaue eche of them sixe Nobles in his purse, and made them to be brought out of the hoste in safegard, and set at their libertie.

The peticion of the Quene for the sixe Burgeses vnto the king.

A Godly and charitable Quene.

1347

Thus was Calice yelded and geuen vp to the king in the latter ende of September, so that he had laide siege therevnto one whole yere and more. And then the king called vnto him Sir Gualtier of Manny, and his two Marshalles, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Stafforde, and sayde to them, Sirs take ye here the keyes of the Castell, and towne of Calice. Go and take possession thereof, and put in prison all the knightes that be there: And all other Souldiours that came simplie to winne their liuyng, cause them to aduoyde the towne. And in like maner aduoyde the towne of all other men, women, and children, for I will repeople the towne againe wyth mere Englishe men.

22 Certaine Lordes are sent to take possession of Calice.

So these three Lordes with an hundreth with them, went and tooke possession of Calice, and first did put in prison, Sir Iohn de Vien, sir Iohn of Surrey, Sir Iohn of Belborne and other: Then they caused all the souldiours to bring all their harnesse into a place appointed, and layde it all on an heape in the hall of Calice. Then they caused all maner of people to voide, and kept there no mo persons but one priest, and two other auncient personages, such as knewe the customes, lawes and ordinaunces of the towne, and to signe out the heritages howe they were deuided. Then they prepared the Castell to lodge the king and Queene in, and prepared other houses for the kinges companie.

The king entereth into Calice triumphantly.

Then the king mounted on his horsse, and entered into the towne, with Trumpettes, Drommes, and other Instrumentes of Musicke, and there the king laye vntill the Queene was brought in bed and deliuered of a faire Ladye named Margaret. The king gaue to Sir Gualtier of Manny dyuerse fayre houses within the towne, and to the Lorde of Stafford, to the Lorde of Bethene, to sir Bartholomew of Bomes, & to dyuerse other Lordes and Knightes, to repeople the towne againe. The kinges minde was when he came into England, to sende out of London. xxxvj. good Citezens to Calice to dwell there, and by that meanes to people the towne with pure Englishe men, the which the king afterward performed.

Then the newe towne and Bastide that was made without the towne was pulled downe, and the Castell that stood on the Hauen, was likewyse pulled downe, and the great timber and stones brought into the towne. Then the King ordeyned men to kepe the Gates, walles and Barriers, and amended all thinges within the towne. And sir Iohn de Vien, and his companie were sent into England, and were halfe a yere at London before they were put to raunsome.

A pitifull sight was it when the Burgesses and other men of the towne of Calice, and women, and children, were put out of the Towne, and faine to forsake houses, heritages and goodes, and to take nothing with them: Neyther had they any restitution of the French king, for whose sake they lost all. The most part of that people went to Saint Omers.

At this tyme the Cardinall called Guy de Boloyne as a Legate from Clement the sixt,

came vnto the French king his Cosyn in the Citie of Amiens. And he applyed the matter so, betwene ỹ king of England & the French king, that a truce was concluded and taken to endure for two yeres. To thys truce all parties were agreed: But Britaine was clerely excepted, for the two Ladyes made still warre one against another.

A truce concluded betweene the king of England and the French king for two yeres.

Then the king of Englande, and the Queene returned into England: And the king made capitaine of Calice, Sir Amery of Pauy a Lombard borne, who the king had greatly aduaunced. Then the king sent from London. xxxvj. Citezens to Calice, who were riche and sage, and their wyues, and children, and dayly the number encreased: For the king graunted there such liberties and franchesses, that men were glad to go and dwell there.

Sir Amery a Lõbard made Capitaine of Calice.

The same time was brought to London Sir Charles de Bloys, who called himselfe Duke of Briteine, who was taken in Briteine by the kinges people, duryng the tyme of the siege of Calice, and was nowe committed into Curtoyse prison in the Tower of London, with the king of Scottes, and the Erle Morette: But he had not bene there long, but at the request of the Queene of England, Sir Charles, who was her Cosyn Germaine was receyued on his fayth and truth, and road round about London at his pleasure: But he might not lye past one night out of London, without it were in the Court where the King and Queene lay: Also the same tyme there was prisoner in England the Erle of Ewe, and Guynes, which was Constable of Fraunce, a right gentle knight, and his behauiour was suche, that he was welcome wheresoeuer he came, both with the King, Queene, Lordes, Ladyes, and Damoselles.

Sir Charles de Bloys Duke of Briteyn.

At this time in the towne of Saint Omers was the Lorde Geoffrey of Charney Capitaine, and he kept the Frontiers there, and vsed and ordered euery thing concerning the warre as king. This Lord Geoffrey callyng to his minde, which way he might compasse or deuise how he might practise to get agayne the Towne of Calice, and considered with himselfe that Lombardes are couetous, he thought he would practise with syr Amery the Captaine of Calice, and he knewe he might the better do it without all suspition because at that time they might by reason of the truce the one frankly resorte vnto the other. Then syr Geoffrey espyeng a conuenient time, fell secretly in communication with syr Amery for the towne of Calice. And in the ende syr Amery promised for the some of twentie thousand crownes to delyuer Sir Geoffrey the towne of Calice.

A practice of the French men for the recouering agayne of Calice.

This compact was not so secretly made, but it came to the knowledge and vnderstanding of the king of Englande: wherefore the king sent for Sir Amerie de Paule to come vnto him into England to speake with hym, and so he came, and when the king sawe hym, he toke him a parte and sayd: Thou knowest well that I haue geuen thee in keeping the thing that in this worlde I loue best, next my wyfe and children, that is to saye, the Towne and Castell of Calyce, and thou hast solde it to the Frenchmen, and therfore thou hast well deserued to die. Then the Lombard kneeled downe (and sayd) A noble king, I crye you mercy, it is true that ye haue sayde: But syr, the bargayne maye well be broken, for as yet I haue receyued neuer a penny. The king loued well the Lombard and sayde, Amery, I will that thou go forward on thy bargayn and the day and time that thou appointest to deliuer the towne let me haue true knowledge therof before: And on this condition I will forgiue thee thy trespasse. And so the Lombard returned agayne to Calice and kept his matter secret.

Sir Amery is sent for to come to king Edward.

Then syr Geoffrey of Charney thought well to haue Calice, and assembled a certain number secretly, about a fiue hundred speares, and there were but a fewe that knewe what he purposed: And it was to be thought that he neuer made the French king a counsayle thereof, for if he had, it was not lykely that he would haue consented therevnto for breaking of the truce.

Sir Geoffrey of Charney assured himselfe to haue receiued Calice, and therfore prouided a certeine number to strengthen him.

This Lumbard had appointed to haue delyuered the towne and Castell of Calyce the last day of December at night, and he sent worde thereof by a brother of his vnto the king of Englande.

When

King Edward tooke passage to Calice to preuent the betraiyng therof.

When the king knewe the certaine day appointed, he departed out of Englande with three hundred men of armes, and tooke shipping at Douer, and in the euening arryued at Calice, so secretly that no man knewe thereof, and went and layde his men in bushmentes in the Chambers and Towres within the Castell.

1348

23

Sir Gualtier Manny.

Then the king sayde to syr Gualtier Manny, I will that ye be chiefe of this enterprise, for I and my sonne the Prince wil fight vnder your banner.

The Lorde Geoffrey Charney, the last daye of December at night departed with all his company from Arras, and came nere to Calice about the houre of midnight, and there taried awhile abyding for his company, and in the meane time he sent two squires to the posterne gate of the Castell of Calice, and there they founde sir Amery ready. Then they demaunded of him if it were time that the Lorde Geoffrey should come, and the Lombard sayde yea. Then they returned to their master and shewed him as the Lombard had sayde: Then he made his men to passe Newland Bridge in good order of battayle. Then he sent. xij. knightes with an hundreth men of armes to go and take possession of the Castell of Calice: for he thought if he might haue the Castell, he should soone get the Towne. And he delyuered to the Lorde Edward of Rency twentie thousand Crownes to pay the Lombard. And syr Geoffrey houed still in the fieldes priuely with his Banner before him. His intent was to enter into the towne by the gate, or else not, and the Lombard had let downe the bridge of the posterne, and suffred the hundred men of armes to passe peaceably: and syr Edward at the Posterne deliuered twentie thousand Crownes in a bagge to the Lombard, who sayde, I trust here be all, for I haue no leasure now to tell them, and it will be day anone. Then he cast the bagge with the Crownes into a Cofer, and sayde to the Frenchmen: come on Sirs, ye shal enter into the Dungeon, for then shall ye be sure to be Lordes of the Castell, and they went thether, and he drewe apart the barre, and the gate opened.

The Frenchmen conueyed into a Dongeon.

Within this Castell was the King of Englande wyth two hundreth speares, who issued out with their swordes and axes in their handes, cryeng Manny, Manny, to the reskewe, what? weneth the Frenchmen with so few men to wynne the Castell of Calice? Then the Frenchmen seyng well that defence coulde not auayle them: Then they yeelded themselues prisoners, and so there were but a fewe hurte, and the rest were closed vp in the same Towre in prison.

And the Englishmen issued out of the Castell into the towne, and mounted on their horses, for they had all the French prisoners horses. Then the Archers roade to Boleyn gate where syr Geoffrey was with his Banner before him of Goules, three skotcheons of Siluer. He had a great desyre to be the first that should enter into the Towne: he sayde to the knightes that were about him: without this Lombard open the gate shortely, we are lyke to dye here for colde. In the name of God sayde Sir Pepy dewere, Lombards are malicious people and subtile, he is now looking on your crownes, whether all be good or not, and to recken if he haue his whole some or no.

Therewith the king of Englande and the Prince his sonne was readie at the gate vnder the Banner of Sir Gualtier of Manny, with dyuers other Banners, as the Erle of Stafford, the Erle of Suffolke, the Lorde Iohn Mountagew, brother to the Erle of Salsburie, the Lorde Beauchampe, the Lorde Barkeley, and the Lord delaware: All these were Lords and had banners, there were no mo in that iourney.

Then the great gate was set open, and all they issued out: when the Frenchmen sawe them issue, and heard them crye Manny to the reskewe, they knewe well they were betrayed. Then Sir Geoffray sayde to his company, Sirs if we flie we are cleane lost: yet were we better to fight with a good courage, in hope the iourney shall be oures.

The Englishe men heard these wordes and sayde, by saint George ye say truely, shame haue he that flieth. The Frenchmen alighted on foote, and put their horses from them, and ordered themselues in good aray of battaile.

When the king sawe that, he stood still (and sayde) let vs put our selues in order to

fight, for our enimies will abyde vs. The king sent parte of hys company to Newlande Bridge, for he heard saye, that there were a great number of Frenchmen. Then thether went a. vj. Banners, and three hundred Archers, and there they founde the Lorde Monau of Frenes, and the Lorde of Creques keeping the Bridge. And betwene the Bridge and Calice there were manye Crosbowes of Saint Omers and Ayre: So there was a sore fraye, and there were slaine and drowned mo then. vj. hundreth Frenchmen, for they were sone discomfited and chaced into the water. This was early in the morning, and incontinent it was day. The French men kept their ground awhile, and manye feates of armes were there done on both parties: But the Englishmen euer encreased by comming out of Calyce, and the Frenchmen discreased. Then the Frenchemen sawe well that they could not long kepe the Bridge, wherfore they that had their horses by them mounted vpon them, and shewed their horse heeles, and the Englishmen followed them in chace. There was many a man ouerthrowne, and many were taken of their owne courage, which might haue scaped if they had list.

When it was fayre day, that euery man might know other: Then some of the French Knightes and Esquiers assembled together againe, and turned and fought manfully with the Englishe men: So that there were some of the Frenchmen that tooke good prisoners, whereby they had both honour and profite.

How valyauntly the king of Englande quit him selfe against ye French men.

Nowe let vs speake of the king of England, who was there vnknowen to his enemies, vnder the Banner of Sir Gualter of Manny, and was on foote among his men to seeke his enemyes, who stood close together wyth their speares a fiue foote long. At the first meetyng, there was a sore reencountrie: and the King chaunced to light vpon the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount, who was a strong and valiaunt knight, and there was a long fight betwene the King and him, that it was ioy to behold them, but at the last they were put asunder, for a great company of both partes came the same waye, and fought there fiercely together.

The Frenche men did there right valiauntly: But specially the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount, who strake the king the same day two tymes on his knees: but finally the King himselfe tooke him prisoner: and so he yelded his sworde to the king, and sayd, Sir Knight I yeelde me vnto you as your prisoner, he knew not at that time that it was the King. And so this iourney was for the king of England: and all that were there with sir Geoffrey, were eyther slaine or taken, for very fewe escaped. There was slaine Sir Henry of Boys, and Sir Pepyn de Lawarre, and Sir Geoffrey taken. Thus this iourney was achieued besyde Calice, the yere of our Lorde. 1348. the last day of the moneth of December, and in the beginnyng of the. xxiij. yere of the reigne of king Edward.

1348. 23

When this battaile was done, the king returned againe to the Castell of Calice, and caused all the prisoners to be brought thether. Then the french men knew well that the king of England had bene there personally himselfe, vnder the Banner of Sir Gualter of Manny. The king sayde he would geue them all a supper that night in the Castell of Calice: And when the houre of Supper was come, and the tables couered: The king and hys knightes were there euery man in newe apparell: And the French men also were there, and made good cheere, though they were prisoners.

The king sate downe and the Lordes and Knightes abont him right honourably. The Prince, Lordes and knightes of England, serued the king at the first messe. And at the second they sate downe at another table: they were all well serued and at great leasure.

The wise speche of king Edward vnto sir Geoffrey of Charney.

Then when supper was done, and the Tables taken away: The king taryed still in the Hall with his knightes and with the Frenche men, and he was bare headed, sauyng a Chapelet of fine Perles that he ware on his hed. Then the king went from one to another of the French men: And when he came to Sir Geoffrey of Charney, a litle he chaunged his countenaunce, and looked vpon him, and sayd, Sir Geoffrey ye haue geuen me occasion to loue you but a little, when ye would steale by night that thing from me which I haue so derely bought: But yet this pleaseth me best, that I haue taken you with the maner. Ye would haue come to a better market then I came vnto, when you thought to

haue had Calice for. xx. thousand Crownes: But God hath holpen me, and ye haue fayled of your purpose, and therewith the king went from him, and he gaue him neuer a worde to aunswere.

Then the king came to Sir Eustace of Rybamount, and ioyously to him he said, Sir Eustace ye are the knight that among all other are the most valiauntest that I haue seene, as well in the assaylyng of your enemie as in the defendyng of your selfe, neyther was it my chaunce to meete with any knight that euer put me to aunswere, and defende my selfe body to body as ye haue done this day, wherefore I geue you the price aboue all the knightes of my Court, by right sentence. Then the king tooke the Chapelet that was vpon his head, beyng both fayre, goodly, and riche, and sayd, Sir Eustace I geue you this Chapelet for the best doer in armes in this iourney past on eyther partie, and I desyre you to beare it this yere for the loue of me. I know wel ye be freshe and amorous, and often tymes ye are among Ladyes, and Damoselles: Say wheresoeuer ye come, that I did geue it you, and I requite and discharge you of your imprisonment and raunsome, and ye shall depart to morowe if it please you.

A great plague and pestilence.

And in the end of this yere, the plague of Pestilence reigned sore in England, but chiefely in the Citie of London, that besyde the bodyes that were buryed in sundrie Churches and Churchyardes in London, there were also buryed in the Charterhouse Churchyard fiftie thousand persons and aboue.

1349

This yere and the. xxij. day of August, dyed Philip the French king at Nogent, and was buryed in Parys: And the. xxvj. day of September folowyng, Iohn eldest sonne to king Philip was crowned French king at Reynes, and the same day also the Queene his wife was crowned with him, and at the same tyme, the King made also manye Knightes, and created Erles Marqueses, and Dukes.

24

Philip the French king dead.

1350

This yere about the latter ende of August a noble man of Spaine called Sir Charles, to whome king Iohn of Fraunce had newely geuen the Erledome of Angolesme, entendyng to winne some honour vpon the English men, with a strong nauie of Spanyardes entered the English streames, and did much harme vnto king Edwardes friendes. So that the king about the tyme abouesayde met with the sayde nauye vpon the coast of Winchelsey, where betwene the king and them was a long and cruell fight, to the great losse of many people vpon both partes: But in the ende God sent vnto the king the victory, so that he chased his enemies, and wanne from them. xxij. of their Shippes, with many prisoners. *Fabian.*

25

An ouerthrowe geuen to the french men by sea.

In the ende of this yere, there were solempne Messengers sent in Ambassade to Rome, for to conclude a perfite peace betwene the two Kinges of England and of Fraunce, so that King Edward should resigne and geue vp all his title and claime that he made vnto the Crowne of Fraunce: And the French king should clerely geue vnto him all the Duchy of Guyan, with all such landes as at any time before, were taken by any of his progenitors from it. And that king Edward and his heyres kinges, should freely holde and occupie the sayde Duchie, without doyng of any homage to any French king after that day. But the conclusion of this matter was so prolonged and deferred by the Pope, that the Erle of Darby, and other which were appoynted for the King of England, returned without speding of their cause. Wherfore king Edward made new prouision to warre vpon king Iohn of Fraūce.

1351

In the. xxvj. yere of the reigne of this king, the Castell of Guynes nere vnto Calice was yelden vnto the Englishe men, by the treason of a French man called Guyllam de Beauconry, for the which treason the sayde Guyllam was shortly after put to execution by ỹ French king in the towne of Amiens.

26

A victory ouer ye French men.

And the same yere Sir Guy of Neale then Marshall of Fraunce with a strong companie gaue battaile vnto the Englishe men then beyng in Briteyn, in the which the sayde Sir Guy, with the Lorde of Brikebet, and the Chasteleyn of Beauueyes, with manie other noble men were slaine, and many taken prisoners.

And

And at this tyme was builded Trinitie hall in Cambridge, by William Bateman, Bishop of Norwiche. Trinity hall.

At this time happened throughout Englande so hote a Sommer, that many yeres after it was called the drie Sommer, for from the later ende of Marche vntill the later ende of Iuly, then next followyng there fell little or no rayne, by reason whereof, many great inconueniences followed. And chiefely the price of Corne this yere beganne greatly to be aduaunced, and the yere folowyng it was more dere, and so lykewise were Befes and Mottons greatly aduaunced by reason of the lack of pasture and feeding, which thing happened in Fraunce as well as in Englande. 1352 27 The drie or hote Sõmer.

This yere the king called his high Court of Parliament at Westminster, and about Whitsontyde folowyng the king created the Erle of Darby, Duke of Lancaster, and syr Raufe Stafford, Erle of Stafford. Then thys Duke of Lancaster was sent agayne ouer the Sea, where in the ende of this yere (as sayth Froyssart) he was appealed of the Duke of Brunswike, a Duke of the Countrie of Almayne, of certaine wordes that were agaynst his honour: For the which he offered to wage his battayle with the sayde Duke in the court of the French king. 1353 28 A parliament at Westminster. The Erle of Darby was appealed before ye French king by the Duke of Brunswick.

Then thys Henry, which some call Henry of Bolyngbroke Duke of Lancaster, purchaced his safeconduite of the French king, and kept his daye apointed for that battaile in a field called in the French, *La preux Clers*, where was for them ordeyned a place listed and closed in goodly wise: king Iohn beyng there present with the greatest parte of the Nobles of Fraunce.

And there came in first into that field the aforenamed Duke of Brunswike appellaunt, and after him came the Noble Duke of Lancaster, to the great honour of all England. And soone after (dyuers obseruances according to the lawe of armes done) and solempne othes taken, eyther of them set hys speare in the rest to haue runne the first course. But then king Iohn of his speciall grace ceassed the matter, and tooke the quarell into his awne hands, so that eyther of them departed the field without any stroke striking: and then the French king pacified the appeale to the honour of the Duke of Lancaster although he was the French kings enemie.

And shortly after this, the sayde Duke of Lancaster, with other nobles assigned vnto hym by the king of Englande, went vnto Auinion with the Archebishop of Rone then Chauncelour of the Realme of Fraunce, and also the Duke of Burbone, and other that were apointed for the king of Fraunce to conclude a peace betweene their two princes aforesayde, who were at the Citie aforesayd and there heard at length of the election of a new Pope, then called Innocent the. vj. which also lyke vnto his predecessor was a French man borne. In conclusion after many and great arguments made on both sides, it was there agreed that the peace betweene the two sayde kinges should be kept and holden inuiolable vntill Mydsomer then next followyng. The French king taketh vp the matter.

Now for as much as the townes of Flaundyrs did refuse to keepe the bandes of amity that before time had beene made betwene the King of Englande and them, in the tyme and lyfe of Iaques Dartuell afore mencioned: But that now they beganne to fauour the French King, therefore the King withdrewe from them the Martes or Markets and staples of wolles which to their great aduauntage by the procurement of the sayde Iaques de Artuell was in sundrie of their townes vsed and kept. And the King caused the same to be kept in sundrie good townes of England, as Westminster, Chichester, Lyncolne, Bristow, and Cauntorburie. 1354 29 Staple of Wolles kept in England.

And shortly after Easter the French King sent his eldest sonne Charles Dolphyn of Vyenne into Normandy forto take the rule of that country, and specially for to cease certaine lands and Castels, which at that day belonged vnto the king of Nauarre, which then was out of the french kings fauor for the death of syr Charles of Spayne late Constable of Fraunce which by his meanes was murdered in a towne called Aigle in Normãdy ij. yeres before.

And while the Dolphyn was thus busied in Normandy, he made such meane to the rulers thereof, that they graunted him ayde of three thousand men for three Monethes at their proper costes and charges.

Of this sone after sprang such tydings, that the King of England was informed that the French King had geuen to his sonne Charles the Duchy of Normandy, with all Gascoyne and Guyan: and how the Normans had graunted to the sayde Charles three thousande men for three moneths to warre at their costes on the Englishmen, which (as the French boke sayth) was graunted him onely to defende the king of Nauerre, which came to Constantyne shortlye after, to repossesse such landes as the Dolphyn had seased there of his, and therefore he made warre vpon the Dolphyn.

The Prince of Wales entreth into Gascoyne.

But howsoeuer it were, in October next followyng the Prince of Wales with a great hoste entred into Gascoyne, and passed by Tholous and the ryuer of Geround and so by Carcassion, and brent the Bulwarks of that Citie, and from thence to Narbon in brennyng and spoylyng all as he went.

And in the same yere king Edward with his power landed at his towne of Calice, where he rested him all the Winter followyng.

1355

30

Ye haue heard in the last yere that the Prince of Wales with an army of men went ouer into Gascoigne, where he did many a noble dede and feate of armes, and tooke many townes and Castels and subdued his enemies with great courage. At the last the French king made suche great prouision to encounter with him, that there was no remedy but he must fight with him. Wherfore he made all the prouision he could, and sayde courageously for the comforting of his men beyng God wote but a handefull in comparison to the French armie, well syrs sayth he, although we be but fewe in regarde to the multitude of our enimies: Let vs not be abashed therefore, for the victorie lyeth not in the multitude of the people, but where it pleaseth almighty God to geue it. If it fortune that the iourney be oures, we shall be honoured thorough the whole worlde: And if we die in a right and good quarell, I haue a king to my father and I haue brethren, and you haue good friendes and kinsmen that will reuenge oure deathes. Therefore Syrs, for Gods sake take the good heartes of Englishmen vnto you this daye, for if God will, this daye shall ye see me doe the parte of a good knight. These wordes and suche other that the Prince spake, did greatly encourage his people. The Prince had placed himselfe with his armie among the Vynes and had closed in the weakest parte thereof with the caryages.

Prince Edwarde commonly called the black Prince was of great courage.

Now that the time of battaile approched, the Prince hauyng by hym the Lorde Sir Iohn Chandos and the Lord Iames Audeley, who assisted him and neuer went from him all the time of the battayle. But the Lorde Audeley kneeled downe (and sayde vnto the Prince) Sir I haue serued alwayes truely my Lorde your father and you also, and will doe as long as I lyue. I saye this because I made once a vowe that the first battaile that eyther the king your father or any of his children should be at, how that I would be one of the first setters on, or else to die in the trauaile: Therefore I beseeche your grace as in rewarde for anye seruice that euer I did to the king your father or to you, that you will giue me licence to depart from you, and to set my selfe there as I may accomplishe my vowe.

The Lorde Iames Audley his wordes to the Prince.

The Prince agreed to his desyre, and sayde, Sir Iames, God ayde you so this day, that ye may proue the best knight of all other, and so tooke hym by the hande. And the knight departed from the Prince, and went to the formost front of all the battayles, beyng only accompanied with foure Esquiers in whom he put great trust & confidence, and they promised not to fayle him.

This Lorde Iames was a right sage and Vertuous knight, and by him was much of the hoste ordered and gouerned. Thus Sir Iames was readie to fight in the front of the Battaile, against the battayles of the Marshalles of Fraunce. Then the battaile began of all partes, and the battayles of the Marshalles of Fraunce approched, and they set forth that were appoynted to breake the array of the Archers: They entred on horsebacke into the way where the great hedges were on both sydes set full of Archers: As soone as the men

A sore and cruell battail called the battaile of Poyters.

men of armes entered, the Archers beganne to shoote on both sydes, and did slay and hurt Knightes and horsses a great number. So that the horses when they felt the sharpe Arrowes, they would in no wise go forward, but drue backe and flang, and tooke on so fiercely, that many of them fell vpon their maisters: So that for preace they could neuer rise againe. In so much that the Marshalles battaile could neuer come at the Prince: But yet certein Knightes and Esquiers that were well horsed, passed through the Archers, and thought to haue approched to the Prince, but they could not. The Lord Audely with his foure Esquiers was in the front of that battaile, and there did maruelles in Armes, and by great prowes he came & fought with Sir Arnolde Dandrehen, vnder his awne Banner, and there they fought long together, and Sir Arnold was there sore handled. The battaile of the Marshalles began to disorder, by reason of the shotte of the Archers, with the ayde of the men of armes, who came in among them, and slue of them, and did what they lust. And there was the Lorde Arnold Dandrehen taken prisoner by other men, and not by the Lorde Audeley, for that day he neuer tooke prisoner, but alwayes fought and went on his enemies. Also on the French part the Lorde Iohn Cleremount fought vnder his owne Banner as long as he could endure, but there he was beaten downe, and coulde not be relieued nor raunsomed, but was slaine without mercie. So within a short space the Marshalles battailes were discomfited, for they fell one vpon another, and could not go forward. And the Frenchmen that were behinde, and could not come forwarde, reculed backe, and came on the battaile of the Duke of Normandy, the which was great and thicke, and were on foote, but anone they began to open behynde. For when they knewe that the Marshalles battaill was discomfited, they tooke their horses and departed he that might best make way to be gone: Also they sawe a rowte of Englishe men commyng downe a little hill on horseback, and many Archers with them, who brake in on the one syde of the Dukes battaile. To say the truth, the Archers did their company that day great seruice, for they shot so thick, that the French men wist not on what syde to take hede, and little and little the English men wanne ground on them. And when the men of Armes of England saw that the Marshalles battaile was discomfited, and that the Dukes battaile began to disorder & open, they lept then on their horses, the which they had redy by them. Then they assembled together, & cryed Saint George. And the Lorde Chandos sayde to the Prince: Sir, take your horse and ryde forth, thys iourney is yours: God is this day with you, and fighteth for you, and let vs go vnto the French Kinges battaile, for there lyeth all the sore of this matter. I thinke verely by his valyantnesse that he will not flie, I trust by the helpe of God and Saint George we shall haue him, if he be well fought withall: And Sir in the beginnyng of the battaile I heard you say, that this day I should see you a good knight, nowe is the tyme therefore, folowe it. The Prince sayd, let vs go foorth, ye shalt not see me this day returne backe, and then sayd the Prince, aduaunce foorth your Banner in the name of God and Saint George: The Knight that bare it, did his commaundement. There was then a sore battaile and a daungerous, and many a man ouerthrowne, and he that was once downe could not be relieued againe without great succour & ayde. Then the Prince and his company gaue the onset of the battaile of the Duke of Athens Constable of Fraunce, and there was many a man slaine and cast to the earth. And as the Frenche men fought in companies they cryed (*Moune ioye Saint Dionice*) and the Englishe men, Saint George. Anone the Prince with his companie met with the battaile of the Almaynes, whereof the Erle of Salesbruce, the Erle of Nosco, and the Erle Neydo were Capitaynes: But in a short space they were put to flight. The Archers shot so wholy together, that none durst come in their daungers, they slue many a man that could not come to raunsome, and the aforesayde three Erles were slaine, and diuerse other knightes and Esquiers of their company. Then the Kinges battaile came on the Englishe men, there was a sore fight, and many a harde stroke both geuen and receyued: The French king and his yongest sonne mette with the battaile of the Englishe Marshalles, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Suffolke, and with them of Gascoynes, the Captall of Buz, the Lorde of Pomyers, the Lorde Amery of Charre,

A corageous Prince.

Charre, the Lorde of Mucident, the Lorde of Langram, and the Lorde de la Strade. To the Frenche partie there came time ynough, the Lorde Iohn of Landas, and the Lorde of Woodney, they alighted on foote, and wente into the kinges battaile. And a little besyde fought the Duke of Athens, constable of Fraunce, and a little aboue him the Duke of Burbon, and many good Knightes of Burbonoys, and of Picardie with him. And a little on the other syde, there were the Poytenynes, the Lorde de Pons, the Lorde of Partney, the Lorde of Dampmar, the Lorde of Montabaton, the Lorde of Suggers, the Lorde Iohn Sayntre, the Lorde Argenton, the Lorde of Lymyers, the Lorde of Mountandre, and dyuers other: Also the Vicount of Rocheuart, and the Erle of Daunoy. And of Burgoyn, the Lord Iames of Beauieu, the Lorde de la Castell vileyn, and other. In another part there was the Erle of Vantadowre and of Mountpencer, the Lorde Iames of Burbone, the Lorde Iohn de Arthoys, and also the Lord Iames his brother, the Lord Arnold of Cernolle called the Archepriest, armed for the yong Erle of Alanson. And of Auuergne, there was the Lord Marcuell, the Lord de la Towre, the Lorde of Chalenton, the Lorde of Mountagew, the Lorde of Rocheford, the Lorde de la Chayre, the Lorde Dachone. And of Limosin, there was the Lorde Delmall, the Lorde of Norwell, and the Lord of Pers Buffier. And of Picardie, there was the Lorde William of Nerle, the Lord Arnolde of Reinewall, the Lorde Geoffrey of Saint Digier, the Lorde of Chamy, the Lorde of Heley, the Lorde of Mounsaunt, the Lord of Hangies, and diuers other. And also in the kinges battaile was the Erle Douglas of Scotland, who fought a season right valiauntly: But when he sawe the discomfiture, he departed and saued himselfe, for in no wise he would be taken of the English men, he had rather haue bene slaine.

Duke of Athens.
Duke of Burbon.
Poytenynes.
Burgoyn.
Auuergne.
Lymosyn.
Picardy.

On the English part the Lord Iames Audeley with the ayde of his foure squiers, fought alwayes in the chiefe of the battayle: he was sore hurt in the bodye and in the visage, but yet as long as his breth serued him, he fought. At the last towarde the ende of the battayle, hys foure squiers tooke and brought him out of the field, and layed him vnder a hedge side for to refreshe hym: and they vnarmed him, and bounde vp his woundes as well as they coulde.

Lorde Iames Audeley.

On the French part, King Iohn was that day a full right good knight, if the fourth parte of his men had done theyr deuoyres as well as he did, the iourney had bene his by all lykelyhood: howbeit they were all slaine and taken that were there, except a very fewe that were with the King, which saued themselues by flyeng.

Iohn the French king.

There were slaine the Duke Peter of Burbone, the Lorde Guysshard of Beauiewe, the Lorde of Landas, and the Duke of Athens Conestable of Fraunce, the Bishop of Chalons in Champeyne, the Lorde Wylliam of Neele, the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount, the Lorde de la Towre, the Lorde William of Mountagew, syr Guyuenton of Chambley, syr Baudryn de la house and many other as they fought by companies. And there were taken prisoners, the Lorde of Woodney, the Lorde of Pompador, and the Archepriest sore hurt, the Erle of Vandos, syr Loys of Melwall, the Lord Piers Buffier, and the Lord of Senetache: There were at that bront slaine and taken mo then two hundreth knightes.

French men slaine.

This battayle was fought nere vnto Poyetiers in the fields of Beaumount and Malpertnes, the which was great and perillous, and manye worthie deedes of armes were there done that came not at all to my knowledge, sayth Froissart. The fighters on both partes endured muche trauaile and paine: King Iohn with his owne hands did that day like a valiant Prince, he had an Axe in his hande, wherewith he fought in the breaking of prease to haue come to the Prince, very courageously and manfully. And nere vnto the French king was taken the Erle of Tankeruyll, Sir Iames of Burkon Erle of Ponthieu, and the Lorde Iohn of Arthoyes Erle of Ewe. And a little aboue that vnder the Banner of ỹ Capitol of Buz was taken syr Charles of Arthoys, & diuers other knightes and squires. The chace endured to the gates of Poytiers: There were manye slaine and beaten downe horse and man, for they of Poytiers had closed their gates, & would suffer none to enter: wherefore in the streete before the gate, was a great & horrible murther, and many men hurt and

French men taken.

and beaten downe: The Frenchmen yelded themselues as farre off as they might know an Englishman. There were diuers Englishe Archers that had foure, fiue, or sixe prisoners, the Lorde of Pons a great Baron of Poyton was there slayne, and many other Knightes and squires. And there was taken the Erle of Rocheuart, the Lord of Damnauement, the Lorde of Pertney and of Xaynton, the Lord of Motendre and the Lord Saint Iohn: But he was so sore hurt that he neuer had helth after, he was accompted for one of the best knightes in Fraunce. And there was lefte for deade among other deade men, the Lorde Richard Dangle, who fought that daye by the king right valiauntly, and so did the Lord Charney, on whom was great prayse, because he bare the souereigne Banner of the kinges: his awne Banner was also in the fielde, the which was Goules three Scotcheons Siluer.

So manye Englishmen and Gascoynes came to that parte, that perforce they opened the Kings battayle, so that the French men were mingled among their enemies, that some time there was fiue men vpon one Gentleman. There was taken the Lord of Pompadour, and the Lord Barthelemew de Brunes: and there was slaine Sir Geoffrey of Charney with the Kinges Banner in his handes. Also the Lorde Reynould Cobham slue the Erle of Dammartyn. Then was there great preassing to take the King, and suche as knewe him cryed vnto him and sayde, Sir, yeelde you, or else ye are but dead. At that tyme there was a Knight of Saint Omers retayned in wages with the King of Englande called syr Thomas Morbeck, who had serued the King of Englande, fiue yeres before, because in his youth he had forfeyted the Realme of Fraunce for a murder that he did at Saint Omers. It happened so well for this Knight, that he was next to the King when they were about to take him, and he stepped forth into the prease, and by strength he came to the French King and sayde vnto him in good French (Sir yeelde you) the king behelde the knight and sayde vnto him, to whom shall I yeelde me? where is my Cosyn the Prince of Wales, if I myght see him I would speake with him, Sir Denyce aunswered and sayde, Sir he is not here, but yeelde you to me, and I will bring you to him: who be you quoth the king? Sir sayth he, I am Denyce of Morbeck, a Knight of Arthoys: But I serue the King of England, because I am banished the realme of Fraunce, and I haue forfayted all that I had there: Then the king gaue him his right Gauntlet, sayeng I yeelde me vnto you. There was a great prease about the king, for euerye man cryed that he had taken the King, so that the King coulde not go forwarde wyth hys young sonne Philip wyth him for the prease.

This Sir Geoffrey was he that would haue stolen Calyce.

The French king is taken.

The prince of Wales, who was courageous and cruell as a Lyon, toke that day great pleasure to fight and chase his enemies: The Lorde Iohn Chandos, who was with him of all that daye and neuer left him, nor neuer tooke heede of taking anye prisoner, at the ende of the battayle sayde to the Prince, Sir, it were good that you rested here, and set your Banner a high in this Bushe, that your people may draw hether, for they be sore scattered abrode, neyther can I see any mo Banners or Pennons on the French partie: wherefore syr, rest and refreshe you, for ye are sore chafed.

Then the princes Banner was set vp high on a Bushe, and Trumpets and Clarions beganne to sounde, and then the Prince did of his Basenet, and the Knightes for his body, and they of his Chamber were readie about him, and pight a Read paulion presently, and then drinke was brought vnto hym and to suche Lordes as were about him, who still encreased as they came from the chase, and their prisoners with them.

And when the two Marshalles were come to the Prince, he demaunded of them, and if they heard any tydings of the French king: and they aunswered and sayde, Sir we heare none of certaintie, but we thinke verily that he is eyther dead or taken, for he is not gone out of the battayles. Then the prince sayde to the Erle of Warwike, and to Sir Reignold of Cobham: Sirs I requyre you to go forth and hearken and inquire a truth, & returne agayne so soone as you can. These two Lordes tooke their horses and departed from the Prince, and roade vp a little hill to looke about them. And they perceaued a flocke of men of armes comming together right werily: There was the French King on foote in

Sir Dionise Morbecke tooke the French king.

great perill, for Englishmen and Gascons were his masters, they had taken him from Sir Denyce Morbeck perforce, and such as were the strongest sayde, I haue taken him, nay quoth another I haue taken him, so they straue who should haue him: Then the French King, to eschewe that perill, spake vnto them and sayde, Sirs, striue not, leade me and my sonne curteously to my Cosyn the prince, and fall not out for my taking, for I am so great a Lorde as maye make you all riche: the which wordes did somewhat pacefie them: howbeit, still as they went, they made ryot and brawled for the taking of the King.

When the aforesayde Lordes sawe and heard the noyes and strife amongest them, they came vnto them and sayde, Sirs, what is the matter that ye striue for: Sir sayde one of them, it is for the French King, who is here taken prisoner, and there are mo then. x. Knights and squires that challenge the taking of him and of his sonne: Then the two Lordes entered into the prease and caused euery man to drawe a back, and commaunded them in the Princes name vpon paine of their heades to make no more noyes, nor to approche to the king any neerer, without they were commaunded. Then euery man gaue rome to the Lordes, and they alighted, and did their reuerence vnto the king, and so brought him and his sonne quietly vnto the Prince of Wales.

Assone as the two Marshalles were departed from the Prince, as before you haue heard: Then the Prince demaunded of the knights that were about him, whether any of them could tell him of the Lord Iames Audeley: and aunswere was made, that he was sore hurt, and lay in a Litter, not farre off. Nowe truely sayde the Prince, I am sory for his hurtes: But go knowe if he may be brought hether, or else I will go see him where he is. Then two knights came to the Lord Audley, and sayd, sir, the Prince hath earnestly asked for you, and is very desyrous to see you, and sayth that if you cannot come to him, he will come to you. A syr quoth the knight, I thanke the prince that will thinke on so poore a Knight as I am. And then he called. viij. of his seruauntes to beare him in his Litter to the place where the Prince was. Then the Prince tooke him in his armes and kissed him, and made to him most louyng countenaunce, and great cheere (and sayd) sir Iames I ought greatly to honour you, for by your valyauntnes ye haue this day obteyned the commendation and fame by all our iudgements to be the most valiant knight of all other that fought at this battaile. O Sir, sayde the knight, ye say your pleasure, I would it were so, but if I haue this day put foorth my selfe in your seruice (and for the accomplishement of the vowe that before I had made) it ought not to be reputed to my prowes or force, but to dutie. Sir Iames, sayd the Prince, I and all ours repute and declare you in this battaile to be the best doer in Armes: And to the entent to furnishe you the better in the warres, and to encourage you to follow the same, I retaine you for euer to be my knight with fiue hundreth markes of yerely reuenewes, the which I will assigne you out of myne inheritance in England. Sir sayde the knight God make me able to deserue the great goodnesse that ye shew me, and so he tooke his leaue of the Prince, for he was very weake.

A gentle gracious Prince.

The bountifull reward of a Prince.

So soone as sir Iames Lorde Audeley was brought to his lodgyng, he sent for sir Peter Audeley his brother, and for the Lorde Bartholomewe of Brunes, the Lorde Stephen of Gouseton, the Lord of Wylly, and the Lord Raufe Ferrers: All these were of his Linage. And he called before them his foure Esquiers that had serued him that day so well and truly: And then he sayde to the Lordes: Where it hath pleased my Lorde the Prince to geue me this day. v. C. Markes of yerely reuenewes, for the which gift I haue done him small seruice with my body: Sirs, sayde he to the Lordes, beholde here these foure Esquiers, who haue alwayes serued me truly, and specially thys day, for the honour that I haue, is by their valiantnesse, and therefore I am bound to reward them. Wherefore, here before you all, I geue and resigne into their handes the gift that my Lorde Prince hath geuen me of fiue hundreth markes of yerely reuenewes, to them and to their heyres for euer, in like manner as it was geuen me, and I cleerely disenherite my selfe thereof, and enherite them to hold the same, without any variaunce or contradiction.

A noble & liberal knight.

The

The Lordes and other that were present, euery of them behelde other, and sayde among themselues, this commeth of a noble and valiant courage, thus to depart with so great a gift: and they aunswered him with one voyce, Sir, be it as God will, we will beare witnesse in this behalfe, when & whersoeuer we become, and so they tooke their leaue and departed.

The next day as the king departed and was going in his iourney, it was tolde the king howe the Lorde Audeley had geuen to his foure Esquiers the gift of the fiue hundred Markes that he had geuen vnto him. Then the Prince sent for him, and he was brought vnto the Prince in his Litter, who receyued him right curteously (and sayde) Sir Iames, we haue knowledge that the reuenewes that we gaue you, assoone as ye came to your lodgyng, ye gaue the same to foure Esquiers: We would knowe why ye did so, and whether ye thought the gift sufficient and worthie for you or not? Sir sayde the knight, it is of truth that I haue geuen it to them, and I will vtter vnto you the cause why I did so: Those foure Esquiers haue of long tyme serued me well and truely in many great daungers: And Sir at this tyme, they serued me in such wise, that if they had neuer done any thing else, I was and am bound towardes them, and before this day they neuer had any thing of me in rewarde. And Sir, as ye know, I was and am but a man alone, but by the courage, ayde, and comfort of them, I tooke on me to accomplishe my vowe to you before rehersed, and certeinely I had bene deade in the battayle if they had not beene. Wherefore sir, when as nature and duetye dyd binde me to consider the loue that they bare vnto me, I should haue shewed my selfe to muche vnthankefull if I had not rewarded them: And God I thanke him, I haue and shall haue inough to mainteine my poore estate, as long as I liue, and I feare nothing lesse then lacke of substance. And forasmuch as I haue done this without your licence and knowledge, I humbly beseech you to pardon me, and Sir be you well assured, that both I and my Esquiers, will serue you as well and as truely as euer we did.

Then the Prince sayd, Sir Iames, I must needes commend you very much in all your doings, chiefely for your valiantnes shewed in this battaile: and for the good seruice of these Esquiers, whome ye haue so much praysed, I agree and allowe to them your gift, and I will render againe to you sixe C. markes in the lyke maner as ye had the other graunted vnto you before. A noble and gracious prince.

Thus this battaile ended as you haue heard, which was fought the xxij. day of September two leagues from Poytiers. And it beganne in the morning, and ended at noone: But as then the Englishmen were not returned from the chase of their enimies. Therefore, as ye haue heard, the Princes Banner stood in a bushe to drawe all his men together, but it was night before all came from the chace. And as it was reported, there were slaine at the Flowre and chiualrie of Fraunce. And there was taken wyth the King and the Lord Philip his sonne. xvij. Erles, beside Barons, knights, and squiers, and there were slaine. v. or. vj. thousand one and other.

When euery man was come from the chace, they had as manye prisoners as the whole armie of the Englishmen were twise in number. Wherefore it was agreed and concluded among them, because of the great charge and doubt to keepe so many prisoners, that they should put manye of them to raunsome incontinent in the fielde, and so they did. And the prisoners founde the Englishmen and Gascons right curteous and gentle vnto them. And all that night the prince with his armie and prisoners laye in the fielde, and euery manne made good cheere vnto his prisoner, for that day whosoeuer tooke any prisoner, he was cleere his, and might quyte and raunsome him at his pleasure.

All suche as were at this battayle, were all made riche with honour and goodes, as well by raunsoming of prisoners, as by wynning of Golde, Siluer, plate, and Iewels, that was there found in the spoyle. There was no man that did set anye thing by riche harneys, whereof there was great plentye, for the Frenchmen came thether very richly besene, wenyng to haue obteyned the glorie of that iourney. A notable victorie.

The hcourable behauiour of the prince, to y^ French king.

When night came, the prince made to the French King and his sonne, and to the other Lordes that were taken prisoners, a supper. And first the Prince placed the French king and his sonne, the Lorde Iames of Burbone, the Lorde Iohn de Arthoys, the Erle of Tankeruyll, the Erle of Stampes, the Erle of Dampmartyn, the Erle of Grauyll, and the Lorde of Partenay to sit all at one borde, and other Lordes knightes and squires at other Tables. And the prince himselfe serued all that supper time, neyther woulde he sit downe for no request that the French king coulde make vnto him: For he sayde, he was not meete to sit at that table with so great and high a prince as the French King was. And then he sayde to the King, Sir for Gods sake be not sad nor shewe not anye heauie countenaunce, for though God thys daye hath not consented to folow your will: yet Sir surely the King my father I dare boldely say will beare you so much honor and amitie as he maye doe, and I doubt nothing but that ye shall so reasonably accorde and agree, that ye shall be friendes for euer together. And syr mee thinketh that ye ought to reioyce, though the iourney be not as ye woulde haue had it, for this daye ye haue wonne the high renowne of Prowes, and haue this daye in valyauntnesse exceeded all other of your partie. Sir, I speake not this to mock you, for all that be on oure partie and sawe euery mannes deedes, doe plainely agree and conclude in one sentence to geue you the Chapelet. Therewith the French men beganne to muttor, and sayde among themselues, the prince had spoken nobly, and by all coniectures he was lyke to proue a noble and worthie prince, if God did sende him lyfe.

When supper was done, euery man went to his lodging with their prisoners, the next daye in the morning when euery thing was readie trussed vp, then they tooke their horses and roade towardes Poytiers. The same night there was come to Poytiers the Lord of Roy with an hundred speares he was not at the battail, but he met the Duke of Normandy nere to Chauuigny, and the Duke sent him to Poytiers to keepe the towne, vntill they heard other tydinges.

When the Lorde of Roye knewe that the English men were comming so nere the Citie: he caused euerie man to be armed, and euery man to go to his defence to the walles, Towres and gates: and the Englishmen passed by without anye approchyng, for they were sō laden with Golde, Siluer, plate, Iewels and prisoners that in their returning they assauted no fortes.

They thought it much if they coulde bring the French King and other prisoners with all their spoyle in safetie to Burdeaux. And they roade but small iourneyes because of their prisoners and caryages, so that they roade in a whole daye not past foure or fiue leagues at the most, and lodged euer betimes, and roade close together in good aray, sauyng the Marshalles battayles, who roade euer before with fiue hundred men of armes to open the passages as the Prince should passe. But they met with no encounterers, for euery man was so afrayde that they were fled to the Fortresses.

Thus the Prince and his company did so muche, that they passed thorough Poyteau and Xaynton without dammage, and came to Blay, and there passed the ryuer of Geron, & arryued in the good City of Bourdeaux.

It cannot be expressed what great feastyng and cheere they of the Citie and the Clergie made to the Prince, and how honorably they were there receaued. The prince brought the French king into the Abbey of Saint Andrews, and there they lodged both, the King in the one parte and the prince in the other.

And here were many chaloners of the French King to be their prisoner; But in the ende, partly by the confession of the French king, and partly by right of armes and tokens shewed by Sir Denyce Morbeck, it was thought his right: but notwithstandyng for the appeasing of all thinges the prince differred the iudgement of the matter to his father the king, when they shoulde come into Englande. And yet in the meane season, the prince secretly caused two thousande Nobles to be delyuered to Syr Denyce Morbeck to maintaine his estate.

In

In England when newes came of the victorie of the battaile of Poyters, and of the taking of the French king, there was great ioy and gladnesse, and great solemnities were made in all churches, Cities, and Townes, throughout all the Realme. Great ioy made in England for the taking of the French king.

Nowe approched the tyme that the Prince of Wales had made prouision of Ships and furniture to the same, for the conueyaunce and bringing ouer of the French king, and his other Prisoners into England. And when he had all thynges in a redinesse, he called vnto him the Lorde Dalbert, the Lorde Musident, the Lorde Laspare, the Lorde of Puyers, and the Lorde of Rosen, and gaue them commaundement to kepe the Countrie there vntill his returne againe. 1356 31 The Prince of wales returneth into England with the French king and his other prisoners.

Then he tooke the Sea, and certaine Lordes of Gascoyne with him. The Frenche king was in a vessell by himselfe to be the more at his ease, and was accompanyed with two hundreth men of armes, and two thousand Archers. For it was shewed the Prince that the three Estates, by whome the Realme of Fraunce was gouerned, had layde in Normandye, and Crotoye two great armyes, to the entent to mete with him, and to get the Frenche king out of his handes if they might. But there appered no such matter, and yet they were on the sea. xj. dayes, and on the. xij. day they arryued at Sandwich. Then they issued out of their Ship, and landed and lay there all that night, and taryed there two dayes after to refreshe them: And on the thirde day they roade to Cauntorbury. The French king landeth at Sandwich.

When the king of England knewe of their commyng, he commaunded the Citezens of London to prepare themselues and their Citie, and to make the same seemely and meete to receyue such a man as the French king was, which the Citezens of London did accordyngly.

And from Cauntorbury they came to Rochester, and there taryed a day, and from Rochester to Dartford, and there taryed a day, and from thence the next day to London, where they were honourably receyued, and so they were in euery good towne as they passed. The French king is honorably receyued into London.

The French king roade through London on a white Courser well apparelled: and the Prince on a little blacke Hobby by him. Thus the French king was conueyed along the Citie vntill he came to the Sauoy, the which house apperteyned to the heritage of the Duke of Lancaster. And there the French king kept his house a long season, and often tymes the king and Queene came thether to see him, and made him great feastyng and cheere.

Soone after by the commaundement of Pope Innocent the sixt, there came into England the Lorde Taylleran, Cardinall of Piergort, and the Lorde Nicholas, Cardinall of Dargell. They treated for a peace [illegible] the two kinges, but nothing [illegible] to effect: But yet at the last a truce betwene the two kinges & all their assistentes was concluded for to endure vnto the feast of Saint Iohn baptist. 1359. that is to say, for three yeres. And out of this truce was excepted the Lorde Philip of Nauerre and his alyes, the Countesse of Mountford, and the Duchie of Britaine. An Ambassade sent from the Pope to increate a peace.

Anone after, the French king was remoued from the Sauoy vnto the Castell of Windsore, and all his householde, and went on huntyng and hawking there at his pleasure, and the Lorde Philip his sonne with him: but all the other prisoners abode stil at London, and yet went to see the king at their pleasure, and were receyued onely vpon their faythes.

In the latter ende of this yere, sayth Fabian, the king did holde a royall Iustes in Smithfielde in London, and many a noble feate of Armes was there done to the great honour of the king and of all the realme of England. At the which disport were present, the king of England, and the French king and the king of Scottes his prisoners, with many noble Estates of all the three prouinces or Kingdomes: whereof the greater number of the straungers were then prisoners. A Iustes holden in Smithfield.

Ye haue heard before of the taking of the king of Scottes prisoner, by the Queene in the tyme that king Edward was occupied about the siege of Calice, which now was. xj. 1357 32

A truce or peace concluded betweene the French king and the king of Englande.

yeres past and more. And so soone as the aforesayde Cardinalles had concluded a truce betweene the king of England and the French king, they also accompanied with the bishop of Saint Andrewes in Scotland, fell to a treatie with the king of England, for the deliuerance of the king of Scottes. And the same was concluded in this maner.

That the king of Scottes should neuer after arme him selfe against the king of England in his realme, nor counsayle, nor consent to any of his subiectes to arme them, nor to grieue nor make warre against England.

Also the king of Scottes after his returne into his realme, should endeuour himselfe with all diligence that his people should agree, that the realme of Scotland should holde in fee, and do homage to the king of England. And if the realme would not agree therevnto: Yet the king of Scottes to swere solemply to keepe good peace with the king of Englande, and to binde himselfe and his Realme to paye within. x. yeres after, fiue hundreth thousande Nobles as Froissart sayth: But Fabian sayth one hundreth thousand Markes. And at the sommoning of the king of England, to sende good pledges and hostages for the same: as the Erle of Douglas, the Erle of Moret, the Erle of Mare, the Erle of Surlant, the Erle of Fife, the Baron of Versey, and Sir William of Caumoyse. And all these to abide in England as prisoners and hostages for the king their Lorde, vnto the tyme that the seuerall paymentes of the money aforesayd were fully contented and payde.

The Scottishe kinges raunsome.

Of these ordinaunces and bondes, were made instrumentes publiques, and letters patentes, sealed by both the kinges.

The Scottish king and his wife departeth into Scotland.

When all these thinges were ordered and done, then the Scottish king departed and went into his realme, & his wife Queene Isabell sister to king Edward, with him. And when he came within his realme, he was honorably receyued, and he lay at Saint Iohns towne vpon the ryuer of Trye, while his Castell of Edenbourgh was newly reedified.

1338

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Now before the day of the truce last concluded with Fraunce, were fully expired, the warre was newely begon. But anone after that, a peace was made betweene the king of Nauarre, and the Duke of Normandy.

A peace commoned of and agreed vpon, betweene the French king and the king of [illegible]

And in this tyme the king of Englande and the Prince his sonne, the French king, and the Lord Iaques of Burbon met at London, & they foure beyng alone together in counsaile, agreed vpon a peace vpon certein articles written in a letter, and sent the same into Fraunce to the Duke of Normandie. When the Duke had receyued these letters, he demaunded counsaile of the king of Nauerre who then was present with him, and he counsayled him that the Prelates and Nobles of Fraunce, and the good townes should assemble themselues, [illegible] and to say their mindes therein: [illegible] which thing was done. And it seemed to the king of Nauarre, [illegible] and to the Duke, and to his, and to all the counsayle of the Realme, that the sayde treatie was to grieuous to be borne: Wherefore they aunswered all with one voyce, that the peace and condicions cōteyned in that letter, was so preiudicial to them & to the realme, that they yet would endure greater mischiefe then they had done, rather then in such wise to minish and abace the state of Fraunce: and sayd also that they would rather suffer their king to lie still in England.

And when the French king vnderstood howe the Realme of Fraunce would not agree to his appointment he sayd. A sonne Charles: ye be counsayled by the king of Nauarre, who deceaueth you, and will deceaue suche. xl. as you be.

A noble and courageous Prince.

And when the King of Englande knew what aunswere was brought, he sayde: Before Winter be past I will enter into Fraunce, in puyssaunt and valyaunt maner, and there will abyde so long tyll I haue an ende of thys warre, or else peace at my pleasure and to myne honour, and then he made the greatest prouision for warre, that euer he made.

The same season, about the middes of August, the Lorde Iohn of Craon Archebishop of Reynes, and they of the Citie of Paris, and of the Countrie thereabout, with certaine knightes and squires of the Countrie of Rochell and Laon, went and layde siege to the Castell

Castell of Roucy, and there laye fyue weekes. And then they within yeelded vp their lyues and goodes saued, and to go whether they list.

And of this they had letters patents sealed by the Archbishop, by the Erle Porcien and the Erle of Brayne: But for all that, when they departed, the commons that were there, rose against them and slue the most parte of them, for all the Lordes, and they had much paine to saue the Captaine called Hankyn Frauncoys. And thus the Erle of Roucy had agayne his awne Castell.

And in this time (sayth Fabian) Sir Robert Knolles and Sir Iames Pipe Englishmen warred in Briteyne, and with the helpe of one Thomlyn Fowlke, they came earely in a morning vnto a towne that was nere vnto Ancore called Kegennez, which then was in the rule of the Englishmen and out of that towne they tooke more strength and went streight to Ancore being within two English myles, and scaled the walles with ladders, and quit them so manfully that they had the rule of the towne before the Sunne rysing. And in that Castell was taken prisoner Sir Guyllam de Chalyn the sonne of the Erle of Ancerre, his wyfe and many other. Sir Robert Knolles. Sir Iames Pipe, Thomlyn Foulke. Ancore taken.

In taking of which towne and Castell, few were slayne, howbeit there came of armed men aboue to thousand to defend the towne, but it was taken before they came. Then the Englishmen searched so neere, that as the common report went, they founde Iewels as though they had bene priuie to the hyding of them, and they were of great value: Among the which they found certaine skinnes of Furres which were valued at. v. M. Mottons of Gold. Mottons of Golde.

The Motton of Golde was a coyne vsed in Fraunce and Briteyn, and is of the value of fiue shyllings sterlyng.

When the Englishmen had pilled and spoyled the towne by the space of. viij. dayes, and raunsomed such as were of substaunce: Then they shewed vnto the rulers of the towne, that they would set it on fyre, except they would geue vnto them a certayne some of money. For the which the rulers, after conference had among themselues, agreed to geue the English Capitaines, xl. thousand Mottons and. lx. pearles valued at ten thousande Mottons, the which fiftie thousand Mottons amounted neere vnto. xij. thousand and fiue hundred pounde sterling.

The king of Englande in all this time made his prouision for his voyage into Fraunce, suche and so great as had not beene sene before: For he had sent into Almain to al the Lordes of the Empire that serued him before, and they came at their daye appointed vnto Calice, and there came a great number mo then were required, for they came of themselues vpon hope and gayne of the spoyle of Fraunce, and they taried for the king from the beginning of August vntill October followyng. And to saye truth, they taried so long, that by reason victuals waxed skant and dere there were many of them that were fayne to sel the best Iewels they had. 1339 34

Then the king of Englande sent ouer before the Duke of Lancaster with foure hundred speares and two thousande Archers. And when the Duke came to Calice, the Lordes that were straungers made great ioy and were glad of him, and demaunded tydinges of the Kinges comming. The Duke excused the king and sayde that all his prouision was not full readye: and he sayde vnto them, gentle lordes to tarie here is to no purpose, I will ryde forth into Fraunce and see what we can finde there, and I pray you to ryde forth with me, and I will delyuer you a certaine some of money to pay your costes in your lodgings, and ye shall haue furniture of victuall to carie with you. And the Lordes graunted the Duke, and so roade foorth and passed by Saint Omers, they were a two thousande speares, beside Archers and other footemen, and at the last came to Mount Eloy a good Abbey and a riche neere to Arras, and there taried foure dayes to refreshe them and their horses. From thence they went to Cambrey and there made a great assault, but they within defended themselues valiauntly by the ayde and comfort of the Erle of Saint Paule. And when the Englishmen sawe that nothing was there to be had, they departed and went The Duke of Lancaster with certaine straungers entereth into Fraunce.

ouer the ryuer of Some, and came to a Towne called Cheresey, where they founde great plentie of Bread and Wyne. And here the Duke had knowledge that the king was arryued at Calice, who had sent him worde that he and all his companie should come back agayne to him. And then the Duke and his companie returned toward Calice & met with the king by the way, within foure leagues of Calice. And with the king were a great company of Lordes both straungers and other, whose names I ouerpasse. And when the king and the Duke and all their companie were met, the company was so great, that all the Countrie was couered with them. And there the Almaynes, Mercenaries, Brabanters, Behennoys, they altogether shewed vnto the King how they had spent all their goodes, horses and harnesses solde. So that little or nothing was left them to doe him seruice, for which purpose they came: neyther had they wherwith to beare their charges home agayne into their countries, wherefore they desyred his noblenesse to haue some consideration of them. The king aunswered and sayd, how he was not as then readie to geue them a playne aunswere: But sayde, Sirs, I thinke ye be sore trauayled, wherefore go your wayes and refreshe you two or three dayes in Calice, and this night or to morow I will take counsayle and send you such an aunswere that of reason ye will be content withall.

The Duke of Lancaster returneth to come to king Edwarde, who was nowe comming with a power from Calice.

King Edwarde dischargeth some of those that came vnsent for.

Then these straungers departed from the king and from the Duke, and roade towarde Calice, and they had not ryd halfe a league, but they met a great multitude of cariages. And after them came the Prince of Wales, nobly and richely besene and all his company: whereof there were such a number, that all the Countrey was couered with them. And the Prince roade a soft pace readie raunged in battaile, as though they should incontinent haue fought. Thus the prince roade euer a league or two after the kinges hoste, and euer the cariages went betweene both the hostes, the which order the straungers lyked merueiously well.

When these straungers had well behelde this company, and had reuerently saluted the prince and suche Lordes as were with him, and the prince louingly receaued them, as he coulde doe it right well. Then in taking their leaue of him, they shewed him their necessitie, desyring him to consyder of them, and he promised them so to doe.

So the straungers roade on vntill they came to Calice, and the second day after the king sent them their aunswere by three worthy knights, which was that the king had not brought sufficient treasure with him to pay all that they desyred, and also to performe the enterprice that he hath taken in hand: But if they would go foorth with him, and to take such fortune as shall happen, good or euill, they to haue their parte: So that they demaunded [illegible] wages, neyther allowaunce for horse nor expence, nor any dammage that they may happen to haue: For sayd they, the king hath brought men enough out of his realme to furnishe his enterprice.

This aunswere pleased not greatly the straunge Lordes, and the companye that were about them: Howbeit, they could haue none other, but yet the king of his goodnesse gaue them a somme of money to bring them home. Howbeit, some of them went againe to the king & serued at their aduenture.

The order that the king toke in England before his departure.

And before the king departed Englande, he tooke this order: First he caused all the Lordes of Fraunce that were Prisoners, to be put into diuers Castelles, and other sure places. And the French king was committed to the Tower of London, and his yong sonne with him, and kept close: And then placed certeine Lordes for the safe keping & good gouernment of the realme.

The maner and order of the kinges battaile.

But to returne, the kyng passed forward, hauing his Constable the Erle of Marche before him, which had in his battaile fiue hundreth Knightes, and a thousand Archers.

Then folowed the king, who had in his battaile three thousand men of armes, and fiue thousand Archers, well trimmed, and in good order.

Then came all the cariages, the which conteyned two leagues in length, and they caryed with them, hande Milles, Ouens to bake in, and forges for Iron, and other necessaryes.

Then folowed the Princes battaile and of his brethren, wherein were a thousand speares nobly horssed, and richely besene in order, ready to fight.

And in the end of the Kinges battaile, there were. v. C. Verlettes wyth Mattockes and Axes, to make euen the wayes for the caryages to passe.

The king thus passed forward into Fraunce with his armie, and at the last came to Reynes, where he layde siege seuen weekes, but could not preuaile, and so passed to Paris, and from thence to Charters, sore spoylyng, brennyng, and destroiyng the Countrie as he went, & likewise did the prince his sonne with his battaile. So that the Countrie of Fraunce was so greatly wasted, spoyled and decayed, that they were glad to seeke for peace. And at the last by the speciall labour of a Frier called Symond of Langres, and was also a Legate from the Pope, a day of entreatie was appoynted, and a place of metyng for the same. Reynes besieged. Symond of Langers a Fryer.

And at the sayde day and place, there came for the king of England, the Duke of Lancaster, the Erles of Warwike, and of Northhampton, with sir Iohn Chandos, sir Gualter of Manny, and sir William Cheyney knightes. An intreatie and communication for a peace, but it tooke none effect.

And for the Regent of Fraunce appeared there, the Lorde Fewe Constable of Fraunce, the Lorde Boeiquant then Marshall of Fraunce, the Lord of Saranciers, the Lord Vigney of the Countrie of Vienne, sir Symond Bucy, sir Guichard of Anglie knightes, the which treatie came to none effect.

And there came vnto the king to a place called Domes, the Bishop of Beauuays then Chauncelor of Normandy, with other, and so behaued themselues vnto the king, that a newe day of treatie was appoynted to be holden at Bretynguy within a Myle of Charters, vpon the first day of May then next ensuyng.

At which day of appoyntment, the aforesayde Duke of Lancaster, with the sayd Erles of Warwike, and Northhampton, and other, appeared at the same place for king Edward.

And for the Regent there appered the aforenamed Bishop with many other Lordes and Knightes, and Spirituall men, to the number of. xxij. personnes, whose names I ouerpasse for length of tyme.

These personnes applied them so diligently, that within the space of. viij. dayes they agreed vpon an vnitie and peace, the which was comprised in. xli. articles, the effect whereof hereafter follow. A peace concluded.

1 First the king of England and his heyres kings, with all the landes that he then had in Gascoyne, and Guyan, should haue to him and to his heyres for euer, the Citie and Castell of Poytiers with all the appurtenaunces to that Lordship belongyng. Also the Citie of Limoges, with all the landes of Limosyn, and all other their appurtenaunces. The Citie and Castell of Pirigort, with all the landes and reuenewes to the same Lordeship belongyng. The Erledome of Bygort, with all that thereunto belongeth, the Erledome of Poytiau, with all the appurtenaunces, the Seigniory of Beluyle, the Lordeship of Exanctes, Exauchour and Exancon, the Cities of Agen, Agenoys, and of Caours and Lordeshippe of Caoursyn. The Cities of Tharbe, of Gaure, Angolesme, of Rodes and of Rauerne. The Lordship of Mounstrell, with all the reuenewes therevnto belongyng. The seigniory of Calice, Marguise, of Sandgate & Colignc. The Lordship of Hammes, of Wales and of Ouy. The Erledome of Guynes, with all the profites thervnto belongyng. All which Lordshippes, honoures, Castelles, Towres, Citie, and Townes, king Edward the thirde and his heyres should haue and holde for euermore, in as royall wyse and like maner as haue done the kings of Fraunce, without doyng for them any homage, fealtie, or other duetie. The some and effect of the articles couteyned in the peace.

2 And the sayd king Edward after that day, for him and his heyres kinges of England, should cleerely renounce and geue ouer all his title, right, and interest that he had vnto the Crowne of Fraunce, and specially the name of the king of Fraunce. The king here agreeth to refuse the name of the French king and no more to call himselfe by that name.

3 Also all his right that he had to the Duchie of Normandie, of Thoraine, of Aniow, of Britaine, and of the souereintie of the Erledome of Flaundyrs, and of all other Lordships,

ships, Cities, Castels, honours, Townes or Towres, that anye king of Englande before that day had any right vnto within the realme of Fraunce: and to holde him content with the abouenamed Lordeshippes, without any further claime.

The raūsome whiche the French king payde was. v hundreth thousande pounde.

4 Furthermore it was agreed that the Frenche king shoulde pay for hys raunsome three Millions of Scutes of Golde, whereof two should alwaye make a noble Englishe, the which do come vnto sterlyng money, fyue hundreth thousand pound.

Of the which three Millions of Scutes, ten hundreth thousand, which is one Million, to be payed at Calice the first day of Iune next folowing the sayde treatie. And another Million to be payde at the sayd towne of Calice within. viij. Monethes after the French king was come to Calice. And the thirde Million, to be payde at London in two yeres and a halfe, that is to say, at Mighelmas come a yere after the agreement, foure hundreth thousande Scutes: And at Mighelmasse next after ensuyng, foure hundreth thousand Scutes: And at Easter folowyng two hundreth thousande Scutes, in full payment of the three Millions, or. xxx. C. thousand Scutes.

The charge of the French kinges diet for a moneth.

5 And further it was agreed that after the French king was come to Calice, he should rest him there foure Monethes: Whereof the first Moneth should be at the charge of king Edward, and the other three Monethes to be at the cost and charge of the sayd French king, and to pay for euery of the sayd three Monethes, ten thousand Royalles of Fraunce, which at that tyme were in value euery Royall. xxj. pence, and so a Monethes charge after the accoumpt of our money was. viij. C. lxxv. pound.

And it was also agreed, that Iohn the French king for the tyme, nor any king of Fraunce after him should ayde or assist the Scottes against king Edward, nor against his heyres kinges of Englande. Neyther shall king Edward nor his heyres kinges, allie them with the Fleminges, nor ayde nor assist them agaynst the sayd king Iohn, nor his heyres kinges of Fraunce.

6 And for the title and right of the Duchy of Briteyn, which was in question betweene the Erles of Bloys and of Mountforde, it was agreed that both the Kinges beyng at Calice, the sayde parties should be called before them. And if a peace betweene them by the two kings might not be set, then the sayde kinges to assigne certaine indifferent persons to agree the sayde Erles, and they to haue halfe a yere of respite for to quiet the matter. And if the sayde persons so by the two kinges assigned, could not agree the sayde Erles by the time aforesayde: That then eyther of the sayde Erles to make the best prouision for himselfe with the helpe of his friendes or otherwise, whereby they might attayne to their right and clayme of the sayde Duchy.

Prouyded alwayes, that neyther of the sayd kinges, nor anye of their sonnes shall ayde or assist any of the sayde Erles, by reason whereof the peace betwene them agreed might be losed or broken. And it is also further prouided, that vnto whether of the sayd two Erles the sayd Duchy shall fall by sentence of man or otherwise, that the homage of it shall alwayes be done to the Frenche King.

All which ordynances and agreements, with many mo that would aske long leasure to write, were ratefied and confirmed by the instruments and seales of the prince of Wales, vpon the party of king Edward for Englands partie, and by Charles Regent of Fraunce for that partie, as by their letters patents and their seales then sealed appered, bearyng date that one at Louuers in Normandye the. xvj. day of May, and that other at Paris the tenth daye of the sayde Moneth and yere.

And moreouer, eyther of the sayd two princes, that is to saye Edward prince of Wales was sworne in the presence of. vj. French knightes vpon the Sacrament of the Aultar after the thirde Agnus was sayde in time of a low Masse, at the foresayde Louuers, song or sayde, that he to the vttermost of hys power shoulde vpholde and keepe the aforesayde peace in euery point, as farre as in him was. And in lyke maner was Charles then Regent of Fraunce sworne in the presence of. vj. English knights to performe the same.

After which treatie thus finished and ended, king Edward with hys sonnes and Nobles of

of Englande tooke shypping at Homflet in Normandy the twentie day of Maye, and sayled into Englande, leauyng behinde hym the Erle of Warwike for to guyde the Englishmen that remayned in Guyan and other places, & to see that peace which was then proclaymed thorough France were kept & not broken by them, which for al that endured not long.

And in thys time of king Edwards being in Fraunce, Iohn the French king and his sonne, who were in the Tower of London, did at the returne of king Edward feast him and all his Lords in the sayd Towre of London, and then peace was proclaymed, and the French King set at his libertie. Peace proclaymed.

The eyght day of the Moneth of Iulie next ensuyng, the French King landed at Calice and was lodged in the Castell, and there taried the comming of King Edwarde. The French king goeth to Calice.

The. ix. day of October king Edward arryued at Calice, and went streight vnto the Castell to visite king Iohn, which welcommed him with a louing and friendly countenaunce, and when the King should departe to his lodging into the towne, the French King required him, that he with hys sonnes would dyne with him the morow folowyng, which the king graunted. At which dynner the king was first set and kept the estate, and then secondarily the French king sate: Thirdely the prince of Wales, and fourthly the Duke of Lancaster, and no mo at that table. In the time of which dynner came to the Castle the Erle of Flaundyrs, whome the French king welcomed in most louing maner. King Edward arryueth at Calice.

And when the sayde dyner with all honor was ended, two of the kings sonnes of England, and two of the French kinges sonnes, tooke leane of their fathers, and roade toward Boleyne, where at that time the Regent of Fraunce was. The which met them in the mid waye betweene Calice and Boleyne, and so conueyghed them vnto Boleyn, and rested there with them that night. And vpon the morow the Regent himselfe came to Calice to hys father, and after his father and he came both to the kinges palace to dyner, whome king Edward receaued with much ioye and honour, and made vnto them a sumptuous feast.

And after two dayes, the Regent departed from Calice and returned vnto Boleyne, and the two sonnes of king Edward returned from Boleyne to Calice.

The. xxiiij. day of October next followyng, both the kinges beyng in two trauerses, and in one Chapel at Calice, a Masse was sayde before them, to the offering of which Masse neither of them came. But when the Paxe was borne first to the French king, and then to king Edward, and eyther of them refused to kisse it first: The French king roase vp and came toward king Edward: wherof he beyng aware, roase vp and met with him, and refused the Paxe, and eyther kissed other. At the which masse, eyther of them was solemply sworne to maintaine the articles of the sayde peace. And for more assuraunce of the same, many Lordes vpon both parties were also sworne, to maintaine the same to their powers.

The cause that the French king thus soiourned at Calice, as before it was agreed, was for the discharge of the first payment of his raunsome, and also for the deliuerie of certaine townes which yet the Englishmen had not in possession.

The next day after the takyng of the aforesayd othe by the two kinges, that was the. xxv. day of October, the French king was freely deliuered, and then he departed from Calice, and roade toward Boleyn: Whome king Edward conueyed a myle vpon his way, at which myles ende they departed with kissing, and other louing maner: And Prince Edward kept on his way with the French king, and so conueyed him to Boleyn, where he taryed that night. And vpon the morow the sayde Prince Edward and Charles Duke of Normandie, with the Erle of Estampes and other noble men there then beyng present, were againe sworne to mainteyne and holde the sayde peace, without fraud, colour, or deceyt. And that done, the sayde Prince takyng his leaue, returned that night to Calice. And so it may may appeare vnto you that king Iohn stood as prisoner by the space of foure yeres, and more. And after King Edwarde had dispatched all his businesse at Calice, he returned into England. But before the king came from Calice, he sent into England such hostages

as the French king had left for the performance of ỹ Articles conteined in the last peace, and the names of the hostages were these, as folowe.

Philip Duke of Orleaunce sometyme son to king Philip of Fraunce, and also his two Nephewes.
The Duke of Aniowe.
The Duke of Berry.
The Duke of Burbon.
The Erle of Alanson.
The Lorde Iohn of Stampes.
Guy of Bloys Erle of that Countie.
Lewes of Bloys his brother.
The Erle of Saint Paule.
The Erle of Harecourt.
The Erle Daulphyn of Aluergne.
Sir Ingram Lorde Cowcy.
The Erle of Porceu.
The Erle of Breme.
The Lorde Momorency.
The Lorde Roye.
The Lorde of Peaux.
The Lorde of Stoutuyle.
The Lorde of Clerettes.
The Lorde of Swenaunt.
The Lorde of Towre.
The Lorde of Auergne, and diuers other Lordes and Knightes: Besydes these there were two or thre of the best Citizens of euery of the best Cities of Fraunce.

And all these the king sent ouer, and commissions also that they should be well vsed and intreated, the which was well obserued: for they passed their tyme in the Citie of London, and about where they woulde, euen as they would themselus. And shortly after king Edward returned into Englande.

Clare hall in Cambridge.

And in this yere the Lady Elizabeth daughter to the Erle of Gloucester reedefied Vniuersitie Hall in Cambridge, which had beene consumed wyth fyre, and named it Clare hall.

This company were named by Frenchmen Companions.

Sone after the returne of the Frenche king into Fraunce, there were generally throughout all Fraunce, sundrie companies went together robbyng and spoylyng the Countrie, and they were called the Companions. And the number of them so encreased, that they could be none otherwise subdued, but by a strong army: But they so preuayled against the french kings power and did so much mischiefe in Fraunce, that it was sayde and affirmed, that they did more harme then all the warres that England had with Fraunce. And truely before they were suppressed, it cost many a man his life. The number of them as sayth Froyssart, at the first were foure thousand, and after increased to ten thousand, and so to. xx. thousande, and. xxx. thousande and mo.

The cause of stealyng and pylfring is idlenesse.

The occasion of their beginnyng, as is alleged in the French Chronicle, was the warres of England, who made such a spoyle and destruction in Fraunce, by brennyng of Villages and otherwise, that the husbandmen and their seruauntes, and other labouryng men entered into an ydlenesse, and so flocked in companies: whereof sprang these Companions.

1361
36

And in this yere (as sayth Fabian) was a great dearth in England, both of men and beastes, duryng the which tyme the noble duke Henry of Lancaster dyed. And after his death Sir Iohn of Gaunt Erle of Richemond the kinges third sonne, which had maryed the sayd Dukes daughter, was made Duke of that Duchie. And in this tyme Iohn Wiclife did read the diuinitie Lecture in Oxforde.

Henry Duke of Lancaster dyed.

1362
37

This yere the Frenche king, bearyng great loue and fauor to king Edward and to the Queene his wife, and to their children, came into England to visite them, and to make mery with them, and the. xxiiij. day of Ianuary, he came to Eltham, where then the king and Queene was, and there dined, and after dinner the king conueyed him most honourably through the Citie of London vnto the Sauoye: where he lay vntill the begynnyng of Marche next folowyng, and then a grieuous sicknesse tooke him, of the which he dyed the. viij. day of Aprill next folowyng. 1363. and after was caryed into Fraūce, and was buryed at Saint Dionise besyde Paris.

The death of Iohn the French king.

Lionell the kings second sonne made Duke of Clarence.

And this yere king Edward created Lionell his sonne Duke of Clarence, and sir Edmond his other sonne, Erle of Cambridge.

And in this yere there were three kinges that came to visite and see king Edward. First the king of Fraunce, the king of Cipres, & the king of Scots.

About this time king Edward helde a great counsayle in Englande for the better ordering of the realme, and specially for the kinges children. For it was considered, that the prince of Wales helde a great and a noble estate (as it was right meete for him to doe) for he was valiaunt, puissaunt and riche, and had great possessions & heritage in Aquytayne, where was aboundance of al riches welth and prosperity. Wherfore it was thought most metest ỳ the prince did remayne in those parts, for ỳ he had sufficient in that Duchy to maintaine his estate. And also al the Barons and knights of Aquitayne did earnestly desyre to haue him among them, for the which they had made their earnest request to the king. For although Sir Iohn Chandos was to them right curteous and friendly: yet they rather coueted to haue their awne naturall Lorde and Souereigne. 1363 38

The prince was very wylling to agree vnto this deuise, and so was the good Ladye his Wyfe, and they prepared themselues with all speede accordyng to estates. And when enery thing was readie, they tooke their leaue of the King, and of the Quene, and of their brethren, and departed out of England, and with a prosperous winde came to Burdeaux, and shortly after tooke possession of his Duchy of Guyan, and afterward did homage to his father for the same. Edward the prince did homage to his father for the Duchye of Guyan.

About this time also dyed the Lady Isabell the kinges mother, which was wyfe to king Edward the second, and daughter vnto Philip le Beau, sometime French king. And she was buried in London, at the Frier Minors, commonly called the Gray Fryers (which nowe is a parishe Church and is called Christes Church) right nobly and honourably, with all the prelates and Barons of Englande, and all the Lordes of Fraunce that then lay here as hostages. Isabell daughter vnto the french king and wife vnto king Edwarde the seconde buried in the Church that now is called Christes Church with in Newgate in London.

In this time, or a little before, a great and greuous complaynt was made by the Lordes and commons of Englande to the king, that the realme susteyned many mischiefes and inconueniences, for that the Lawyers pleaded all their plees in lawe in French, and not in English: wherefore it was ordeyned and enacted by parliament that from thencefoorth all plees, which are to be pleded in any of the kinges Courtes, before any of his iustices, or in any other his Courts, or before any his other ministers, or in the Courts and places of any other Lordes within the Realme, shalbe pleaded, sued, and defended, aunswered, debated and iudged in the Englishe tongue, and that the same be entred and enrolled in Latyn. A complaint made of the Lawyers for pleadyng in french. It were a good order that all the Lawe were in Latyne.

This yere on Trinitie Sunday Charles sonne and heyre to Iohn the French king, was crowned king of Fraunce in the Citie of Reyns, wyth great pompe and solempnitie, and so was the Queene his wyfe daughter to Peter Duke of Burbone. Charles the french kings sonne crowned king of Fraunce.

And as Fabian sayth, in this yere, because vpon S. Stephyns day the king finished and ended all his warres with Fraunce, he therefore in the worship of S. Stephyn began the foundation of S. Stephyns Chapell at Westmynster, and Richard the second sonne of Prince Edwarde, called the black prince, fynished the same. 1364 39 Saint Stephens Chappell at Westminster begonne.

In this yere was borne Edward, the first sonne of Prince Edward, the which died when he was about eyght yeres of age. 1365

And about this time one Barthram de Claicon a Norman with an army of Frenchmen entered the lande of Castile, and warred vpon Peter, then king of that lande, and so behaued him, that in lesse then foure Moneths, he chased the sayde Peter out of his awne lande, and crowned his brother named Henrye king of Castile, at a Towne called Burges vpon Easter daye: wherefore the sayde Peter constreyned by necessitie, was compelled to come to Burdeaux to craue ayde of Prince Edward. 40 Edward the first sonne of Prince Edward.

This Peter was rightfull heyre vnto the Crowne of Castile, and Henry his brother (as most writers affirme) was a bastard. But this Peter was of so vile conditions, that his subiectes fauoured him not. And so thys warre continued a season betweene his brother and him, in the which the Prince with his Archers tooke partie with this Peter, and the French king with speares tooke party with Henry.

The king forbiddeth Peter pence to be gathered.

And in this time King Edwarde forbade that any money, commonly called Peter pence, should eyther be gathered or payde to Rome.

1366

41

Richard the second sonne of prince Edward borne at Burdeaux.

In this yere also prince Edward had his second sonne borne at Burdeaux, whose name was Richard, and was afterwarde king, by the name of Richarde the second.

Prince Edward goeth into Spaine and restoreth king Peter to his former estate.

This yere at the importunitie, sute and great entreatie of Done Peter King of Spaine, Edwarde prince of Wales went with him into Spayne with a strong power, and the Prince ouercame the Spaniards and Frenchmen in a strong battayle, where the number of them were foure to one of the princes power, and the prince restored king Peter to his former estate as king of Spaine. But not long after the princes returnyng home agayne to Burdeaux, the aforesayde Henry so repayred his army and gaue a new onset, that in the ende he vtterly vanquished Peter and put him to death, and then reigned himselfe quietly. I am the shorter herein because this properly doth not touch the warres and affayres of Englande, whiche is the chiefe thing that I purpose in this Collection.

1367

42

The reysing of a taxe or masse of money was the losse of all Aquitaine.

Prince Edward after his comming out of Spayne where he had spent a great some of money, and yet a number of the Souldyours that went out with him, whome king Peter promised to pay, came home agayne vnpayde and lyngered and still hanged vpon the prince, wherefore he to rayse a masse or great some of money, deuysed to set great taxes and impositions vpon the people of Aquitayne: which thing the Erle of Arminack, of Bret, of Berygorte, and other noble men would not in any wise consent vnto, but appealed to the French king for remedy, and in such wise perswaded him, that he contrary to the league and peace lately made, sommoned the prince to appeare at Paris: By meane whereof the peace was broken, and open warre agayne proclaymed betweene both princes to the great mortalitie and desolation of people on both parties, but the most losse and dammage fell alwayes to the king of England. In so much that in the ende, he lost the more parte of the lands which were graunted him by the composition and agreement of peace. And nowe fortune, which pleasauntly had smiled vpon king Edwarde the space of. xl. yeres, in hys laiter dayes frowardlye frowned and chaunged her Copie.

Warre againe proclaymed w^t Fraunce.

1368

43

This yere in the moneth of May the Frenche king in his high court of parliament holden at Paris proceeded in iudgement vpon the appellations before made by the Erle of Arminack, the Lorde of Bret, and Erle of Berygort, agaynst prince Edward: wherevpon discord and variaunce began to take place betwene the two kings, insomuch, that by meane of the sayd three Lordes (notwithstanding that they were before sworne to be to the king of Englande true liege men) dyuers townes of the Countrie of Poyteau yelded them to the french king, as Aubeuyle, Rue and the more parte of the townes of the sayde Countrie.

Wherevpon Ambassadours were sent vppon both partes, and dyuers meanes of intreatie were commoned of, but in the ende, it came all to none effect. Thus the peace which before was so substancially made & with great solempnity and circumstaunces established, was now vtterly violate and broken, and eyther king for his parte made prouision for warre.

Charles the French king went to Roan in Normandie and there in the moneth of Iuly rigged his ships, & sent them forward to war vpon England.

The Duke of Lancaster landeth in Normandy.

And while king Charles was occupied in Normandie, the Duke of Lancaster landed at Calice with a strong companie of Archers, and other warriours, and from thence passed to Thorouenne, and so to Ayre, in wasting and spoylyng the Countrie with yron and fyre as he went. Wherefore the French king in the defence of those partes sent foorth the Duke of Burgoyn with a puyssant armie to withstand the sayd Duke of Lancaster. The which Duke of Burgoyn sped him in such wise, that aboute the. xxiiij. day of August he lodged his host vpon the hill of Turneham, nere vnto Arde. And the Englishe hoste was lodged betwene Gygowne, and Arde, so that the fronts of both the hostes were within a myle: Betwene whome were dayly skirmishes and small bickerynges: And when the sayd Duke of Burgoyn had kept the foresayde hill, from the. xxiiij. day of August, vnto the. xij. day of September folowyng, he remoued his host, and went to Hesden: For the which deede, he was after blamed of his brother.

After which departure of the Frenchmen, the Duke of Lancaster with his host tooke the way towarde Caux, and passed the ryuer of Some, and so roade toward Harflew, entendyng to haue fyred the French kinges nauye: But at their commyng thether, the towne was so stronigly manned, that they did but little hurt. Wherefore the sayde Duke departed shortly thence, and sped him into the Country of Poiteau, & so came vnto the towne of Aubeuile. Where the Frenche men encountered him and gaue him battaile. In the which was taken Sir Hugh Chatellon Knight, with other Knightes, Esquiers, and Burgesses of the towne, and there were slaine of the Frenchmen mo then three hundreth, and they had taken prisoners to the number of. xlv. which they sent to Calice. And then the Duke with his companie went to Burdeaux, and brent and spoyled the Countrey as he went.

And in this time dyed at Calice the Erle of Warwike, after that he was returned from the Duke of Lancaster, which was a noble and valiant man. 1369

44

The death of the Noble Quene Philip daughter of the Erle of Heynault and wife vnto king Edwarde the thirde.

And in the moneth of August folowyng, dyed that noble woman Quene Philip, wife of king Edward the thirde, the which was a great benefactor vnto the Chanons of Saint Stephens at Westmynster. And sone after died Dame Blaunche, sometime the wife of Henry Duke of Lancaster, and was buried at Paules vpon the Northsyde of the high Aultare by her husbande. Where she ordeyned for him and her (as sayth Fabian) foure Chauntreyes for euer, and an Anniuersary yerely to be kept: At the which besyde other great thinges appoynted to the Deane and Chanons of the Church: Shee ordeyned that the Maior of London beyng present at the Masse, should offer a penny, and take vp. xx. shillynges. The Shirifes eyther of them a penny, and to receyue eyther of them a Marke. The Chamberleyn of the Citie ten shillinges, the Sworde bearer. vj. shillinges. viij. pence, and euery officer of the Maiors beyng there present. xxij. pence, and to. viij. officers of the Shirifes eyther of them. viij. pence: But this obite is not nowe kept, for the landes are gone, as I thinke.

A parliament holden at westminster.

This yere also the King helde his Parliament at Westminster. In the which was graunted vnto him three fiftenes to be payed in three yeres folowyng. And by the Clergie was graunted vnto him three Dismes to be payd in lyke manner.

A third mortalitie of men and beastes.

And in this yere was a thirde mortalitie or death of men: and likewise a marueylous moreyn vpon Cattell, so that the like had not bene sene in many yeres before. And then fell merueylous aboundaunce of raine, so that the corne was drowned in ỹ earth, by reason whereof, the next yere after wheate was solde for three shillinges foure pence the Bushell.

Sir Robert Knolles with a great power taketh his iourney into Fraunce.

And in the ende of the Moneth of Iuly, Sir Robert Knolles beyng accompanied with diuers noble men and souldiours, entered Saint Omers. And when they had done their pleasures there, and in the Countrie rounde about, then they road vnto Arras, in wastyng and spoylyng all the Countrie as they went. And when they had brent the Bulwarkes of the sayde towne of Arras, they passed by Noyen, and Vermendoys, and brent the houses of all suche as would not to them geue due raunsome. And thus holdyng their way, they passed the ryuers of Oyse, and of Syre, and so came vnto the Citie of Reynes, and passed there the ryuer, and road toward Treys, and passed the riuers of Aube, and of Seyne, and so helde their way toward Saint Florentyne, and there passed the ryuer of Ion, in holdyng their course towarde Ioigny, and so to Corbeuile, and Esson. And the. xxij. of September they lodged themselues vpon the Mount Saint Albon, and in the Countrie there about. And within two dayes folowyng, they embattayled themselues in a fielde, betwene the townes of Iuny, and Paris. In all which tyme, they passed without battaile through all the Countries aforesayde, in spoylyng and brennyng the townes, and in raunsomyng of the Inhabitantes thereof, without resistence or impediment. And albeit that in the Citie of Paris at that day were two hundreth men of armes waged by the French king, beside the Souldiours and strength of the Citizens of that Citie: Yet the sayd hoste of Englishemen lay, as before is sayde, embattelled vntill it was past noone of the aforesayd

sayd day. At which tyme, forsomuch as they were credibly enformed, that they should there haue no battaile, they brake vp their fielde, and went to a place or towne called Antoygnye, and there lodged that night, and vpon the next day, they tooke their iourney toward Normandie. But after foure dayes labour, they turned to Escamps, in pillyng and dammagyng the Countrie as before they had done, and so went forth vntill they came to the Erledome of Angeou, where they wanne by strength the townes of Vaas, and Ruylly, with other strong holdes thereaboutes.

Variance betweene the Lord Graultson and Sir Robert Knolles.

But then it came infortunately to passe, for it so chanced that the Lorde Fitzwater, and the Lorde Grauntson fell at a variaunce with Sir Robert Knolles and his companie, which encreased to such hatred and displeasure, that Sir Robert Knolles with the flower of the Archers and Souldiours departed from the sayde two Lordes, leauyng them in the aforesayd townes of Vaas and Ruyllye, and then he went into Briteyn.

When the French king heard the certentie hereof, anone he commaunded sir Barthram de Glaycon, who was newly made Marshall of Fraunce, with a strong armie to enter the sayde Countrie of Angeou, and to make sharpe warre vpon the sayde Englishmen. The which vpon the xij. day of October folowing, layd siege to the sayd towne of Vaas, and out of the same issued the sayd lordes of Fitzwater and Grauntson, and gaue vnto the Marshall battaile: But in the ende the Englishe men were discomfited, so that of them were slaine. vj. hundreth, and the rest put to flight. And there was taken the Lorde Grauntson with other.

The Lorde Grauntson taken.

And after this victory the French men went vnto the towne of Vaas, and wanne it by assault, where also were slaine three hundreth English men, and many taken prisoners, and the other put to flight.

Losse vpon losse.

And after this Sir Barthram pursued the Englishmen that were fled to a towne called Versure: where in the assaultyng of the sayde Towne he slue and toke prisoners foure hundreth Englishmen. And thus by strife and dissension among themselues, those that before by amitie & good accord were victors, now by hatred and discord, were slayne and taken prisoners.

1370
45

Now the king of Englande considering with himselfe of the great and daylie losses that he susteyned, and howe the Frenchmen continually gate and wanne from him in all partes in Fraunce, but chiefely the Countie of Poyteau, whereupon he had spent a maruellous treasure in the fortefyeng and strengthning of the same, ouer and aboue the yerely reuenues thereof, and also did now well perceaue that he should haue warre on all parties, and also at this time it was shewed him that he should haue war wyth Scotland because the Scottes were newly allyed with the French king. Wherefore he was sore vexed and troubled, for he feared more the warre of the Scottes then the warre of the Frenchmen: And therefore with all speede he sent men of warre to the Frontiers of Scotlande, as to Barwike, Rokesborough, Newe Castell, Durcham, and into other places about the Frontiers. Also he sent a great Nauie to the Sea, about Hampton, Gernesey and the Isle of Wight, for it was shewed him howe that the French king had furnished and set foorth a great Nauie to go to the Sea, and to lande in Englande, so that he wist not well on which parte he should first take heede.

The Scots rebell.

At thys time the Archebishop of Winchester (as Fabian calleth him) then being Cardinall, and was present at Auignion with Pope Gregory the xj. of that name, was put in commission with the Archbishop of Beauuays, to make or treate a peace and vnitie betweene the two Realmes of Englande and Fraunce. Which sayde Cardinall of Winchester, after his departure from the Pope, came downe toward Melune, where by the Cardynall of Beauuays he was honourably met and conueyed into the Citie of Melune. And when he had arested him there foure dayes, the two Cardinalles meetyng together went to Parys, where they had communication with the French king touching the peace. And after that they had vnderstande hys pleasure, the Cardinall of England tooke his leaue and depart-

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ed to Calice, where he tooke shippyng, and so came into Englande, and shewed vnto the king of Englande the Popes pleasure, and the French kinges aunswere.

And in this time was sore warre in Guyan, and many townes gotten and yeelded to the Frenchemen, and still the Englishmen had the worsse, and many of them slayne and taken prisoners, for in a verie shorte time the Citie of Lymoges, and all the countrie of Lymosyn was vnder the obeysaunce of the French king. And the occasion of this losse as sayth sundrie authoures, was for that prince Edward a little before had reysed a great taxe vpon the inhabitauntes of that Countrie, whereby he lost all their hearts.

The reysing of taskes remoueth the hartes of the people from the prince.

When the french king had thus obteyned the rule of the Countrie of Lymosyn, he immediatly after sent syr Berthram de Glaicon into the Erledome of Poyteau, and wanne there many townes and Castelles, and lastly layde his siege to Rochell.

In this yere king Edward kept his high Court of parliament at Westminster, in the which toward the furniture and ayde of his warres he demaunded of the spiritualtie fiftie thousand pounde, and as muche of the laye Fee. The which by the Temporaltie was graunted, but the Clergie kept them of with pleasaunt aunswers: So that the king and his counsayle was with them discontented, in so much that to their displeasures, dyuerse officers, as the Chauncelour, the priuie seale, the Treasorer and other officers who then were possessed by spirituall men, were taken from them, and temporall Lordes set in their places. 1371 46

The clergie refuse to ayde the king.

And shortly after, the aforesayde Cardynall of Beauuays came into Englande, to treate of the peace betweene the two realmes, but all his labour tooke none effect.

In the Month of Iulie, the french king sent into the Country of Poyteau the aforenamed Sir Barthram de Claycon with a strong army, where he wanne dyuers holdes and fortresses from the Englishmen.

In the which time king Edward for strengthening of the countrie, and specially to defende the towne of Rochell, which as aboue in the other yere is shewed, was this yere besieged by the sayd Sir Barthram, sent the Erle of Pembrooke, with other noble men to fortefie the sayde towne, and to remoue the siege. But before he could come at that towne, he was encountred on the sea with a Flete of Spanyards, the which king Henry of Castile had sent into Fraunce, to strength the french kings partie. By the which Fleete after long and cruell fight, the sayde Erle was taken, with syr Guychard de Angle and other to the number of. Clx. prisoners and the more parte of hys men slayne and drowned, with the losse of many good shippes.

The Erle of Pembrooke sent into Fraūce with a great power.

The Erle of Pembroke taken by the Spanyards.

Also in the begynning of September next folowyng a Gascoyne borne, a man of good fame, whom the king of England had admytted for his Lieutenaunt and Gouernour of the countrie of Poyteau, named le Captall de Bueff, fought with an army of Frenchmen before a towne named Sonbise, where in conclusion his men were slaine and chased, and he with. lxx. of his parte taken prisoners.

Then the Dukes of Berrey and Burgoyne vpon the. vj. daye of September came before Rochell, and had certaine communications with the rulers of the sayde towne for the deliuerie thereof.

King Edward nowe heryng of the taking of the Erle of Pembrooke, and of the losse that he daylie had of his men in dyuers partes of Fraunce, with also the ieopardie that the towne of Rochell and other stoode in, made hastie prouision and entended to haue passed the sea: But the winde was so contrarious that he could haue no passage, wherfore saith Reynulph Monke of Chester, he returned agayne into Englande.

The. viij. daye of September folowyng the Captaine of Rochell hauing no comfort to haue any quick reskues, yeelded vpon certaine appoyntments the sayd towne vnto the aforenamed Dukes, to the vse of the French King. And shortly after were also yeelden vnto them the Townes of Angolesme, of Exantes, of Saint Iohn the Angely with dyuers other.

Rochell is yelden to the French men.

This yere also Sir Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Edmond his brother Erle of 1372 47

of Cambridge, wedded the two daughters of Peter which was late king of Castile, who was put to death by Henry his bastard brother, as before is shewed in the. xlj. yere of this kinges reigne. Of the which two daughters, Sir Iohn of Gaunt maryed the eldest, named Constance, and his brother, the yonger named Isabell, so that by these mariages, these two brethren claymed to be enheritours of the kingdome of Castyle, or Spayne.

Also this yere, After the Duke of Briteyne had receyued many exhortations and requestes from the French King, to haue him vpon his partie: he sent for certeyne Souldiours of English men, and fortefied with them some of his Castels and holdes. Of the which when king Charles heard, he sent thether with a strong power the aforenamed Sir Berthram de Claycon, warning them to make war vpon them as enemies to the house of Fraunce. The which accordyng to their commission entered the lande of Briteyne, in wastyng the same with yron and fyre, and in a little time there was yelden to him the most part of the chiefe townes, except Brest, Aulroy, and Daruall.

Brest in Briteyn besieged.

And in the ende of Iune, the sayd Barthram layde siege vnto Brest, and the Lorde of Craon with other, lay before Daruall. And in all this tyme the Duke of Britein was in England: for so soone as he had bestowed the aforesaid English souldiors, he sailed into England to speake with king Edward.

The Duke of Lancaster with a great power lādeth at Calice.

And in the moneth of Iuly, the Duke of Lancaster with Sir Iohn de Mountford Duke of Briteyne and other, with a great power landed at Calice. And after they had rested them there a fewe dayes, they road vnto Hesden, and lodged them within the Parke another season. And after passed by Dourlons, by Benquesne, and so vnto Corby, where they passed the Ryuer of Some, and road vnto Roye in Vermendoys, where they abode the space of. vij. dayes. And then they set the towne on fyre, and tooke their way toward Lamoys, and burned and spoyled the Countrie as they went. And in processe of tyme, passed the ryuers of Osne, Marne, and of Aube, and roade through Champaigne, and by the Erledome of Brame, streight vnto Guy, and passed the ryuer of Seyn, and so toward the ryuer of Leyr, & vnto Marcigny the Nonnery. And when they were passed the sayde Nonnery, they kept their way toward the ryuer of Ancherre, and so vnto Burdeaux. In all which iourney they passed without battaile.

Roye brent.

1373

In this tyme dyed at Burdeaux Edward the eldest sonne of Prince Edward, to the great griefe and sorowe both of the Prince his father, and of the good Ladie his mother. And soone after the death of his sonne, he himselfe beyng very sickly, was aduised and counsayled, that he should returne into England, and the rather that he might obteyne his health. The Prince did agree therevnto right gladly, and therevpon made his prouision. And when the Prince should depart from Acquitaine, he first caused a speciall summons to be made at Burdeaux, of all Barons and knightes of Gascoyn, and Poyeteau, and in all other places where he was Lorde, and they vnder his obeysance. And when they were all come together in a Chamber before the prince: Then he spake vnto them and sayd, it is well knowen to you all, that I am your true and the right Lorde and inheritour of your countrie, and how that I haue gouerned, and kept you in peace asmuch as in my power hath lyen. I haue bene so faythful a Protector ouer you, that I haue not spared neither the aduenture of my life against your enemyes and mine, neyther the expences of my treasure, for your defence: and God be praysed, though now ye are a little afflicted, yet hitherto ye haue bene mainteyned in great wealth and puyssaunce agaynst your enemies. And nowe at this tyme, I beyng vexed with a great and grieuous sicknesse, am counsayled by my Phisitions and other, that for the better recouery of my health, I should returne into England to my naturall Countrie, which God willyng I purpose shortly to do. And therefore I most hartely besech you, euen as earnestly as a Prince may requyre his subiectes, that ye will yeelde in mine absence, to my dere and naturall brother here present, the Duke of Lancaster, whome I leaue here as my Lieutenant to gouerne you, the same honour, reuerence and obeysaunce, and faythfulnesse of heart, that ye beare or should beare vnto me: and doubt you nothing but that ye shall finde him a right good Lorde

Lorde, valiaunt and curteous, and therefore I beseeche you to ayde and assist him in all his affayres and attemptes, with your good aduice and counsaile.

And foorthwith the Barons of Aquitaine, Gascoyne, Poyteau, and of Xaynton promised, and sware on their faythes, that there should neuer be default found in any of them. And therevpon immediately they did their fealtie and homage to the Duke of Lancaster, and promysed him their loues, seruices and obeysaunce, and in the presence of the Prince they sware to vpholde and keepe the same, and therevpon kissed his mouth.

The Prince returneth with his wife into England to king Edward his father.

And when this was ended, within short tyme after, the Prince and princes his wife, with their yong sonne Richard, accompanied with the Erle of Cambridge, and the Erle of Pembroke, and with them. v. C. fightyng men besyde Archers entered into their Shippes, and so long sayled with a good and prosperous winde, that at the last they came vnto Southhampton, and there they tooke lande and refreshed them two dayes, and then they toke their horses, and the Prince went in a horse Litter, and at the last came to Windesore, where then the king was, who receyued right sweetly his children, & so there the king was enformed by the prince of all the state of Guien.

After the departure of the Prince from Burdeaux, the Duke of Lancaster kept the obsequy of his Cosyn Edward sonne to the Prince his brother, the which was honourably done in the Citie of Burdeaux.

An Ambassade sent frō the Pope to king Edward.

This yere (as sayth Froyssart) came into England sent from the Pope, who then was Gregorie the. xj. the Archebishop of Rauenne, and the Bishop of Carentes, for to treate of a peace betweene the two kinges of Englande and of Fraunce, the which met together at Bruges in Flaundyrs. And thether came certeine Lordes, aswell from the king of Englande, as also from the French king. And the Commissioners of the Frenche partie, after they had spent a tyme in disputations, they then prayed licence of the Legate, that they might go to Paris, and shewe vnto the king the offers of the Englishe partie, and so to returne with his pleasure, wherevpon it was agreed, that a certeine should ryde vnto the French king. And the Englishmen abode stiffely vpon the souereintie, that was that the king of Englande, and hys heyres kinges, shall enioy all the former landes, comprised in the peace lately made with Iohn King of Fraunce, without homage, or other duetie for the same doyng. And for this the Frenche King assembled a counsaile at Paris, and there it was fully concluded, that the Frenche king might not geue ouer the souereintie.

When this report was brought to Bruges, the treatie was dissolued without any conclusion of any thing, sauyng that a peace was continued vntill the feast of all Saintes next folowyng.

Pembrooke hall in Cambridge.

This yere Iohn Erle of Pembrooke, who before, as we haue shewed, was taken by the Spanyardes vpon the sea, and now was raunsomed with the payment of a great somme and masse of money, returning into England, dyed by the way. And the Countesse his wife, who was discended of the noble house of the Erles of saint Paule in Fraunce, a woman of great vertue, and a louer of learning and learned men, founded in Cambridge a house for scholers, which at this day is called Pembrooke Hall.

1374

49

An assembly at S. Omers and after at Bruges for a peace.

Yet once againe a newe assemblie was made for the treatie of a peace, to be kept at Saint Omers, but after it was kept at Bruges. Where, for king Edward appered the Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Edmond his brother, the Erle of Cambridge, with diuers other of the Kinges Counsayle: Where the sayde Lordes with the other helde their assemblies, and Courtes, vntill it was nere Easter, to the great cost and charge of both parties; But in the ende they departed againe without effect, sauyng onely that the peace was prolonged vntill the first day of Aprill next folowyng. And yet againe by labour of the sayd Legates the sayde peace was further prolonged vntill Midsomer next folowyng. And in this meane tyme great laboures and paynes were taken to haue a peace concluded, but in the ende it would not be, some imputing the fault to the French and some to the Englishe. But in whome so euer the fault was, the French king in the tyme of these intreaties, wanne many

townes and Castelles, aswell in Guyan as in Briteyne, and in other places to his great aduauntage.

1375

50 The commons of Englande murmour agaynst the rulers.

At this time there arose a great murmure among the people of Englande agaynst certaine persons that bare auctboritie about the king, as the Lorde Latymer then the kinges Chamberleyne and other: By whose sinister counsayle as they sayde, the king in his age was misled, and hys treasure mispended, to the great dishonor of the king, and to the great losse, hurt, and dammage of all the kinges subiects.

A parliamēt. The Parliament denieth the king any further ayde.

The king being thus troubled on all sydes with warres, called his high Court of parliament, in the which he required a subsidie for the defense of his enemies. Whervnto it was aunswered by the common house, that they could no lenger beare suche charges, consideryng the manifold and most grieuous burdens that they had from time to time borne before. And further they sayd, that they knew full well that the king was riche enough to defende him and his lande, if the land and his treasure were well guyded and gouerned: But it had beene long euill ruled by euill officiers, so that the lande could not be plenteous, neyther with Chaffre, marchandise, nor riches. By reason wherof, & by their importune charges the commonaltie was greatly empourished.

Lord Latymer is complayned vpon.

Moreouer, the sayde commons complayned them vpon diuers officers, that were the causers of this misorder, whereof the Lorde Latymer was noted for principall, with also dame Alice Piers, the which the king had long time kept for his Concubyne, and also one named Sir Richard Scurry knight, by whose counsayles and sinister meanes, the king was misguyded and the gouernement of the lande disordered.

Wherefore the sayde commons prayed by the mouth of their speaker, which was then Sir Piers de la mere, that the sayde persons with other might be remoued from the king, and other to be set in auctboritie about his person, as should serue for his honour and for the weale of his realme.

Which request of the commons, by the meanes of the Noble Prince Edward, was accepted, so that the sayde persons were remoued from the king, and other Lordes of the realme were put in their places.

A gift made to king of euery poll foure pence.

And shortly after, the commons graunted the king his pleasure, so that he had of euery man and womā that were aboue the age of. xiiij. yeres, foure pence, Beggers onely except.

And by the Clergie was graunted that the king should haue of euerye beneficed man. xij. pence, and of Priestes not beneficed, foure pence, the foure orders of Fryers onely excepted.

But before this money was gathered, the king was fayne to borowe sundrie summes of money in diuers places: Among the which the Citie of London was sent vnto for foure thousande pounde: And for that the Maior then beyng, was not quick in the furthering of that matter, he was by the kings commaundement discharged, and another put in his place.

1376

51 The death of Prince Edwarde.

And vpon the eyght day of Iune, dyed that noble and famous prince the Flowre of Chiualrie, Edwarde the kinges eldest sonne, within the kinges palace of Westmynster, beyng of the age of. xlvij. yeres, and after with great solempnitie was conueyed to Cauntorbury, and there honorably buryed.

After the death of the prince, the king contrarie to his promise before made, called to him agayne all suche persons as he before for his awne honour and the profite of the realme aduoyded out of his Court, and admytted them agayne to the same offices that they before occupied. By meanes of which alteration the aforesayde speaker of the parliament Sir Piers Delamere was in such wise complayned vpon to the king, that he was committed to prison, where he laye many yeres after. Fabian.

Richard the son of Prince Edwarde created prince of Wales.

Then king Edward created Richard the sonne to prince Edward, prince of Wales, and gaue vnto him the Erledomes of Chester and Cornewall.

And because the king waxed now sickly and feeble, he therefore betoke the rule of the realme

realme vnto his sonne Sir Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and made him Gouernour of the lande, and so he contynued duryng hys fathers lyfe.

And this yere Sir Iohn Mynsterwoorth knight, beyng arrayned of high treason at the Guyldhall in London, before the Lorde Maiour and other the Queenes Iustices, for that he was charged to haue receaued great sommes of money of the king, to haue payd his souldyours withal, and he did not onely kepe the sayde summes of money to his awne vse, but also fled vnto the French king, and conspired with hym agaynst his naturall prince and souereigne Lorde, of the which treason he was founde guiltie, and therefore had iudgement to be hanged, drawen, and quartered, which was executed accordyngly. Sir Iohn Minsterworth executed for treaso.

This yere beganne a wonderfull Schisme in the Church of Rome, about the election of the Pope, for after the death of Gregory the. xj. there were chosen two Popes, the first was named Vrban the. vj. and the other, Clement the. vij. The first an Italian, and the other a Frenchman. Of the which election ensued suche discorde for the terme and space of. xxxix. yeres, that much christian bloud was spent by eyther of them in the defense of their papacy, as after shall appere. A schisme for election of two Popes.

Now approched the ende of king Edward the thirde, who in the beginning of his reigne was courageous but not constāt, and in the middle of his age a valiaunt and Noble Conquerour, and towarde the latter ende of hys dayes, lost that which before with great charge and trauayle he had gayned: and now yeelded himselfe to pay nature her debt, and dyed the. xxij. daye of Iune at his manor of Shene, now called Richemount, when he had reigned full fiftie yeres and fiue moneths, lacking foure dayes, and was of the age of. lxv. yeres: leauing behinde him foure sonnes, that is to say, Lyonell Duke of Clarence, Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, Edmond of Langley Duke of Yorke, and Thomas of Woodstocke Erle of Cambridge. By the which sonnes and other Lordes of this realme he was most honorably conueyed from his Manour of Shene vnto the Monastery of Westmynster, and there solemply enterred within the Chapel of Saint Edward vpon the Southside. The death of king Edwarde the thirde.

The aforesayde noble and valiaunt king Edward in the tyme of his life had xij. children, that is to say.

		Sonnes
1	Edward Prince of Wales,	who had issue Edward that dyed without issue, & Richard that after was king Richard by the name of king Richard ỹ secōd.
2	William of Hatfielde.	who dyed without issue.
3	Lyonell Duke of Clarence	had issue, Philip maryed to Edmonde Mortimer, Erle of March.
4	Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster	had issue Henry the fourth.
5	Edmond of Langlay Duke of Yorke	had issue Edward Duke of Yorke, that died without issue, and Richarde Erle of Cambridge, father to Richard Plantagenet, duke of Yorke, which Richard was father to king Edward the fourth.
6	Thomas of Wodstock Duke of Gloucester	had issue, Anne first maryed to Homfrey Erle of Stafford, who had issue Homfrey Erle of Stafford, and after she was maryed to the Lorde Bowcer.
7	William of Windsore	dyed without issue.
8	Daughters	Isabell Countesse of Bedforde 1
9		Ione Queene of Spaine. 2
10		Blaunche. 3
11		Mary Duches of Briteine. 4
12		Margaret Countes of Pembroke. 5

The issue of Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, who had three wiues.

1 Blaunche his first wife by whom he had six Children.
1 Iohn
2 Edward
3 Henry which was king Henry ỹ fourth
4 Iohn
5 Philip Queene of Portingale.
6 Elizabeth Countes of Huntingdon.

2 Constance his second wife, by whom he had issue
Katheryn Queene of Spaine.

3 Katheryn the thirde wife, by whome he had issue
1 Iohn Erle of Somerset.
2 Henry that was Cardinall.
3 Thomas Duke of Exceter.
4 Ione Countesse of Westmerland.

The abouesayd Iohn Erle of Somerset had issue. vj. childrē.
1 Henry Erle of Somerset.
2 Margaret Countesse of Deuonshire.
3 Thomas.
4 Ione Queene of Scottes.
5 Edmond Duke of Somerset.
6 Iohn Duke of Somerset.

The sayde Iohn Duke of Somerset had a daughter which was called Margaret Coūtesse of Richmond, which was mother to king Henry the. vij.

RICHARDE THE SECONDE.

RIchard the seconde of that name, borne in Burdeaux, & sonne of Edward prince of Wales, who was called the blacke Prince, which was the eldest sonne of King Edward the thirde, of the age of. xj. yeres, began hys reigne ouer the realme of England the. xxij. day of Iune. 1377. and was crowned at Westminster the. xv. day of Iuly next folowyng. In bountie and liberalitie he farre passed all his progenitors: But he was ouermuch geuen to rest and quietnesse, and loued little dedes of armes and Martiall prowes: And for that he was yong, he was most ruled by yong counsayle, and regarded nothing the aduertisement of the sage and wise men of his realme. For the chiefe about him was of no wisedome nor estimation, which turned his lande to great trouble, and himselfe in the ende to extreme miserye.

Ye haue heard before in the tyme of king Edwarde, that the peace was continued betweene Fraunce and Englande vntill Midsommer folowyng, which tyme was now expired. And the French king in the tyme of peace had made great prouision for warre, aswell of Shippes and Galeys, as of men and munition, insomuch that the king of Spaine had sent him his admirall, called sir Ferrand Sawse, who with sir Iohn of Vien Admirall of Fraunce, so soone as the truce or peace was expired, went and brent the towne of Rye in Kent, the. xxviij. day, or. xxix. day of Iune, which was within sixe dayes after the death of King Edwarde.

The French men brenne the towne of Rye.

And

And shortly after newes hereof came to London: Then the Erle of Cambridge and of Buckyngham went to Douer with a great power. And the Erle of Salsburie and the Lorde Mountague went to Southampton: But in the meane time, the Frenchmen had landed in the Isle of Wight, and had brent therein dyuers townes: And also they landed in the West partes of Englande, and brent Dartmouth, Plymmouth, Portesmouth and dyuers other townes. And then they came to Southampton, and there would haue landed, but there they founde Sir Iohn of Arondell with a great number of men of warre, and Archers, who defended the towne right valiauntly, or else it had beene spoyled and taken. Then the frenchmen departed, and went toward Douer, and one daye they landed beside a little Abbey, called Lyons. There were manye men of the Countrie assembled, and they had made the Priour of the place, and Syr Thomas Cheyny, and Iohn Fusell their chiefe Captaines, and had put themselues in good araye to defende the passage: So that the Frenchmen had but small aduauntage there, for they lost many of their people before they could lande: notwithstandyng, at the last, by force they did lande, and there was a sore skirmishe, and the Englishmen were put back, and two hundred of them slaine, and the two knights and the Priour were taken prisoners. Then the Frenchmen entred agayne into their shippes, and lay still all that night at Anker before the Abbey. And here the frenchmen knewe first of the death of king Edward the thirde, by the prisoners that they had taken, and of the coronation of King Richarde, and of the order that was taken for the gouernement of the realme. Then Sir Iohn of Vyen caused a Barke to departe and to cary those newes with other of his awne enterprises, vnto the french king.

The French men landed in diuers places in Englande, and brent dyuers townes.

After the Barke was sent awaye, the frenchmen and the Spanyards hoyssed vp their Sayles, and had winde at will, and came with the same tyde to Douer, about three of the clock in the after noone.

And there was readie to receyue them, Sir Edmonde Erle of Cambridge, and syr Thomas his brother Erle of Buckyngham, with ten thousand, with Banners displayed, and the frenchmen were sixe score Vesselles shippes and Galeys. The Frenchmen came lieard by the towne, but taried not, but streight passed by and tooke the deepe of the Sea. For then the Sea began to ebbe: Howbeit the Englishmen taried there still all that day and the next night, and the Frenchmen by the nexte tyde, came before the Hauen of Calice, and there entred.

At this time also the French king sent vnto Robert King of Scotland, prayeng him to make earnest and effectuall warre vpon the Englishmen and to folow them so hard that they should haue no puissaunce to passe the Sea. Wherevpon king Robert assembled hys counsayle at Edenborough, where as were the most parte of all the knightes and Barons in Scotlande, and other suche as he thought were hable to doe him seruyce. And when they were thus assembled together, King Robert sayde vnto them, ye know how that the Englishmen in time past haue done vnto vs many great hurtes and harmes in spoylyng and brennyng of our countrie, beating downe of oure Castelles and in sleyng and raunsomyng of our men. And Sirs, nowe is the time come, that we maye be well reuenged of them: For now is there but a yong king in Englande, for king Edward is dead, who was wont to haue so good fortune. And when the Barons and yong knights that were there heard this, and they also being desyrous to be reuenged, aunswered and sayd, all with one voyce that they were readie and full appointed and furnished to ryde into England, and it were the same day or the next folowyng, or when it pleased him. This aunswere pleased greatlye the king of Scottes, and he thanked them all. And at the same time the king appointed foure Erles to be the chiefe Captaines of all the armie, that is to say, the Erle of Douglas, the Erle Moret, the Erle of Maure, and the Erle of Surlant. And he appointed Sir Archibald Douglas for Conestable of Scotlande, and Syr Robert Versey to be Marshall of the host, and so they made their sommons to be at a certaine day at Morlane.

The French king sendeth to the Scots to stir them against the English men.

The Scots with a great power determine to enter vpon England.

And in the time of the making of thys assembly there departed from them a valiant

The enterprice of Alexander Ramsey a Scot, who tooke the Castell of Barwike.

Esquier of Scotland called Alexander Ramsey, who thought to enterprice and to atchieue a great feate of armes: and he tooke with him. xl. that were well horsed, and roade by night priuely, so long vntill that by daye breakyng he came to Berwike, which towne was then Englishe, and the Capitayne of the towne was one of the Erle of Northumberlands Esquiers, and was called Iohn Biset. And in the Castell was Captaine a valiaunt knight called syr Robert Alenton.

When the Scottes were come to Berwike, they kept themselues close, and sent a spie to the towne and to the Castell, to see in what condition it was. The spie entred downe the diches, wherein there was no water, nor none could abide there, for it was all a quick sande. And so the spie looked and hearkened all about, but he could neyther here nor see anye creature, and so he returned and shewed his master.

Then Alexander Ramsey auaunced forth and brought all his company priuely vnto the diches, and they brought with them ladders, and so dressed them vp to the walles. And Alexander was one of the first that went vp the ladder with his swerde in his hande, and entered into the Castell, and all his companie folowed him, for there was none that withstood them. And when they were all within, they went to the chiefe Towre, where the Captaine lay a sleepe. And there sodainely with great Axes they brake open the doore. The Captaine sodainely awooke, and had slept all night, for he had kept but small watch, the which he deerely bought, and so opened his chamber doore, wenyng to him the noyse had beene made by some of his awne Souldiours that would haue robbed or murdered him in his bed, because he had displeased them the weke before, and so lept out at a wyndow into the great diches in great feare, and there brake his neck.

Berwike Castell is taken by the Scottes.

The watchmen were halfe asleepe, and heard the noyes, and awooke, and perceyued well howe that the Castell was scaled and betrayed, and so sowned in a Trumpet Trahey, Trahey.

Iohn Biset Captaine of the Towne hearing the voyce of a Trompet, armed himselfe immediatly, & caused all the towne to arme themselues, and foorthwith they drewe together all before the Castell, and heard well the noyes that the Scottes made within: But they could not enter into them, for the gate was shut and the bridge drawen. Then Iohn Biset remembred him selfe of a good deuise, and sayde to them of the towne that were about him. Let vs breake downe the stayes of the bridge on this side, and then they that are within cannot issue out wythout oure daunger. And incontinent wyth Axes they bet downe the steyes of the bridge. And then Iohn Biset sent a messenger to Anwike a. xij. myles of to the Lorde Percy, certefying him of all the matter, desyryng him without delay to come to the rescue of ỹ Castell.

Alexander Ramsey and his company, when they had slayne in the Castell whome it pleased them, and had taken the rest prisoners, and shut them vp into a towre, then sayde Alexander, now let vs go downe to the towne, for it is oures, and let vs take all the goods that are therein, and let vs bring all the riche men into thys Castell, and then set fyre on the Towne, for it is not to be kept by vs. And within three or foure dayes we shall haue rescue out of Scotlande, so that we shall saue all oure pillage: and at oure departyng let vs set fyre in the Castell, and so pay our hoste. To the which purpose they all agreed, for they all desyred pillage.

And then they toke eche of them a glayue in their handes, for they found enough in the Castell, and so opened the gate and let downe the bridge: And when the bridge was downe, the ropes that helde it brake, for the restyng place of the bridge was broken awaye as aforesayde.

And when Iohn Biset sawe the maner of them, he and all his company beganne to shoote and crye, and sayde: A Sirs, keepe you there, ye shall not departe thence without our leaue.

And when Alexander Ramsey sawe the maner of them without, he knew well that they were ware of his being in the Castell: and so with much a do closed in agayne the gate for feare of shot: and then they fortefyed the Castel thinking to haue kept it. And they cast

out into the diches all the deade men that they had slaine, and loeked the rest that were prisoners into a Towre. They thought that the place was strong enough to be kept for a long tyme, or at the least vntill some reskewe came to them out of Scotland, which they thought woulde not be long.

So soone as the Messenger had declared the whole matter vnto the Lorde Percy, he immedialy sent knowledge into the countrie, & made hast himselfe to come to the reskewe, and the Barons, knighies and Esquiers of the countrie and good men of warre came vnto him from all places. And the first that came thether was the Erle of Northumberland, and then dailye came great companyes, so that at the last they mustered themselues, and they were aboue ten thousand men.

Then they besieged the Castell so neere that a Birde could not come out without knowledge. And after they begamne to mine vnder the Castell, the sooner to meete wyth the Scottes that were wythin, and so to recouer agayne the Castell.

Then tydinges came to the Barons of Scotland, howe the Erle, Barons, knightes, and Esquiers of Northumberland had besieged their companie in the Castell of Barwike. And they were all determined to go and rayse vp the siege, and to vitaile the Castell, for they sayde that Alexander Ramseys enterprice was valiaunt. And to confirme the same, Sir Archibald Dowglas Constable of Scotlande sayde: Alexander is my Cosyn, and it commeth of a noble courage, and valiaunt heart, to enterprice suche a feate, and we ought to comfort and helpe him in his deede: Wherefore, if we may, let vs go raise the siege, it will redounde to our great noblenesse, and therefore let vs go thether. And then they tooke order who shoulde go with him, and who should abyde, and so he toke with him fiue hundreth Speares, the best of all the hoste, and so roade on toward Barwike.

Tidynges came to the Englishe Lordes, that the Scottes were commyng to raise the siege, and to victuall the Castell. Then they went to counsaile, and so determined to take a place, & to abyde their enemies and to fight with them. And the Lorde Percye caused all his companie to be readie armed and furnished to fight, and to make their Musters, and they found them selues to be the number of three thousand men of armes, and vij. thousande Archers. And when the Erle sawe that he had so great a number, he sayde: Let vs keepe our place, we are men enowe to fight with all the puissaunce of Scotland, and so they rested in a fayre playne without Barwike in two battayles in good order.

And they had not bene there the space of an houre, but they sawe certein Currours of the Scottes well horssed, which came to viewe the Englishe hoste. And when these Currours had well aduised the number of the English men, then they returned to their maisters, and shewed them all that they had seene, and sayde: Sirs we haue ridden so nere to the English men, that we haue well aduised and considered all their doyng: And we saye vnto you, they are ready abidyng for you in two fayre battailes. in a goodly plaine, and in euery battaile a fiue thousande men. Therefore nowe take good aduice, for we approched so neere them, that they perceyued well that we were Currours of Scotland, but they would not stirre nor sende out one man to runne at vs.

When sir Archibalde Douglas and his Captaines heard these tidyngs, they were pensife, and sayde: we cannot see that it should be for our profite to ryde as nowe against the Englishe men, for they are tenne agaynst one of vs, wherefore we may lose more than we can winne, and of a foolishe enterprice commeth no good, as we maye nowe see by Alexander Ramsey: and there was present an vncle of Alexanders, called Sir William Lindsey, who tooke great paine to come to comfort his Nephewe. And he sayde vnto the companie: Sirs, on the trust of you, my nephew hath made this enterprice, and taken the Castell of Barwike: It will turne you all to great blame if ye lose him thus, and peraduenture hereafter, there will be none so hastie to shewe somuch good will to our Countrie. And they aunswered and sayde, they could not amend it, neither was it mete that so many noble men as were there, should put themselues in aduenture of life or vndoyng, for the sauyng

of

of one Esquier. Wherefore they determined to returne againe to their awne Countrie, and so withdrewe themselues.

The Scots flie.

Nowe when the Erle of Northumberland, and the Erle of Nottyngham, and the other Barons of England perceiued that the Scottes came not forwarde, they sente foorth their Currours, to knowe where they were become, and they brought worde how they were gone toward Morlan beyond the Castell of Rosbourgh.

Against night, the Englishe men drewe againe to their lodgynges, and made good watch that night, and in the mornyng euery man was readie to go and assaile the Castell, and there was a fierce assault, and endured almost a whole day. There hath not beene seene more hardier men of so fewe, then those Scottes were, nor that better defended a place then they did. For the English men had ladders, which they rered vp to the Walles, and they went vp vpon them with Targettes ouer their heades, and before them and so came and fought with the Scottes hande to hande, and some of them came downe againe into the Ditches: But the thing that troubled the Scottes most, was the Archers, who shot so wholy together, that they durst not come to the defense of the wall. So long this assault continued, that at the last the Englishe men entered by force, and there slue as many as they found, not one of them that were within that scaped, but were slaine, except Alexander Ramsey, whome they tooke prisoner. And thus the Castell of Barwike was againe recouered from the Scottes, and the Erle of Northumberland made Iohn Biset Capitaine there, and he newly repayred the Castel & the bridge.

Berwike Castell recouered by the Englishe men.

1378

2

In the second yere of this kinges reigne (as sayth Reynulph:) By reason of a vafiaunce that chaunced betwene the Lord Latymer, and sir Raufe Ferrers on the one partie, and sir Robert Hall, and Shakerley Esquier on the other part, for a prisoner that was taken beyond the Sea in Spaine, called the Erle of Dean, whome the sayde Esquier kept in his possession, contrary to the mindes and willes of the aforesayd knightes. And herevpon the sayde knightes beyng in Choler, entered into the Church of Saint Peters at Westminster, and there findyng the sayde Sir Robert Hall kneelyng at Masse before the high Aultar, drewe out their swordes, and slue him: And afterward by their meanes and labour, caused the sayde Shakerley to be arested, and committed to the Towre of London, where he was kept as prisoner a great while after, for he would not deliuer the Erle of Deane his prisoner vnto those two knightes: But Caxton calleth them Lordes.

Sir Robert Hall slaine in Westminster Church.

1379

3

About this tyme the French king sent a great number of Shippes and Galeyes into England, and they landed in dyuers places, as at Rye, at Winchelsey, at Hastinges, at Portesmouth, and in dyuers other places, and did great harme, but chiefely at Graues ende, where they landed, and spoyled the towne, & brent a great part thereof, and so returned againe into Fraunce with much spoyle.

Graues ende brent and spoyled by the Frenchmen.

And in this yere a Parliament was called, and therein was graunted to the king foure pence of euery man and woman beyng of the age of xiiij. yeres and vpward, that were within the realme, at the which Subsidy the people did greatly murmure, and much mischiefe came thereof, as in the yere folowyng shall appere. But yet with that money, an armie was prepared and sent ouer, whereof Sir Thomas of Woodstock Erle of Cambridge, and Vncle to the King was chiefe Capitaine: The which beyng accompanied with. vij. or. viij. thousand men, passed the water of Some, and came vnto Soysones, and passed also the Ryuers of Oyse, and Marne, and other, and came before Troys, and wanne it, and after lodged them betwene the newe Towne and Sens.

The people greatly murmured for the payment of foure pence the polle.

And euer as they passed the Countries they tooke great raunsomes of the people, or else set fyre on their townes. And although ỳ the french King had sent an armie of frenchmen to resist them, yet they hindered them nothing at all of their purpose. For euer, if they chaunced to skirmishe, the Frenchmen were put vnto the worse. And thus they continued foorth their iourney, and passed by the Countrie of Gastynoyes, and so into Briteyne, where they were ioyously receyued of sir Iohn de Mountfort, Duke of that Prouynce who then was but newlye come thether.

To

To the entent to haue a stay and quyetnesse with Scotland there was sent vnto them in Ambassade Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and he came to the towne of Berwike. And from thence, he sent an Herault of Armes into Scotlande to the king and Barons there, shewyng them that he was come to speake with them. And if they would, he would come and treate with them, and thereof he wylled them to send him worde, or else he knewe right well what he had to doe. The Herauld departed and roade to Edenborough, where king Robert of Scotlande, the Erle Douglas, the Erle de la Mare, the Erle Moret, and other the Lordes of Scotland were assembled together. For they had knowledge how that the Duke of Lancaster was comming thether to treate with them. Wherfore they were assembled in the chiefe towne of Scotland that ioyneth vpon the borders of England. And there the Herault did his message, and was well heard at length, and he had aunswere that they were well content to here the Duke speake. And so the Herault brought a safeconduyt for the Duke and his company, to endure as long as he was in the Marches & that they commoned together. 1380 4

Thus the Herault returned to Barwike, and shewed how he had sped. And so the Duke departed from Barwike and left all his prouision in the towne behinde him, and so came to Rosebourgh and there lodged. And the next daye he lodged at the Abbey of Maros which is on the ryuer, that departeth Englande and Scotlande a sunder. There the Duke and his companie taried, vntill the Scots were come to Monbanne, thre mile thence, & when they were come thether, they sent word to the Duke. Thus the treaty began betwene the Scots and the Englishmen, and it endured fiftene daies.

The cõmons of England rebelled.

And in this meane whyle ỹ commons of England rebelled, by the which the whole state of the realme was in great perill to be vtterly destroyed and lost: and because ye shall vnderstande the truth thereof, & that the rulers of the realme may preuent and foresee suche lyke mischiefes as maye hereafter ensue, therefore I haue purposed fully to set foorth at length, the truth and whole discourse thereof vnto you, as Froissart doth at large write the same.

Of small occasions great mischiefes growe and encrease.

And first, consider how straũge a thing it is, that of so pore and simple a foundatiõ, so great a mischiefe should grow and insurge, as this ỹ foloweth. There was and is an vsage in England in many places, that the noble men and Lords of Manoures hauing Fraunchises ought to haue seruices of the commons, that is to say, that their tenaunts ought by custome to plow their landes, to gather and bring home their corne, and some to threshe and fanne, and to carie wood, and water, and dyuers suche other things, which they ought to doe by their tenure and seruice that they owe to their Lordes. And lykewise there are another sort that holde their lands by villenage, and those are commonly called bondmen, of the which kinde of people there were then many in England, and specially in the County of Kent, Sussex and Bedford.

At this time there were a certaine of suche kinde of people as is aforesayde, that beganne to stirre in England and namely in Kent, and sayde they were in great seruitude and bondage: But sayd they, in the beginning of the worlde, there were no bond men: neyther ought there to be any nowe, except it were such a one as had committed treason agaynst his Lorde, as Lucifer did to God. But sayde they we can haue no suche battayle, for we are neyther Angelles nor spirites, but men framed and formed to the similitude of our Lordes, and therefore sayde they, why should we then be so kept vnder lyke beastes and slaues? And they playnely sayde they would no lenger suffer it, for they would be all one with their Lordes, and if they labored or did anye thing for their Lordes, they woulde haue wages for the same as well as other.

John Wall a priest the setter forth, and the very aucthour of rebellion.

And of this imagination was a foolishe priest in the Countie of Kent called Iohn Wall, for the which lyke foolishe words he had bene three times in the Bishop of Cauntorburies prison. This priest vsed oftentimes on the Sundayes, when the people were going out of the Church after seruice, to call them back into the Cloyster or Churchyard, and to talke to them as foloweth: A good people, matters go not wel to passe in England in these

dayes, nor shall not do vntill euery thing be common, and that there be no Villeynes nor gentlemen, but that we be all as one, and that the Lordes be no greater then we be. What haue we deserued, or why should we be thus kept in seruitude and bondage? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eue. Wherefore can they saye or shewe that they are greater Lordes then we be? sauyng in that which we get and labour for, that doe they spend. They are clothed in Veluet and Chamlet furred richly, and we be clad with the poorest sorte of cloth. They haue their Wines, Spices, and fyne bread: and we haue the drawyng out of the Chaffe, and drinke water. They dwell in fayre houses, and we in homely cotages, and lye in the fieldes in winde and rayne. And with that which they haue by oure laboures, they keepe and maintaine their estates. We be called their bondmen, and without we doe them readie seruice, we must be beaten, punished or put out of our lyuings. And we haue no souereigne to whome we maye complayne, nor none that will here vs, nor doe vs right. Let vs go to the king, he is young, and shew him in what daunger we be in: and let vs shewe him plainely that we wyll haue it otherwise, or else we wyll prouyde a remedy for our selues: And if we set forward, all maner of people that are now in bondage will folow vs, to the entent they may be made free. And when the king seeth vs, he will prouyde some remedy for vs, eyther by fayrenesse or otherwise.

Thus Iohn Wall vsed to talke on Sundayes, when the people went out of the Churches to go into the Villages, wherefore, many of the meane people loued him: and those that meant no goodnesse, sayde he sayde truth: and so they muttered together one with another in the Fieldes and wayes as they went.

The Archebishop of Cauntorbury, who was agayne informed of thys Iohn Wall, caused him to be taken and commited to prison, where he remained two or thre moneths, as a matter somewhat to correct his foly: howbeit, it had beene much better in the beginning that he had bene condempned to perpetuall prison, or else to haue dyed, rather then to haue suffered him agayne to be delyuered out of prison, for the great mischiefe that did ensue: But the Bishop had conscience to put him to death.

And when this Iohn Wall was againe come out of Prison, he returned againe to his olde trade. Of his wordes and deedes there were many people in London enformed, namely suche as had great enuy at them that were riche. And at the last they began to speake among themselues, and sayd: that the realme of England was euill gouerned, and how that Golde and Siluer was taken from them, by such as were named noble men. And thus a sort of vnhappy people gathered together about London, began to rebell, and sent worde into dyuerse Countries to such as they knewe, that they should come to London, and bring their people with them, promisyng that they shoulde finde London open to receyue them, and the Commons of the Citie to be of the same mynde, and sayde, that they would worke so much with the king, that there should not be one bond man in all England.

This promise so moued them of Kent, Essex, Sussex, Bedford, and other Countries about, that they arose and came towardes London in great numbers. And they had made to themselues certeine Capitaines, named Watte Tyler, Iacke Strawe, and Iohn Wall and other, of the which companye, Watte* Tyler was the chiefe, and he was a Tyler in deede, and an vngracious Patrone.

* Fabian sayeth Iacke straw was chiefe.

When these vnhappie men began thus to styrre, they of London, namely the honest Citizens were greatly afrayed. Then the Maior of London, and the substanciall of the Citie toke counsaile together: and when they saw the people come in on euery syde, they caused the Gates of the Citie to bee closed, and would suffer no man to enter into the Citie: But when they had better aduised themselues, they thought it not best so to do, least they might chaunce thereby to geue an occasion that their Suburbes might be brent. And so they opened againe the Gates of the Citie. And there entered in by xx. and. xxx. together, in some places an hundreth, and in other places two hundreth, and tooke their

lodgyng within the Citie, but to say truely, the third parte of these people coulde not tell what to aske or demaunde, or wherefore they came, but that one folowed another for company, as brute Beastes.

The same day that these vnhappie people of Kent were commyng to London, there returned from Cauntorbury the kinges mother Princesse of Wales, comming from her pilgrimage. She was in great ieopardy to haue beene lost: For these people came to her Chayre, and dealt rudely with her, whereof the good Lady was in great doubt, least they would haue done some vilany to hir, or her Damoselles: howbeit God kept her, and she roade in one day from Cauntorbury to London, for shee neuer durst tary by the way. And the same tyme king Richard her sonne, was at the Tower of London, and there his mother found him, and with him there was the Erle of Sarisbury, the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, Sir Robert of Namure, the Lorde of Gomegines, and dyuers other, who were in doubt of this people that thus were gathered together, and wist not what they demaunded.

The kings mother the Princesse of Wales, was in great feare of the Kentishe rebels.

This rebellion was well knowen in the kinges Court, before anye of these people began to styrre out of any of their houses: But the king nor hys counsayle prouided not remedie therefore in due tyme.

But here to begin and shew foorth the story in order. First on the Monday in the yere of our Lorde. 1381. certeine of the aforesayd people issued out of London, and came first to Cauntorbury, and there Iohn Ball or Iohn Wall had thought to haue found the Bishop, but he was at London with the king. When Watte Tyler, and Iacke Strawe entered into Cauntorbury, all the Common people made great ioy, for all the towne was of their mind. And there they tooke counsaile to go to London to the King, and to send some of their companie ouer the Thames into Essex, and likewise to send another company into Sussex, and into the Counties of Stafford, and Bedford, to speake to the people, that they should all come to the farther syde of London, and thereby to close London rounde about, so that the King should not stop their passages, and that they should all mete together on *Corpus Christi* day.

The first entrie of the rebells was at Cauntorbury.

They that were at Cauntorbury did much harme, for they entered into Saint Thomas Church, and robbed, and brake vp the Bishops Chamber. And in robbyng and bearyng out their pillage, sayde, A, this Chauncelor of England hath had a good Market to bring together all this riches: he shall geue vs nowe an accompt of the reuenues of England, and of the great profites that he hath gathered sithen the Coronation.

Then this Monday they came from Cauntorbury, and tooke their way to Rochester. And in their passage they spoyled the houses of all men of lawe that stood in their way, whether they were Spirituall or Temporall. And when they were come to Rochester, there they had good cheere, for the people of that towne were of that minde. And then they went to the Castel there, and tooke the knight that had the rule thereof, who was called Sir Iohn Motton: and they sayde vnto him, Sir Iohn, you must go with vs, and ye shalbe our souereigne Capteyne, and doe that we will haue you doe. The Knight made many excuses very honestly and discretely, but it auayled him nothing, for they sayde vnto him, Sir Iohn, if ye do not as we will haue you do, ye are but dead. The Knight perceyuyng those people in that furye, and readie to slay him: He then fearyng death, agreed vnto them, and so he went with them, though against his will. And in like maner did they in other countries in England, as Essex, Sussex, Stafford, Bedford, and Warwike, euen to Lincolne. For they brought the knightes and Gentlemen into such a feare, that they caused them to go with thē whether soeuer they would haue them, as the Lorde Molin a great Baron, sir Stephen of Hales, and sir Thomas of Gisighen, and other.

The rebels were enimies to all men of lawe, whether they were spirituall or temporall.

Then on the Tuesday these people lodged at Rochester, and from thence departed and came ouer the ryuer there, and so kept on their way towarde London, vntill they came to Datford, spoylyng and brennyng as they went, all the houses that belonged to any man of lawe, what soeuer they were, and they stroke of the heades of dyuers personnes: And so

long they came forwarde, that at the last they came to Blackheth, which is within foure myle of London, and euer as they went, they sayde they were the Kings men, and the seruauntes of the noble Commons of England.

But when they of the Citie of London knewe that they were so neere vnto them: The Maior closed the Gates, and stopped the passages.

And whyle the lewde company lay on Blackheth, they agreed the next day, which was Wednesday, to sende syr Iohn Motton (whome they called their knight) to the king, to shewe him that all that they had done and doe, is for him and his honour: and howe the realme of Englande hath not bene well gouerned of a great space, neyther for the honour nor common profite of the same, by his Vncles, nor yet by the clergie, and specially by the Archbishop of Cauntorburie his Chauncelour, of whome they woulde haue accompt: But when they had well bethought themselues, they wylled Syr Iohn Motton to let these things alone, and to say to the king that they desyred to speake with him, because that to him, and to none other they woulde open their griefes. The aforesayde knight durst doe none other, but passed ouer the Thames and came to the Towre, praiyng to speake with the king. The king and they that were with him in the towre, desirous to here newes, wylled that the knight should come vnto them. And at that tyme there were present with the king, first the princesse his mother, and hys two brethren, the Erle of Kent, and the Lorde Iohn Holland, the Erle of Salsburie, the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Oxford, the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, the Lord of Saint Iohns, Sir Robert of Namure, the Lord of Vertaigne, the Lorde of Gomegines, the Maiour of London, and dyuers other notable Citizens.

Thys Knight syr Iohn Motton, who was well knowen among them, for he was one of the kinges officers. He kneeled downe before the king, and sayde. My redouted Lorde, let it not displease your grace, the message that I must shew vnto you, for deare syr, it is by force and agaynst my will, Sir Iohn, sayde the king, saye what ye will, I holde you excused, Sir the commons of your realme hath sent me vnto you, for to desyre you to come and speake with them on Blackheth, for they desyre to speake with you and none other. And syr ye neede not to haue any doubt of your person, for they will doe you no hurte, for they holde and will holde you for their king: But Sir, they say they will shew you diuers things the which shall be right necessary for you to take heede of, when they speake with you, of the which thinges I haue no charge to shewe you: But I humbly beseeche you, to geue me your aunswere, suche as may appease them, and that they maye knowe for truth that I haue spoken with you, for they haue my children in hostage vntill I returne agayne vnto them: and if I returne not agayne, they will slay my children incontynent. Then sayde the king, ye shall haue aunswere foorthwith.

Then the king toke counsayle what was best for him to doe, and it was anone determined that the nexte morning the king would go downe by water, and without fayle speake with them, by the Thames side, whether he wylled that a certaine of them should come vnto him.

And when syr Iohn Motton had that aunswer, he desyred nothing else, and so he tooke his leaue of the king and of his Lords, and returned agayne to Blackheth, where he had left mo then. lx. thousande men: And there he declared his aunswere, which was, that the next morning they should sende some of their counsayle vnto the Thames, and the king would come and speake with them. This aunswere greatly pleased them, and so passed away that night, and the fourth parte of them fasted for lack of victuall, which greued them muche.

In the morning being thursday, the king being accompanied wyth the Erle of Salsburie, the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Suffolk and certaine Knightes, tooke his Barge and rowed downe along the Thames to Detforde, and there were come downe the hill aboue ten thousand of the aforesayde persons, to see and speake with the king.

And when they sawe the kings Barge comming, they began to showte, and made suche a crie

a crie as if all the Deuills in hell had bene among them. And they had brought with them Sir Iohn Motton, to the entent that if the King had not come, they would haue hewen hym all to pieces, and so they promysed hym.

And when the king and his Lords sawe the demeanour of the people, the stowtest hearted of them that were with the king were afrayed. And the Lordes counsayled the king not to take any landyng there, but to rowe vp and downe the ryuer. And the king demaunded of them what they would, for sayde he, I am come hether to speake with you. And they all with one voyce sayde: we woulde that ye shoulde come a lande, and then we will shewe you what we lack. Then the Erle of Salsbury aunswered for the king, and sayde, Sirs, ye be not in suche good order nor araye that the king ought to speake with you. And with those wordes, they were somewhat stayed. Then the King was counsayled to returne agayne to the Towre of London, and so he did. And when they sawe that, they were enflamed with wrath and returned to the hill where the great bande was. And there they shewed them what aunswere they had, and howe the king was returned to the Towre of London. Then they cryed all wyth one voyce, let vs go to London, and so they tooke their waye thether, and in their goyng they bet downe the Lawyers houses without all mercie, and many other houses of suche as had offices vnder the King. And specially they brake vp the Kinges prisons, as the Marshalsey, and kinges Benche, and delyuered freely all the prisoners that were within. And at the bridge foote, because the Gates were closed, they threatened sore the Citezens of London, sayeng how they would brenne all the suburbes, and also sley all the commons of the Citie, and set the Citie on fyre. And within the Citie were a great number of their affinitie, and they sayde: why doe not we let these good felowes into the Citie? they are oure felowes, and that that they doe, is for vs: And shortly after the gates were opened, and they entred into the Citie, and went into houses, and sate downe to eate and drinke. And they could call for nothing but it was brought vnto them, for euery man was readie to make them good cheere, and to please them with meate and drinke.

Watte Tyler
Iack Straw
Iack Shepheard,
Iohn Wall.

Then their Capteynes Watte Tyler, Iacke Straw, Iacke Shepard, and other, to the number of xx. thousand, went through London, and came to the Sauoy, which then was a goodly place, and perteyned to the Duke of Lancaster. And when they were entered therein, they first slue the kepers thereof, and then spoyled and robbed the house. And when they had so done, they set fyre on it, and cleane consumed and destroyed it: And then came vnto the Temple and other Innes of Court, and spoyled the Bookes of law, and the recordes of the Counter, and set all the prisoners of Newegate and the Counters at large. And when they had this done, then they went streight to the goodly Hospitall of the Rhodes, called Saint Iohns beyond Smithfielde, and spoyled that likewyse, and then consumed it with fyre. Then they went from streete to streete in London, and slue all the Flemynges that they could meete withall, eyther in Church or in any other place, and they brake vp diuers houses of the Lombardes, and robbed them, and toke their goodes at their pleasure. And the same tyme they slue in the Citie a riche Citizen called Richard Lion, for that Watte Tyler once dwelled with him, and on a tyme did beate him, wherefore he was nowe reuenged vpon him, and caused his head to be striken off, and put vpon the poynt of a Speare, and made it to be borne before him throughout London. Thus these vngracious people demeaned themselues, like mad and outrageous beastes. And toward night they went to Saint Katherines before the Tower of London: saiyng howe they would neuer departe thence vntill they had the king at their pleasure, and vntill that he had graunted vnto them all that they would aske, and haue speciall accomptes of the Chauncelor of England to know where all the treasure was become that he had leuyed through the realme: & without he made a good accompt thereof, it should not be for his profite. And so after they had spent all this day, beyng Thursday, and then called *Corpus Christi* day, and was then a highe and festiuall daye, in doyng of mischiefes and murders, they rested at night before the Towre, as aforesayde.

Sauoy brent.

Richard Lion murthered.

But

But here maye ye well thinke, that this was a heauy and troublous night vnto the king, and those that were with him in the Tower, for such was the behauiour of these vileynes, that dyuerse and sondry tymes in the night they showted and cryed as all the deuilles in hell had roared.

And in this Euenyng the King was counsayled by his brethren and Lordes, and by sir Nicholas Walworth Maior of London, and diuers other worshipfull Citizens, that in the night tyme they should haue issued out of the Tower, and haue entred into the Citie, & there to haue had ayde, & so to haue slaine al those vnhappy people that then were at their rest, for it was thought that many of them were dronken, by reason whereof they might haue beene slaine like flees, and among xx. of them there was scant one in harnesse. And surely the good men of London might haue done this at their ease, for they had secretly in their houses a great number of theyr friendes, and seruauntes readie harnessed.

And also sir Robert Canolle was in his lodgyng, keepyng the kinges treasure, with sixe score readie at his commaundement. And in lyke maner was sir Perducas Dalbert, who was as then at London. In somuche as there might haue bene assembled. viij. thousand men well harnessed and appoynted: Howbeit, there was nothing done, for they were in feare of the rest of the Commons of the Citie, and againe the number of the Commons of the Countrie were. lx. thousand and mo.

Then the Erle of Sarisbury, and the wyse men about the king sayd, sir if ye can appease them with faire wordes, it were best and most profitable so to do, and to graunt them euery thing that they desyre. So this counsaile was accepted and folowed, and the Maior countermaunded not to stirre that night. And in the Citie with the Maior, there were. xij. Aldermen, whereof ix. of them helde with the king, & the other three toke part with the vngracious people, as it was after well knowen, the which they ful derely bought.

On the Friday in the mornyng the people that were lodged at Saint Katheryns, began to apparell themselues, and to cry and showte, and sayde: Without the king would come out and speake with them, they would assault the Tower, and take it perforce, and sley all them that were therein.

Then the king doubted those wordes, and he was counsayled to go out and speake with them. And then the king sent vnto them that they should all draw to a fayre plaine place called Myle ende, where as the people of the Citie did vse to shote, and thether the king promised to come to them, and to graunt them whatsoeuer they desyred.

Then the people began to depart, specially the Commons of the Villages, and went to the same place, but all went not thether, for they were not all of one condicion, nor of one minde. For there were some that desyred nothing but spoyle, and the vtter destruction of noble men, and to rob and sacke London: And that was the principall matter of their beginnyng, the which they well shewed. For assone as the Tower Gate opened, and that the king issued out with his two brethren, and the Erle of Sarisbury, the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Oxford, Sir Robert of Namure, the Lord of Briteyne, the Lord Gomegines, and dyuerse other. Then Watte Tyler, Iacke Strawe, and Iohn Bal, alias Wall, and mo then foure hundreth entered into the Tower, and brake vp Chamber after Chamber, and at the last found the Archbishop of Cauntorbury called Simon, a valiaunt man & a wise, and high Chauncelor of England, and him they brought out, and stroke off his heade, and also beheaded the Lorde of Saint Iohns, and a gray Frier, which was a Phisition belongyng to the Duke of Lancaster, for hatred that they had to hys mayster, and a Sergeaunt at armes called Iohn Laige. And these foure heades they put vpon the endes of foure long Speares, and they made them to be borne before them through the streetes of the Citie. And at the last set them on high at London bridge, as though they had beene Traytors to the king and to the realme. Also these wretches entred into the Princesse Chamber, and brake her head, with the which she was so sore afrayde, that she sowned, and so was taken vp and borne to the water syde, and put in a Barge, & couered, and so conueyed to a place called the Royall, which then was the Queenes Wardrobe,

and

and there she was all that day and night, as a woman halfe deade, vntill shee was comforted with the king her sonne, as ye shall after here.

Now when the king was come to Myle ende without London, he put out of his company his two brethren the Erle of Kent, and syr Iohn Hollande and the Lorde of Gomegines, for they durst not appere before the people. And when the King and his other Lords were there, he founde there a. lx. thousand men of dyuers Villages and of sundrie Countries in Englande.

And the King entered in among them, and spake vnto them gently and sayde. A good people, I am your king, what lacke ye? what doe ye saye? Then such as heard him sayd, that ye will make vs free for euer, our selues, our heyres, and oure landes, and that we be called no more bondmen, nor from henceforth so to be reputed or taken. Sirs, sayde the king, I doe gladly graunt your request: withdrawe you home to your awne houses, and into suche Villages as ye came from, and leaue behind you of euery Village two or three, and I wyll cause wrytinges to be made and seale them wyth my seale, the which they shall haue with them, conteining euery thing that ye demaund. And to the entent that ye shall be the better assured, I will cause my Banners to be delyuered vnto euery Baylywike, Shire and Countie.

These wordes quieted well the common people, and suche as were simple and good plaine men that were come thether, and wist not wel wherfore: They aunswered the king, it was well sayde, they desyred no better. And so they beganne to withdrawe themselues, and came into the Citie of London. And the king sayde also one worde, the which greatly contented them, and that was: syrs, among you good men of Kent, ye shall haue one of my banners, and ye of Essex another, of Bedford, of Cambridge, of Stafford, of Lyncolne, and of Lyn, eche of you shall haue one. And also I pardon euery thing that ye haue done hetherto, so that ye folowe my Banners, and returne home to your houses. They all aunswered they would so doe. Thus these people departed and went to London.

Then the king appointed mo then. xxx. Clerkes the same Fridaye to write with all diligence letters patents, to be sealed with the kinges seale, and to be delyuered to these people: and as they receaued their wrytings, so they departed into their Countries.

But yet the great venome remayned behinde, for Watte Tyler, Iack Strawe, and other of their Captaines sayde, they would not so depart, and there agreed vnto them mo then. xxx. thousand: And thus they abode stil, and made no haste, neyther to haue the Kings wryting nor Seale, for their ententes was to haue spoyled the Citie. The which thing all the honest Citezens of London greatly feared, and therefore had priuely in their houses their friends in a readynesse.

When it drewe somewhat toward night, the king came to the Towre in the Royall, where the Princesse his mother beyng in great feare had remayned all that daye, to comfort her and taried there with her all that night.

And here (sayth Froissart) I will tell you what happened among these vnhappie people before the Citie of Norwiche by a Capitaine among them named Wylliam Lyster of Stafforde. The aforenamed daye of Corpus Christi that the aforesayde lewde people entered into London, the verye same tyme they assembled together of Stafford, of Lynne, of Cambridge, of Bedford. And as they were comming towardes London they had a Captaine among them called Lyster, and as they came they stayed before Norwiche, and all the waye as they passed, they caused euery man to arise with them, so that they left fewe lewde people behinde them. And the cause why they stayed before Norwich was this. There was a knight, and a Captaine of the Towne called Sir Robert Sale, he was no gentleman borne, but he was sage and valiaunt in armes, and for his valiauntnesse king Edwarde made him knight, & he was of his body one of the mightiest men in Englād.

William Lister Capteyn of the rebels.

Sir Robert Sale a valyaunt Knight.

Lyster the lewde Captayne of this route, thought that this man was meete to be a Captaine among them to the entent they might be the more dradde and feared of the people:

wherfore

wherfore they sent vnto him that he shoulde come and speake with them in the fielde. The knight considered that it were better for him to go and speake with them, rather then by his not goyng he should prouoke them to doe any outrage to the towne, and therefore he toke his horse, and ryd vnto them all alone, hauyng no company with him. And when they sawe him, they shewed him most ioyfull and louing countenaunce and honored him very much, and prayed him to alight of his horse, for they were desyrous to common with him, and he so did, wherein he did very fondly. And assone as he was alighted, they came rounde about him, and began to speake very fayre vnto him, and sayde. Sir Robert, ye are a Knight and a man greatly beloued in thys Countrie, and counted for a valiaunt man. And though you be so, yet we knowe you well, ye are no gentleman borne, but sonne to a Villeyne, suche as we be: Therfore we will that ye shall go with vs, and we will make you so great a Lorde that one quarter of Englande shall be vnder your obeysaunce.

When the knight had heard them thus speake, it offended him not a little, wherefore beholding them with a cruell looke, he sayde vnto them: Aduoyde ye false trayterous and vngracious people: wene you that I will forsake the obedience and duety that I owe vnto my souereigne Lorde for such a company of knaues as ye be, which should be to my dishonour for euer? I had rather ye were all hanged, as I doubt not but ye shall be, for that wyll be your ende. And with those wordes he had thought to haue lept agayne to his horse, but he fayled of the Styrop and the horse sterted awaye.

Then they cryed all with voyce, at him, and sley him without mercy. And when he heard those wordes he let his horse go, and drewe out his sworde, and beganne to skirmishe with them, and he made suche rome about him that it was pleasure to beholde him, for there was none that durst come nere him. Howbeit, some there were that did approche neere vnto him, but at euery stroke that he gaue, he cut of eyther legge, head, or arme, and there was none so hardie but that they feared him. He did there suche deedes of armes, that it was maruell to beholde, but the number of these lewde people were mo then. xl. thousande, and they shot sore at him and wounded him to death. But yet before he dyed he slue. xij. of them out of hande, beside many other that he hurte: and finally he was stryken to the earth, and they cut of his armes and legges, and then hewed his body all to peeces. And thys was the end of Syr Robert Sale, which did not a little offend all the knights and squires of Englande: But now to returne where we left.

Sir Robert Sale slayne.

On Saturday, the next day in the forenoone, the king had bene at Westminster, and came from thence on the backsyde through Holborne into London, and thought to haue ridden to the Tower, and as he came ouer Smithfielde, he sawe there Watte Tyler, Iacke Strawe, and their companie assembled together, which caused him a litle to stay, and considering them wel, they semed to be nere vnto the number of xx. thousand, and all this company had the kings Banners, for they were delyuered vnto them the day before. And these vileynes sayde among themselues, let vs ouerrunne and spoyle this Citie wherein we may haue great rychesse, before that they of Essex, Sussex, Cambridge, Bedford, Arundell, Warwike, Redyng, Oxenford, Guylford, Lynne, Stafforde, Lyncolne, Yorke, and Duram do come hether, For Wallior and Lister will bring them hether, and they will be Lordes of London if we be not, and therefore nowe seeyng we be first here, why should we not geue the attempt: and to this they were all agreed, and euen therewithall the king came.

Wallior. Lyster.

And when Watte Tyler sawe the king, he sayd to his company, yonder is the king, I will go speake with him, stirre not you quoth he to his people, from hence, except I make you a signe, and when I make you a signe, come on together, and slay them all (except the king.) But do the king no hurt, for he is yong, and we shall rule him as we list, and leade him with vs round about England, and so without doubt we may be Lordes of the realme. And therewith he spurred his horse, and came to the king, so nere him that hys horse touched the kinges horses heade as they roade, and the first worde that he sayde vnto the king was this, Sir king, seest thou all yonder people? ye truely sayd the king, wherefore

An arrogant and prowde villeyn.

fore askest thou that? Because sayde he, they be all at my commaundement, and haue sworne to me fayth and trouth, to do all that I will haue them. In a good tyme sayde the king, be it so. Then sayde Watte Tyler, as he that sought nothyng but ryot. What, beleuest thou king, that these people and as many mo that are in London, which are at my commaundement, that they will depart from thee thus, without hauyng thy letters? No sayd the King, ye shall haue them, they are appoynted for you, and shall be deliuered eche of you one after another: Wherefore good felowes withdrawe your selues to your people, and cause them to depart out of London, for it is our entent that eche of you by Villages and Townеships shall haue letters Patentz as I haue promised you. With those wordes Watte Tyler cast his eyen on a Squier that was ther with the king, and bare the kinges sworde. And Watte Tyler hated greatly the same Squier, for wordes that had passed the day before betwene them, and sayde vnto him, what, sayth he, art thou there? Geue me thy dagger. Nay sayd the Squier, that will I not do, wherefore should I geue it thee? The king behelde the squier and sayd, geue it him, let him haue it, and he gaue it him. And when Watte Tyler had it, he began to play wyth it in his hand, turning of it: And then he sayde againe to the Squier, geue me that sworde, nay sayd he, it is the kings sworde, thou art not worthie to haue it, for thou art but a knaue. And there were no mo here but thou and I, thou durst not demaund any such things of me, neyther to speake as thou hast spoken, for as much Golde as would lye in yonder Abbey: By my fayth sayd Watte Tyler, I will neuer eate meate vntill I haue thy head.

And with those wordes the Maior of London came to the king, with. xij. horses well armed vnder their coates, and so he brake the prease, and saw and heard the demeanor of Watte Tyler in the presence of the king, and he sayde vnto him, Ha thou knaue, howe darest thou be so bolde in the kinges presence to speake suche wordes, it is to much to suffer thee so to do. Then the king began to chafe, and sayde to the Maior, set handes on him. And when the king had sayd so, Watte Tyler sayde to the Maior, a Gods name, what haue I sayde to displease thee? Yes truely *quoth the* Maior, thou false stinking knaue, shalt thou speake thus in the presence of the king my naturall Lorde? I wishe neuer to liue, except thou dearely by it. And with those wordes the Maior drewe out his sworde, and stroke Watte Tyler suche a stroke on the heade, that he fell downe at the feete of his horse. And assone as he was fallen, he was compassed round about, so that he was not seene of his company. Then a Squier alighted called Iohn Standishe, and thrust his sworde into Watte Tylers belly, and so he dyed.

And for this the Citie geueth a sworde in their armes.

Then the vnhappy people there assembled, perceyuyng their Capteyne slaine, began to murmure among themselues, and sayd: A, our Capteine is slaine, let vs go and slay them all. And therewith they raunged themselues in the place in maner of battaile, and their Bowes bent before them.

Thus the king began a great outrage, howbeit all happened to the best: for as soone as Watte Tyler was on the earth, the king departed from all his company, and all alone he roade to the naughtie companie, but before his goyng, he sayde to his awne people, sirs, folowe not me, let me alone. And when he came to the vngracious people, who had put themselues in order of warre, to be reuenged of the death of their Captaine: The king sayde vnto them, Sirs what ayleth you, you shall haue no Capteine but me, I am and will be your king and Captaine, be you therefore quiet. And a great number that heard him speake, and seeyng him in presence, quieted them selues, and departed. But such as were wicked and maliciously mynded, would not depart, but made a shewe as though they would do somewhat.

Then the king returned to his awne company, and demaunded of them what was best to doe. Then he was counsayled to drawe into the field, for to flie away was no boote. Then sayde the Maior, it is good that we do so, for I thinke surely we shall haue some comfort of them of London, and of suche good men as be of our parte, who are prouided and haue their friends and men armed in their houses.

And in this meane time, a crye and noyes went through the Citie, how the king and the Maiour were lyke to be slayne by these naughtie people: By reason of which noyes, a great number of good men issued out of their houses, and came into Smithfield where the king was. And they were anone to the number of seauen or eyght thousand men well armed.

Sir Robert Canoll. Sir Perducas Dalbret.

And first, thether came Sir Robert Canol and Sir Perducas Dalbret well accompanied, and dyuers of the Aldermen of London, and with them sixe hundreth men in barneys. And a worthie and puissaunt man of the City which was the kinges Draper, called Nicholas Brembre, and he brought wyth him a great companie, and euer as they came, they ranged themselues on foote in order of battayle.

And on the other part these vnhappie people were readie ranged, makyng countenaunce as though they would presently fight: and they had with them dyuers of the kings Banners.

There the King made foure Knightes. The one the Maiour of London, Syr Nycholas Walwoorth, Sir Iohn Standishe and Syr Nycholas Brembre. Then the Lords sayde among themselues, what shall we doe? we see our enimies who would gladly sley vs, if they might haue the better hande of vs. Syr Robert Canoll counsayled to go and fight with them and sley them all. But the king would not consent therevnto, but sayde: Naye, I will not so, I will sende to them commaunding them to sende me agayne my Baners, and thereby we shall see what they wyll doe: Howbeit, eyther by fayre meanes or otherwise, I wyll haue them: That is well sayde, quoth the Erle of Salsbury. Then these newe knightes were sent to them, and these knightes made token to them that they should not shoote at them. And when they came so nere them that their speeche might be heard, they sayde: Sirs, the king commaundeth you to sende him agayne his Banners. And incontinent they delyuered the Banners, & sent them to the King, and then they were commaunded vpon payne of their heads, that all suche as had letters of the king, to bring them foorth, and to sende them agayne to the king, and many of them delyuered their letters, but not all. Then the king commaunded them to be all torne in their presence. And assoone as the kinges Banners were taken from them, they kept none array, but the most parte of them threwe downe their bowes, and so brake their array, and returned into London. Sir Robert Canoll was sore displeased that he might not set on them, but the King would not, but sayde he would be reuenged on them well enough, and so he was after.

Thus these beastly people departed, some one waye and some another. And the king and his Lordes, and all his company right comely and orderly entred into London with great ioye, and foorthwith his grace went to the Lady Princesse his mother, beyng in the Tower of the Roiall, where she had taried two dayes, and two nightes, in great feare (as she had good cause) And when she sawe the king her sonne, she greatly reioyced and sayde: A fayre sonne, what paine and sorow haue I suffred for you this daye. Then the king spake and sayde, Madame, I know it right well, but now I pray you reioyce and thanke God, for it is high time. I haue this daye recouered mine heritage and the realme of England, which I had almost lost. And thus the king taried that day with his mother, and euery Lord went peaceably to their awne lodgings. And foorthwith a proclamation was made in euery streete in the kings name, that all maner of men, not being of the Citie of London, neyther hath dwelt there the space of one yere, to departe. And if any suche be founde there, the next day, which was Sunday, by the Sunne rysing that they should be taken as Trayters to the king, and to lose their heades. Assone as this proclamation was made, they sparkled abroade, euery man to their awne homes.

And here is to be noted that in the tellyng of all this storye, Sir Iohn Froyssart nameth one Iohn Ball to be a chiefe Captaine, and I finde none other Auethour that nameth any such, but Iack straw, and Iack Shepard. But I thinke it is some fault in the print, and that it shoulde be Iohn Wall, for in the beginning of the storie is set foorth that a simple

ple priest called Iohn Wall was the first mouer, and speciall authour, and setter foorth of thys rebellion, and therefore lyke enough that he was one of their Capitaines. And it should the rather appere so to be, for that in the beginning of theyr enterprices, they went first to the Byshop of Cauntorburie, and spoyled hys house, and bare suche malice vnto him that after they slue him in the tower of London. And the same Byshop of Cauntorbury had three or foure times emprisoned the sayde Iohn Wall for his lewde communication that tended to rebellion, & therfore most lyke it should be Iohn Wall, ỹ sought to be reuenged.

In like maner the aforesayde author Sir Iohn Froyssart doth in thys story acompt Watte Tyler to be the chiefe of this rowte, whom he saith was a Tyler in dede, and an vngracious patrone. But Fabian, Caxton, Rastell, Cowper, Polidore and many other Aucthours doe impute Iack Straw to be chiefe, and more Froyssart sayeth it was Watte Tyler that bragged with the king, and toke vp the Maior of London in the kinges presence, and also that it was Watte Tyler whome the Maior of London did ouerthrow: But all other say it was Iack Strawe, and it should seeme rather Watte Tyler, for that in all this discourse he was the busiest bragger of all the Captaines. But which of them so euer it was, they were naught all.

But nowe sayth Froyssart, Iohn Ball, and Iack Strawe were founde hidden in an olde house, where they had thought to haue stollen awaye, but they could not, for they were accused by their awne company. Of the taking of them, the king and his Lordes were glad, he caused their heades to be striken of, and Watte Tylers also, and commaunded them to be set vpon Lõdon bridge, and those valiaunt mens heads to be taken downe, which they had set on before. These tydings spreade abroade so, that the people of straũge Countries which were comming towardes London, returned back agayne to their houses, and durst come no further.

Iohn Ball and Iacke Strawe were founde hidden in an olde house.

The ende of the historie of the rebels of Kent.

And here we must returne to the Duke of Lancaster who all the time of this rebelliõ was in Scotland in ỹ treatie of a peace as ye haue heard before. And so long they continued this treatie, that at the last a truce was concluded to remain for thre yeres, & when this truce was cõcluded then the Lordes of eche part made good chere to other. Then sayd the Erle of Douglas to the Duke of Lancaster: sir we know right well of the rebellion of the common people in England, & the peril that the realme is in at this present, and sir we take you for a right sage & valiaunt man, that in all the tyme of his communication of the treatie ye would not seme to vnderstand any thing therof: but syr, we say now vnto you, & we offer ourselues to be redy to aide you with. v. or. vj. C. speares, and to do you seruice. By my fayth saide the Duke, gentle Lords I thanke you, I will not refuse your friendly offer: howbeit I thinke verily that the king my lord hath so good counsail, ỹ it shall be pacefied right well: howbeit, I desyre you to haue a saufe conduyt for me & mine to returne into your Coũtrie if nede be, vntill the matter be appeased. The Erle Douglas, and the Erle Moret who had the kinges auctoritie, graunted him hys desyre, and so they departed, the Scottes went to Edenbourg.

The Duke of Lancaster and his people wente to Barwike, wenyng to the Duke to haue entered into the towne, for when he passed that way, he left all his prouision behinde him: But the Capteyne of the towne called Sir Mathew Redmayn denyed him to enter, and closed in the gates against him and his, saiyng he was so commaunded by the Erle of Northumberland. And when the Duke heard these words, he was sore displeased and sayde: Howe commeth this to passe, Mathew Redmayn? is there in Northumberlande a greater souereigne then I am, which should let me to passe this way where all my prouision is with you? what meaneth these newes? By my fayth sir, sayde the Knight, this is true that I say, and by the commaundement of the King: and sir, this that I do to you is right sore agaynst my will, but I must nedes do it, and therefore for Goddes sake holde me excused, for I am thus commaunded vpon paine of my life, that I shall not suffer you, nor none of yours to enter into the towne.

Sir Mathew Redmayn Capitaine of Betwicke denied the Duke of Lancaster to enter into the towne.

Then the Duke not saiyng all that he thought, brake out of this matter, and sayde, Sir Redmayn, what tydynges out of England? and he sayde, he knewe none, but that the Countries were sore moued, and the king had sent to all this Country to be in a redinesse whensoeuer he should send. Then the Duke mused a little, and sodeinly turned his horse, and bid the Knight farewell, and so went to the Castell of Rosebourgh, and the Constable receyued him. Then the Duke of Lancaster was counsayled, that because he was not sure howe the matters went in Englande, neyther knewe not of whome he was beloued, or hated, that therfore he should send vnto the Lordes of Scotland, desiryng them to sende a quantitie of men of warre to conuey him into Scotland: And then he sent to the Erle Douglas, who was as then at Alquest. And when the Erle sawe the letter, he was right glad thereof, and made the Messenger great cheere, and sent worde thereof to the Erle Moret, and to the Erle de la Mare his brother, praiyng them incontinent without any delay to meete with him at Morlane the thirde day after, with a certeine number well horsed and appoynted. Assoone as these Lordes knewe this, they sent for men and friendes, and so came to Morlane, and there they found the Erle Douglas, and so they roade altogether, to the number of fiue hundreth Speares, and came to the Abbey of Mauros, which was. ix. litle myle frome Rosebourgh. And on the way they met the Duke, and there the one embraced the other right louingly, and then kept foorth their iourney vntill they came to Edenbourgh, where the king of Scottes of late had beene, but as then he was in the wilde Scottishe. There the Duke of Lancaster was greatly honoured of the Erle Douglas, and of the Barons of Scotland and the Castell was deliuered to the Duke to lie in, and there he lay vntill other newes came out of England, which was not so soone as the Duke had wisshed. And in the mean season, many naughtie reportes and rumors were raysed and bruted by the rebellious people, of the Duke of Lancaster, affirmyng that he was become Scottish, and a traytour to England: and Lyster, Watte Tyler, Iacke Strawe, Iohn Ball, and other Capteynes of the rebelles affirmed at the present houres of their death, the same to be true. The which caused many shamefull and slaunderous tales to be reported of the Duke in euery parte of England. And no doubt these villeynes bare great hatred to the Duke of Lancaster, as appered by the brennyng of his house, and spoylyng of the same, and by the murderyng of his Phisition.

Slanderous and lewde reports made of the Duke of Lancaster.

And soone after the death of these lewde Capteynes, the king visited his realme and sate in sundrie places, and made inquirie of the aforesayde rebels, and he persecuted them in very quiet maner, from one village to another, and from one towne and Countie to another, so long vntill at the last, he had executed aboue. xv. hundreth of them, and the rest he pardoned, and so all the realme was quieted.

The Duke of Lancaster returneth home out of Scotland.

Then the king sent for his vncle the Duke of Lancaster out of Scotland, whereof he was glad, and at his departing he thanked the Lordes of Scotland of their great friendship. And the Erle Douglas, the Erle Moret, and other Lordes of Scotland would nedes bring him as farre as Mauros and there eche tooke leaue of other. And thus the Duke came to Rosebourgh, to Newcastel vpon Tyne, and so to Durham, & Yorke, & at the last to Lōdon.

And when he had shewed to the king and his Counsaile how he had done with the Scottes: Then he forgate not to shewe howe Sir Mathew Redmayn shutte him out of Barwike. And the Duke inquired of the king if he would allow that deede, and it seemed that the king did but faintly allowe it. So the Duke sayde no more at that tyme.

And shortly after on the day of the Assumption of our Ladie in August, the king helde a solempne feast at Westminster, vnto the which came many Nobles and Lordes of England, and there was the Erle of Northumberland, and the Erle of Nottyngham, and dyuers other Lordes of the North. And the King made Knightes the same day the young Erle of Pembrooke, Sir Robert Maubre, sir Nicholas Twyford, and sir Adam Fraunces.

Hotte and great wordes betweene the Duke of Lancaster, and the Erle of Northumberland.

And at this feast there were great wordes betweene the Duke of Lancaster, and the Erle of Northumberland. The Duke sayd vnto him, Henrie Percye, I knewe not that

ye

ye were so great a man in England, as to close the Gates of any towne, Citie, or Castell, against the Duke of Lancaster. The Erle vnderstood whereof the Duke meant, and he tempered his speech, and sayde, Sir I denie not that the knight did, for I can not. For the king here present commaunded me streyghtly, that on mine honour, and on my lyfe, I should not suffer any maner of person, Lord, or other, to enter into any Citie, towne, or Castell in Northumberland, without he were heyre of the place. And sir the king and his Counsaile may well excuse me, for they knewe that ye were in Scotland, and therefore they should haue excepted you. What quoth the Duke, say you that there ought a exceptation to haue beene made for me, who am vncle to the king, and haue kept mine heritage as well or better then any other haue done, next to the king, and knowing that I was gone for the businesse of the realme into Scotlande? This excuse can not excuse you, but that you haue done euill, and greatly agaynst mine honour: and you haue geuen therby an occasion to bring me in suspition that I had done some treason in Scotland, when at my returning the kinges townes are closed against me, and specially there where my prouision was: Wherefore I say, ye haue acquited yourselfe right euill. And for the blame and slaunder that ye haue brought me into, I nowe to purge my selfe, here in the presence of the King do cast you here my gage: reyse it and ye dare.

Then the King stepped foorth and sayde: Right louyng Vncle, all that was done, I must take it vpon me. And I must excuse the Erle of Northumberland, and speake for him. For we commaunded him on paine of his life that he should kepe close all the townes of the Marches, and ye knowe well howe our realme was then in great trouble and perill. The fault was in the Clerke that wrote the letters, and in the negligence of our Counsaile: For of truth we should haue excepted you: Wherefore I will and also desire you, to put apart this euill opinion that ye haue of the Erle of Northumberland, and I take the charge on me, and discharge the Erle in that behalfe. Then kneled downe before the Duke, the Erle of Arondell, the Erle of Sarisbury, the Erle of Suffolke, the Erle of Stafford, and the Erle of Leycester, and sayde vnto him: Sir you here howe louingly and how truely the King speaketh, wherefore we beseech you to agree to his pleasure. Wel quoth the Duke, who was inflamed with yre, I will hold my peace, and as it pleaseth the King to haue it, it is reason that I be content therwith, & so departed.

In this time as sayth Polidore in his boke *De Inuentoribus rerum*, Gonnes were first in vse, which were inuented by one of Germany. But sayth he, least he should be cursed for euer that was the Authour of thys inuention, therefore his name is hidden, & not knowne. But dyuers say that a Monke was the inuenter, though they name him not. The first inuention of Gonnes.

In the Moneth of Aprill next followyng, there landed in Kent Dame Anne the daughter of Charles the fourth, late Emperour deceassed, and she was Sister vnto Wenceslaus who then was Emperour, the which of the Maior, and Citizens of London was honorably met vpon Blackheth, and conueyed with great triumph vnto Westmynster the eyght day of the month of Maye, and shortly after was there solemply maried vnto king Richard. 1381. 5. Anne the daughter of Charles the fourth late Emperour.

And the sayde yere was a terrible, and a horrible earthquake throughout the vniuersall worlde as many Authours write, but namely in England, that threwe downe Castelles, Churches, Steples, houses, and Trees, and whole Villages, that ỹ lyke was neuer sene nor heard of before, to the great terrour and feare of all such as then lyued, and were present. A terrible earthquake.

This yere by the commaundement of Pope Vrbane, Henry Spencer Byshop of Norwiche, with a great number of Spirituall men and other, went to warre vpon the King of Spaine. And for the maintenance of thys warre, the Pope, as sayth Froissart, had sent vnto the said Bishop more then. xxx. Bulles, and also graunted to the King and to his Vncles, to further this enterprise a Disme of the Clergie. And then the preachers aduaunced and set foorth this voyage to be so acceptable before God, and that the benefite of the Popes Bulles, were of such value for the remission of sinne, that the people of Englande, who soone gaue credite therevnto, beleued verily that if they dyed that yere, they 1382. 6.

they could not come into heauen, except they had geuen somewhat in almose toward this warre. And in Londō (sayth Froissart) and in the Diocesse thereof there was gathered a Tonne full of Gold and siluer, and according to the Popes Bulles, he that most gaue, obteyned most pardon. And whosoeuer dyed in that time, and gaue his goodes to further that voyage, he was cleane absolued from paine and from sinne, and he accompted himselfe most happie that dyed in that season to obtaine so noble an absolution. And thus was gathered a great Masse of money.

Bulles are of great force.

This Pope (as Fabian writeth) gaue auctoritie to the sayde Bishop to make warre vpon the king of Spaine, for that he contrarie to the Popes commaundement withholde certaine possessions, belonging of right vnto syr Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, in the right of his wife dame Constance.

But to say more truely, as diuers Authours saye, it was for the malice that this Pope Vrbane bare vnto Pope Clement, to whome the Duches of Aniow had geuen the kingdomes of Naples, Cicilia, Apulia, and Calabria, of the which she wrote her selfe Queene.

In performaunce of which act, the sayde Byshop entring into the countrie of Flaundyrs, founde there the Flemyngs with diuers miscreaunts, such as the king of Spaine had sent thether, makyng resistence agaynst hym: wherefore he made vpon them sharp warre, and wanne from them certaine townes, as Grauelyng, Burbourgh, and Dunkirke, and wanne great and riche pillage, so that he and his Souldiours stuffed and freight with it (as sayth Reynulph) xlj. shippes. But shortly after the Flemynges assembled with such power and strength, and gaue vnto the Englishmen such an assault about Dunkirke, that they were constreyned to geue back. And because the sayde shippes and goodes should not come agayne into the possession of his enimies, therfore he the sayde Bishop caused them to be set fyre within the Hauen, and so were spoyled both shippes and goodes. And although that after this mishap he recouered his strength, and layde siege vnto the towne of Ipre, and wrought the Flemynges much care and trouble, yet shortly after, such sicknesses fell among his people, as the Flux and other, that his souldiours dyed in great number: For the which he was compelled to leaue his iourney, and to returne agayne into England.

A warlike Byshop.

In thys yere also was a battaile or Combate done and holden in the Kings Palayce at Westminster, betwene one called Garcon Appellaunt, and Sir Iohn Anslye Knight Defendaunt, of the which fight the knight was at length the Victour and forced his enemie to yeelde vnto him. For the which the sayde Garcon was immediatly from that place drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged for his false accusation.

A Combate.

1383 7 And at this time, being the. vij. yere of the reigne of King Richarde, a truce or peace was concluded betwene him the french king, and the king of Scottes for one whole yere next ensuyng, so that the french men should geue knowledge thereof vnto the Scottes.

1384 8 After the conclusion of the aforesayde peace, certaine Lordes of Englande returning out of Fraunce, and vnderstandyng that the Frenche king had not yet geuen knowledge vnto the king of Scotlande of the truce, they now thinking to do a feate, assembled themselues with their powers, namely the Erle of Northumberland, the Erle of Nottingham, and the Barones of the borders and Marches of Scotland, and made a road into Scotland, and beganne to brenne the countrie and lande of the Erle of Douglas, and of the Lorde Lyndsey, and left nothing vnbrent to Edenbourgh.

But shortly after that the Englishmen had done this feate, and were returned agayne into Englande, the Scottes, although then they had knowledge of the peace, that was concluded in Fraunce, yet they would not take knowledge thereof: But the Erle Douglas to be reuenged, entered into Northumberland, and so into the land of the Lorde Percye, and there beganne to brenne, robbe, spoyle and destroy, and then returned by the lande of the Erle of Nottyngham and the Lord Mowbray, and there did much hurt, and so passed by Rosebourgh, but they taried not there, because they were so laden with pillage,

prisoners

prisoners and Cattell, and so returned into their Countrie againe without any daunger. And thus one michiefe was requyted with another lyke michiefe.

One mischief asketh another.

Also, thys yere there came vnto king Richarde the king of Ermony, which was driuen out of his lande by the Infidelles and Turkes, and he prayed aide of the king to be restored to his dominion. The king feasted and comforted him according to his honour, and after counsayle taken with hys Lords concerning that matter, he gaue vnto him great somes of money, and other riche giftes: with the which (after he had taried in Englande about two Moneths) he departed with glad countenaunce.

The king of Ermony.

A variaunce betweene Iohn Holland, and the Erles sonne of Stafford.

And in this time a variaunce chaunced betweene Iohn Holland brother to the Erle of Kent, and the Erles sonne of Stafford: By reason of which variaunce in conclusion the sonne of the Erle was slayne by the hande of Sir Iohn Holland: For the which dede the king was greuously amoued.

1385

This yere the king assembled his high Court of parliament at Westminster, during the which he created two Dukes, a Marques & fiue Erles, The first was syr Edmond of Langley the kinges vncle, and Erle of Cambridge, who was created Duke of Yorke, syr Thomas of Woodstock Erle of Buckyngham was created Duke of Gloucester, Sir Robert Vere, who before was created Erle of Oxford, was nowe made Marques of Dublyn, Sir Henry Bolyngbrook sonne and heyre of Iohn of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was nowe made Erle of Darby, Sir Edward sonne and heyre to the Duke of Yorke was made Erle of Rutlande, Sir Iohn of Holland brother to the Erle of Kent was made Erle of Huntyngdon, Sir Thomas Mowbray was made Erle of Nottyngham, and Marshall of Englande, and syr Mighell de la Poole was made Erle of Suffolk, and Chauncelor of Englande, who was hated and iudged to be an euill man, both of the Lords and commons of this realme, as in the yere folowyng shall be shewed. And by auctoritie of the same Parliament, Sir Roger Mortimer Erle of March, and sonne and heyre vnto Sir Edmond Mortimer, and of Dame Philip eldest daughter and heyre vnto Sir Lyonell the second sonne of Edward the thirde, was sone after proclaymed heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Englande. The which Sir Roger shortly after sayled into Ireland, to suppresse the rebellion & vnquietnesse of the people of his Lordship of Wolster, which he was Lorde of by his aforesayd mother. But while he was there occupied about the same, the wylde Irishe came vpon him in a great number, and slue him and many of his company.

9 Creation of Dukes and Erles.

This Henry was afterwarde king Henry the fourth.

Mighel de la Poole Chauncelor of England.

Sir Roger Mortymer proclaymed heyre apparaunt.

This Sir Roger had issue, Edmond, and Roger, Anne, Alice, and Alinor that was made a Nonne. The two aforesayde sonnes dyed without issue, and Anne the eldest daughter was maryed to Richarde Erle of Cambridge, which Richard had issue by the sayde Anne, Isabell Ladie Bourcher, and Richard that was after Duke of Yorke, and father to King Edward the fourth, which sayde Richard Erle of Cambridge was put to death by Henrie the fift at Southhamton, as after shall appere.

The issue of Sir Roger Mortimer.

Also this yere Sir Henry Bolyngbrooke Erle of Darbye, maryed the Countesse daughter of Harford, by whome he was lorde of that Countrie. And by her he had issue, Henry that after him was King, Blaunche Duches of Barre, and Philip that was wedded to the King of Denmark: Also Thomas Duke of Clarence, Iohn Duke of Bedford, and Humfrey Duke of Gloucester.

Henry Bolyngbrooke Erle of Darby.

And where a litle before mencion is made, that sir Robert Vere was made made Marques of Dublyn, ye shall vnderstand, that now the same man was created Duke of Ireland, & that the King purposed to haue made him King of Ireland if he might, such an affection the King had vnto him, albeit that all the Noble men disdeyned his high and sodeyne exaltyng, seeyng that many of as good qualities and condicions as he was, and of as good blood, remayned still in their olde estate. This Robert was maryed to a fayre yong Ladie of King Edwardes blood, which he forsooke and put from him, and toke vnto him one of a bace blood, a Sadlers daughter, which was borne in the realme of Beame, named Lancicron, which came ouer with King Rychardes wife. The puttyng away of the former Lady, was the occasion of many great murmures and displeasures agaynst this Robert Vere, specially by the

Robert Vere created duke of Ireland.

Duke of Gloucester Vncle vnto her, which determined vtterly when he sawe tyme, to reuenge the iniuryes done vnto his Neece. This grudge borne by the Duke of Gloucester, was not vnknowen to the Duke of Irelande, which cast in his minde by what meanes he might destroy the sayde Duke, and all those which toke his part. The tyme of Easter came, at which season it was before appoynted, that the Duke of Ireland should haue taken his voyage into Ireland: But small preparation was made for his goyng ouer: But yet because it should be thought none otherwise but ỳ the purpose should hold, the King tooke his iourney into Wales, vnder pretence to bring him to Ship: and yet meant nothing lesse, for his speciall purpose was to deuyse howe he might bring to passe to set holde vpon the Duke of Gloucester, the Erles of Arondell, Warwike, and Darbie, with many other noble men: And to this vngracious purpose was of counsaile Mighell de la Poole Chauncelor of Englande, Sir Robert Tresilian one of the Kinges chiefe Iustices, and Alexander Neuell Archebishop of Yorke, with dyuerse other, as after in this story shall more at large appere. And after that the king had continued a certeine of tyme in Wales, he put off the iourney of the Duke into Ireland, and the King and the Duke returned to London, and thether had sommoned a parliament to be holden at Westminster. And these thinges thus wrought betwene the king and the other persons aforenamed, were not kept so secrete, but that the Duke of Gloucester, and the other Lordes had thereof knowledge. Wherefore when the tyme of the Parliament came, they came vp euery of them with great power and strength.

And soone after the beginnyng of the sayde Parliament, the aforesayde Mighell de la Poole Chauncelor (as I finde written in an olde Chronicle, which beareth the name of the Chronicle of Leycester) demaunded of the Commons in the Kinges name, foure fiftenes, for with lesse he sayd that the king could not mainteine his estate, and his outward warres. The whole body of the Parliament made aunswere againe, that without the king were preseut, they would make therin none aunswere. And they said further that if the king did not remoue this Mighel de la Poole from his office of Chaũcelorship, they would no further meddle with any acte in thys Parliament, were it neuer so small.

A dissention betwene the King and the Parliament.

This message beyng done to the King, the King sent agayne to the Commons that they should sende to Eltham (for there he lay then) xl. of the wisest and best learned of the common house, the which in the name of the whole house should declare vnto him their minde. And then the house were in more feare then they were in before, for a talke there went that the King entended to betrappe dyuerse of them which folowed not his mynde, eyther by that way or else at a banquet, which was appoynted to be made purposely at London, if Nicholas Exton then Maior of London would haue consented therevnto, at which tyme the Duke of Gloucester should haue beene taken. Wherefore the Lordes of the vpper house, and the common house assembled together, and agreed with one assent, that Thomas of Wodstocke Duke of Gloucester and Thomas Arondell Bishop of Ely, should in the name of the whole Parliament be sent vnto the king to Eltham, which was done, and the king well pleased that they should come.

Lordes sent by the parliament to the king.

And first when they came into his presence, they most humbly saluted him, and sayd: Most high and our redoubted souereigne Lorde, the Lordes and Commons at this your Parliament assembled, with most humble subiection vnto your most royall Maiesty, in likewise desyre your most gracious fauor: So that they may liue in tranquillity and peace vnder you, to the pleasure of God, and wealth of your realme: On whose behalfe we also shewe vnto you, that one olde statute and laudable custome is approued, which no man can denie, that the king our souereigne Lorde may once in the yere lawfully summon his high Court of Parliament, and call the Lords & commons therevnto, as to that which is the highest Courte of his Realme. In which Court all equitie and iustice must shine, euen as the Sunne when he is at the highest, whereof poore and riche maye take refreshyng: Whereas also must be reformed all the oppressions, wronges, extorcions, and enormityes within the realme, and there to counsaile with the wise men for the maintenaunce of the kinges estate, and conseruation of the same. And if it might be knowen that any persons within the realme or with-

The saing of the Lordes vnto the king.

Once in the yere the king may call a Parlia-

out entended the contrary, there must also be deuised howe such euill wedes may be destroyed. There also must be studied and foreseene, that if any charge do come vpon the king and his realme, howe it may be well and honourably supported and susteyned. Hetherto it is thought to the whole realme, that your subiectes haue louyngly demeaned themselues vnto you, in ayding you with their substaunce to the best of their powers, and they desyre to haue knowledge how and by whome these goodes be spent. One thing resteth yet to declare on their behalfe vnto you, howe that by an olde ordenance, they haue an acte, if the king absent himselfe. xl. dayes, not beyng sicke, but of his awne minde (not heedyng the charges of the people, nor their great paynes) will not resort to his Parliament, they then may lawfully returne home to their houses. And nowe sir, you haue bene absent a lenger tyme, and yet refuse to come amongest vs, which greatly is our discomfort.

The king should be present at the Parliament once in xl. dayes.

To this the king aunswered by these wordes: Well, we do consider that our people and Commons go about to rise against vs: wherefore we thinke we can do no better then to aske ayde of our Cosyn the French king and rather submit vs vnto him, then vnto our awne subiectes.

The kinges aunsware to the Lordes.

The Lordes aunswered, Sir that counsaile is not best, but a way rather to bring you into daunger: For it is well knowen that the French king is your auncient enemie, and your greatest aduersarie. And if he set foote once within your realme, he will rather dispoyle you, and inuade you, and depose you from your estate royall, then put any hande to helpe you. You may call to your remembrance, how your noble progenitors Edward the thirde, and Edward the Prince your father, toke great laboures vpon them, in heat and colde with great anguishe and troubles, and laboured without rest, to conquere the realme of Fraunce, the which rightfully did apperteyne vnto them, and nowe vnto you. Pleaseth you also to remember how many Lords noble men, & good commons of both realmes died in those warres, and what great goodes the realmes exposed & consumed in susteynyng of the warres. And nowe great pitie it is to here, that more burthens be dayly layde vpon your subiectes neckes, for mainteynyng of your charges, who are brought vnto such vncredible pouertie, that they haue not to pay their house rents, nor to ayde theyr Prince, nor yet to haue sufficient for their necessarie sustenance: For so is your power depouerished, and Lordes and great men brought to infelicitie, and all your people to great debilitie. And as that king can not be poore that hath riche people: so can not he be riche that hath poore Cōmons. And as the King taketh hurt in this, so doth the Lordes and Noble men, euery one after his hauiour. And all these inconueniences be commonly by euill counsail which are about you. And if you put not the soner your helpyng hands for the redresse of ỹ premisses, this realme of England shalbe brought to naught and vtter ruyne, which cleerely should be layde vnto your default, and in your euill counsail: Seyng that in the time of your father, this realme throughout all the worlde was highlye esteemed, and nothing ordered after these wayes: Wherefore we be sent vnto you, to exhort you, to sequester all such persons as might be the occasion of ruyne, eyther of you, or of your Realme.

The motions agayne of the Lords to the king.

By these good perswasions the king was appeased, and promised within three dayes after, to come to the parliament, and to condiscend to their peticions. And accordyng to his appointment he came. And sone after his comming Iohn Fortham Bishop of Durham was discharged of the Treasorership, and in his place was set the Bishop of Herdford. Also there was then discharged and put downe Mighell de la Poole Chauncelour of Englande to his great shame and rebuke: And in his rome was placed Thomas Arundell Byshop of Elye, by the whole consent of the parliament. After thys Mighell de la Poole was charged with manye and great enormie crymes, fraudes, falsities and treasons by him done and committed, to the great preiudice of the King and of his realme, and thervpon was committed to ward: Notwithstandyng, they would not adiudge him to death, nor disgrade him from the honor of Knighthood; But as some write, they deemed him to pay a fyne of

The king is appeased, and promiseth to come to the Parliament.

The Treasorer and Chaunceller are deposed.

The fyne of Mighell de la Poole late Chauncelour.

twentie thousande Markes, for suche aduauntages as he had gotten, beyng Chauncelour, in putting the Kings subiects from expedition of their causes, vntill suche tyme as they had rewarded him: All which fynes were adiudged to the King in relieuyng of the commons. And also one thousand pounds of yerely rents, which he had purchased. This done, the Lords and wise men of the realme, considering that by the couetousnesse of the officers aforesayd, the kings treasure and goodes were purloyned and from the kinges profite clerely consumed: The King and the realme thereby sore deceaued and empouerished: Tillage also layd downe in many quarters of the realme, and the kinges officers this notwithstanding maruellously enriched: wherfore they did chose. xiij. Lordes which should haue the ouersight vnder the king of the whole realme. Of the which, thre were the new officers, that is to saye, the Bishop of Ely Chauncelour, the Byshop of Herfford Treasorer, and Nicholas Abbot of Waltham keeper of the priuie seale, and ten other, which were Wylliam Archbishop of Cauntorbury, Alexander Archbishop of Yorke, Edmond Langley Duke of Yorke, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, Wylliam Byshop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Excester, Richard Erle of Arundell, Iohn Lorde Cobham, Richarde Lorde Scrope, Iohn Lorde Deuerox: All which had auctboritie to enquire, intreate, defyne and determine of all maner of causes, querels, debtes and demaundes from the time of Edward the thirde vnto that present daye, as well within the realme as without, and also to enquire of the kings charges and of the order of his seruaunts. For the execution wherof well and truely to be done, they all tooke their othes, and the king in lykewise tooke his othe to abyde by their order, and them to mayntaine in all their actes, and not to reuoke any article of their commission, but to holde firme and stable all that euer the sayde counsaylors did order, duryng the time to them assigned. And if it happened that all the number could not come together to a determination of anye acte, that then if. vj. of them with the three principall officers aforenamed did agree, the act should stande firme and stable, whether they were matters of this side the sea or beyond the Sea. And if any manner of person attempted to moue the King to infringe any parte of thys ordynaunce, and that being knowne, for the first time, he should be depriued of his goodes and possessions, and for the second time, to be drawen thorough the Citie, and so put to execution as an arrant traytor. And for that the king should the rather shew his beneuolent fauour in confirming these actes deuysed by the parliament. There was graunted vnto him halfe a deeme of the Spiritualtie, and halfe a deeme of the Temporaltie, to be payde at the feast of Saint Mighell then next, if it seemed to the Lordes and counsaylours that it was neede.

Thirteene Lordes chosen by ye parliament, by the kings assent to gouerne the realme.

The commission appereth in the statute of the. x. yere of king Richard the second.

The othes of the Lordes and of the King for due execution of the cõmis iõ.

A gift geuen to the king condicionally.

These determinations notwithstanding, the king suffred Mighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolke which was prisoner at Wyndsore, to go at large, and not long after came Robert Tresilian, chiefe Iustice of the common benche to Couentrie, and endited there two thousand persons. And the king and the Queene came vnto Grobye, and thether came vnto him by his commaundement the Iustices of the Realme, and there were present all these enill Counsaylors, that is to say, Alexander Archebishop of Yorke, Robert Veere Duke of Irelande, Mighell de la Poole, Robert Tresilian and their felowes. Of whome it was demaunded if it might stande with the lawes of the Realme, that the King might reuoke the ordynaunces by hym and hys realme made in his last parliament, which he accorded vnto in maner by constreynt. And they made aunswere that the king might well reuoke and make frustrate all their actes at his pleasure, for they were actes aboue the lawes.

Mighell de la Poole prisoner at Windsore is released by the king.

Robert Tresilian chiefe Iustice.

The Iustices answere.

Then were these Iustices commaunded to come agayne to Nottyngham, where the King appointed to meete them. And thether came the King out of the North parties, and helde a solempne counsayle in the Castell of Nottyngham the morowe after Saint Bartholomewes day. In the which counsayle was syr Alexander Archebishop of Yorke, Robert Veer Duke of Irelande, Mighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian Iustice,

The counsayle at Nottyngham.

Iustice, Robert Bramble Iustice and sundry other. And al these Iustices were commaunded to set to their handes to the questions vnder written, that by the meanes thereof, these seducers, which were about the king, thought they might haue good occasion to put the Duke of Gloucester and all the other Lords to death, which were the last Parliament, as aforesayde, ordeyned to haue the gouernaunce of the realme, and all other that were consenting to the same. Dyuers there were of the Iustices which refused to set to their hands, but they were constreyned thereto, among the which was Iohn Belknap, who vtterly refused it, vntill such time as the Duke of Ireland and the Erle of Suffolk compelled him thervnto, which if he had still refused, he had not escaped their hands. And when he had set to his seale: Nowe sayth he, here lacketh nothing but a rope, that I maye receyue the worthy death for my rewarde, and I knowe that if I had not done thys, I could not haue escaped your handes, and nowe it is done for the kings pleasure and youres, I haue deserued death of the Lordes, which shortly folowed, for in the next parliament he was condempned and put to execution. And for that thys should be in remembrance, an act of counsaile was made therof, in maner as foloweth.

An act of counsayle an. Ric. ij. xj.

A company of euil Iustices and Counsaylours.

Memorandum that the xxv. daye of August in the. xj. yere of the reigne of King Richarde the second, at the Castell of Nottyngham afore the sayde King, Robert Tresilian chiefe Iustice of England, Robert Belknap chiefe Iustice of the common benche, Iohn Holte, Roger Fulthorp, and Wylliam Brough knightes, and felowes of the sayde Robert Belknap, and Iohn Lockton, one of the kings Sergeaunts at the law, being personally required in the presence of the Lordes, and other witnesses vnder written, by our sayde souereigne Lorde the king, in the fayth and allegeaunce, by the which they are firmely bounden to the sayde king, that they should truely aunswer to certayne questions vnder written, and before them recited, and vpon the same by their discretions to saye the lawe.

Articles proposted and answers made vnto them.

1 First, it was asked of them whether the newe statute and ordynaunce and commission made in the last parliament holden at Westminster, be hurtfull to the kings royall prerogatiue?

Wherevnto all of one minde aunswered, that they be hurtfull, and specially because they were agaynst the kings will.

2 Item it was required of them, howe they ought to be punished which procured the sayde statute, ordynaunce and commission to be made?

Whervnto of one assent they answered, that they deserued to be punished by the Capitall payne, that is to say of death, onlesse the king of his grace will pardon them.

3 Item, it was inquired how they ought to be punished which excited the king to consent to the making of the said statute, ordynance and commissiō?

Wherevnto of one minde they sayde, that onelesse the king would geue them his pardon, they ought to be punished by the Capitall paine.

4 Item, it was enquired of them, what paine they deserued that cōpelled the king to consent to the making of the said statute, ordinance & commission?

Wherevnto of one assent they gaue aunswere, that as Traytors they ought to be punished.

5 Item, how they ought to be punished that interrupted the king, so that he might not exercise those thinges that apperteyned to hys regality and prerogatiue?

Wherevnto of one assent it was aunswered, that they ought to be punished as Traytors.

6 Item, it was enquired of them, whether that after the businesse of the realme, and the cause of that assembly of the parliament were by the kinges commaundement disclosed and declared in the parliament, and other articles lymyted by the king, vpon which the Lordes and commons of the Realme ought to procede in the same parliament: If the Lords and commons would in any wise proceede vpon other articles, and in no wise vpon the articles lymyted by the king, till the king had answered the Articles expressed by them,

notwithstandyng that they were by the king enioyned to the contrary: whether the king in this case ought to haue the rule of the Parlyament, and in deede to rule, to the intent that vpon the articles lymyted by the king, they ought first to proceede or not, before they proceeded any further?

To which question, of one mynde they aunswered, that the king in this parte should haue the rule in order one after another, in all other articles touching, vntill the ende of the parliament. And if any doe contrarie to thys rule of the king, he ought to be punished as a Traytor.

7 Whether the King whensoeuer it pleased hym, myght not dissolue the Parliament, and commaunde hys Lordes and Commons to departe from thence or not?

Whereunto it was of one mind answered, ỳ he may. And if any would procede in the parliament against ỳ kings wil, he is to be punished as a traytor.

8 Item, it was inquired that far as much as it is in the king to remooue suche of the Iustices and officers as doe offende, and to iustefie and punishe them for their offenses, whether the Lordes and commons might without the kings will empeche the same officers and iustices vpon their offenses in the parliament or not?

To thys aunswere was made, that they might not: And he that did contrarie, was to be punished as a Traytor.

9 Item, it was inquired, howe he is to be punished that moqued in the Parliament that the statute whereby Edward, the sonne of king Edward, great Graundfather to the king that nowe is, was indited in the parliament might be sent for, by the inspection of which statute, the sayde newe statute or ordynaunce and commission were conceaued in the parliament.

To the which question of one accorde they aunswered, that as well he that so somoned, as the other which by force of the same motion brought the sayde statute into the parliament house, be as cryminous and Traytours to be punished.

10 Item, it was enquyred of them, whether the iudgement geuen in our parliament, holden at Westminster agaynst Mighell de la Poole, late Erle of Suffolk, were erronyous and reuocable or not?

To the which question, of one assent, they sayde, that if the same iudgement were now to be geuen, the same Iustices and Sergeaunt aforesayde would not geue the same, because it seemed to them that the same iudgement is reuocable and is erronyous in euery parte. In witnesse whereof the Iustices & Sergeaunt aforesayde to these presents haue set to their seales, these men being wytnesses. Alexander Archebishop of Yorke, Robert Archebishop of Dowblynd, Iohn Bishop of Durham, Thomas Bishop of Chester, Iohn Bishop of Bangor, Robert Duke of Ireland, Mighell Erle of Suffolke, Iohn Rypon Clarke, and Iohn Blake.

But here a little to returne backe: Ye heard before in the. viij. yere of the reigne of this king, that a peace was concluded with Englande, Fraunce and Scotland for one yere next to come. And that the Frenche men shoulde geue knowledge thereof to the Scottish king, and so it was that the French king sent his Ambassadors into Scotland, and they passed through England to geue the Scottishe king knowledge of the peace. In the meane time that the French Ambassadors lay in Scotlande, among other thinges, the Erle Douglas sayd vnto them, ye see our Coūtry, but ye consider not the strength thereof, for we are so lodged vpon England, that we may at our pleasure enter which way we lust, and brenne and spoyle foure dayes iourney into the realme, and returne againe at our pleasure, we lacke nothing but men, had we a thousand Speare men of Fraunce to ioyne with the power that we can make, we might geue England such an ouerthrow as England neuer had, and this my Lordes were good for you to kepe in remembrance, and to shew the Lordes of Fraunce at your returne, that the next and redyest way to persecute and conquere England is to enter with vs into their land. The aforesayde Ambassadors did lightly credit this tale, and at their returne forgat not to make report thereof vnto the counsaile of Fraunce,

of the which dyuers of them also thought it a right good way: Wherefore against the sayde peace should expire, they made prouision toward Scotland, mindyng to enter that way vpon England.

The French king purposed to enter & vexe England three maner of wayes.

And at this time, there were bruted abroad in England diuers thinges, namely that the French king entended to assaile England with a mighty puissaunce, and that three maner of wayes. The one out of Briteyn, for that the Duke of Briteyne was become Frenche. The other by Normandie, for the which as it was sayd, the Constable of Fraunce made his prouision at Harflew, and Deepe. And the thirde by Scotland.

The French king sent a power into Scotland, purposing that way to ouerthrowe England.

In the beginnyng of May, Sir Iohn de Vien Admirall of Fraunce, accompanied with a thousande Speares of chosen knightes and Esquiers, and fiue hundreth Crosbowes, with harnesse to arme a thousande Scottes, landed in Scotland, & at the last arriued at Edenbourgh, which is the chefest towne in Scotland. And assone as the Erle Douglas, and the Erle Moret knewe of their comming, they went to the Hauen and met them, and receyued them right louingly: saiyng that they were right welcom into that Coūtrie. And at that time the king of Scottes was in the wilde Scottishe. But it was shewed these knightes, that the King would be there shortly, wherewith they were content, and so they were lodged thereaboutes in the Villages. For Edenbourgh though the King kept therein his chiefe residence, yet it is not like Paris, not yet like Turney, nor Valenciens. For in al the towne there is not foure thousand houses. Therefore these Lordes and Knightes were lodged in Villages about, as well as they might be in that Countrie.

Paris. Torney. Valenciens.

When knowledge came into the Realme of Scotlande, that a greate number of men of armes of Fraunce were come into their Countrie: some thereat did murmure and grudge and sayde: who the deuill hath sente for them? what do they here? Cannot we mainteine our warre with England without their helpe? we shall do no good as long as they be with vs, and so let them be tolde that they may returne againe. And say vnto them, that we be strong inough in Scotlande to mainteine our warre without them, and therefore we will none of their companie, they vnderstand not vs, nor we them: They will quickly rifle and eate vp all that euer we haue in this Coūtrie: They will do vs more despight and dammage then though the Englishemen fought with vs. For if the Englishemen brenne our houses, we care little therefore, for we may soone make them againe cheape inough, for in three dayes we will make them againe, if we may get foure or fiue stakes, and a fewe Bowes to couer them.

The French men are euill welcomed to Scotland.

This was the communication of the Scottes at the commyng of the Frenche men, for they set nothing by them, but hated and spake shamefully, and vilanously of them, like to rude people without all humanitie. And all thinges considered (sayth Froyssart) it was to great an armie of so many noble men to come into Scotland. For. xx. or. xxx. Knightes of Fraunce had bene better then all that number of a thousand, and the cause is, that in Scotland ye shall find lightly no man of honour or nobilitie, neyther that knoweth what belongeth to a Gentleman. They are like wilde and sauage people, they couet to be acquainted with no straunger, and they are full of enuy at the prosperous estate of others, and they are euer in feare to lose that they haue, for it is a poore Countrie. And when the Englishe men make any roade or voyage into the land, they are euer compelled to haue their victualles folowe them: for in Scotland they shall finde nothing. Neyther is there in Scotland yron to shoe their horsses, nor leather to make harnesse for their horse, as Saddels, Bridels. &c. But they haue all these thinges readie made out of Flaundyrs. And when that prouision fayleth, then is there none to get in that Countrie.

A description of Scotland and their maners.

When the Barons and Knightes of Fraunce, who were wont to finde fayre hosteryes, Halles hanged, and goodly Castelles, and soft beddes to rest in, sawe themselues in that necessitie: They began to smile, and sayde to the Lorde Admirall, Sir this is a pleasaunt iourney, we neuer knewe what beggery was vntill now, and now we finde it true, that our old fathers were wont to say: go your way, and ye liue long ye shall finde hard beddes.

The Admirall pacifyed them as well as he might, and sayde: It behoueth vs to suffer a little,

a little, and to speake fayre, for we be here in daunger, we haue a great long way to go, and by England we can not returne, therefore let vs quietly take in good worth that we finde.

Yet there was another thing that was greatly grieuous to the Frenche men: For when they were in Scotland, and would ryde, they found horses vnreasonably deare, for that which was not worth. x. Floreyns, they would not sell vnder an hundreth, and muche paine to haue them for their money. And when they had a horse, then had they neyther Brydle nor Saddell, except they brought them with them. In this trouble and daunger were the French men: Yea, and moreouer, when their Verlets went forth a foraging, and had laden their horses with such as they could get for money, in theyr returne home, the Scottes themselues which had taken their money for the forage, did lie in wayte of them, and tooke all that they had from them, and slue them, so that there was none that durst go a foragyng, for in a moneth the French men lost of their varlettes mo then an hundreth, for if they went foorth three or foure together, they neuer returned againe, and thus the Frenche men were handeled in Scotland.

The miserie of Scotland.

The deceipt & crueltie of the Scottes.

Also now the French men desired that the king of Scottes would come forward, and likewise the Lordes and Knightes of Scotland, for the tyme passed away. And they aunswered and sayd, that they would make no warre on England at that tyme: and this they sayde, because they would make the Frenche men pay well for their commyng: For before the King would come out of the wilde Scottish to Edenbourgh, he demaunded of the Admirall of Fraunce to haue a great somme of money, for him and his people. And the Admirall of Fraunce was faine to promise, and to seale that the king should haue a certeine some of money before that he and his company departed his Realme. And if he had not done this, he shoulde haue had none ayde of the Scottes. And yet when he had made the best agreement with them that he could, he gate but little by them, as in the ende will appere.

At the last, King Robert of Scotland came to Edenbourgh, with a paire of blered eyen and it semed they were lyned with scarlet. And it appered by him, that he was no valiaunt man of armes, but that he loued rather to lye still, then to ryde: He had. ix. sonnes, and they loued well armes. So when the king was come, the Lorde and knightes of Fraunce drewe vnto him and did their duetie. And there was present with the king the Erle Douglas, the Erle Moret, the Erle de la Mare, the Erle of Surlant, and dyuerse other. There the Admirall required the king that the cause of their commyng might be accomplished, which was to make a iourney into England.

A description of Robert King of Scottes.

The Barons, knightes, and Esquiers of Scotland aunswered and said, that if God pleased they would make such a voyage that should be to theyr honour and profite.

The king then sent out his commaundement to assemble his power, & at a day appoynted, there were redy. xxx. thousand men all on horsebacke.

Sir Iohn Vien Admirall of Fraunce thought the tyme long, and faine would haue bene doyng of some great feate in Englande: when he sawe the Scottes were come together, he made haste and sayde, Sirs, it is now time to ride, we haue lyen still a great while. So then they set forwarde to Rosebourgh.

The king himselfe went not in this iourney, for he abode still in Edenbourgh, but all his sonnes were in the armie. The thousand complete harnesse which the Frenche men brought with them, were deliuered to the knightes of Scotland, who were before but euill harnessed, and had neede of that harnesse.

Then they rode toward Northumberland, and so long they roade, that they came to the Abbey of Mannes, and there they lodged all about the riuer of Tyne, and the next day they came to Morlan, and so before Rosebourgh.

The keper of the Castell of Rosebourgh vnder the Lord Mountagew, was a knight called Sir Edward Clifford. The Admirall of Fraunce, and the Scottes taryed and behelde well the Castell. And when they had well considered it, they thought to assail it should not

be profitable for them, wherfore they passed by, and drewe along the ryuer syde approchyng to Barwike, and so long they road, that they came to two towers right strong, the which were kept by two knightes, the father and the sonne, both were called Syr Iohn Strand. About these Towers were faire Laundes, and a faire place, the which incontinent were brent, and the two Towers assayled, and there were many feates of armes shewed, and diuerse Scottes hurt with shot and throwyng of stones: But finally the Towers were wonne by plaine assault, and the knightes taken, the which manfully defended the same as long as they might.

And after the conquest of these two Towers, they went to another Castell called Verley, belongyng to Sir Iohn Mountagew, and vnder him was Capteine thereof Sir Iohn of Lushborne, who had there with him, his wife, and his children, and all his goodes. And he knewe well before that the Scottes would come thether: and therefore he had furnished this Castel to the best of his power to abide the assault. So about this Castell taryed all the armie. This Castell stoode in a fayre Countrie, by a fayre Ryuer that commeth out of Tymbre, and ronneth into the sea. And one day there was a great assault geuen to the sayd Castell, and the Frenche men bare themselues right well that day, much better then did the Scottes, for they entered into the ditches, and passed through with muche paine: There were manye feates of armes done, what by them aboue and them beneath. The Frenche men mounted vp by Ladders, and fought hande to hande with Daggers on the Walles. Verley Castel is assaulted by the Scottes.

Sir Iohn Lushborne did quite himselfe as a valiaunt knight, & fought with the French men hande to hande on the Ladders. At this assault, there was slaine a knight of Almaine called sir Bleres Gastelain, which was great pitie. There were many hurt that day: But at the last the number of Scots and French men were so great, that the Castell was wonne, and the knight and his wife, and children taken, and. xl. other prisoners. And then the Castell was brent, and rased downe, for they saw well that it was not to be kept, seeyng it stood so farre within England as it did. Verley Castel taken and rased downe.

Then the Admirall and the Scottes roade towarde Anwike, and there they had knowledge that the Duke of Lancaster, the Erle of Northumberland, the Erle of Nottyngham, with a great number mo, were commyng vpon them with a great power.

When the Admirall of Fraunce heard these tydinges, he seemed to be very ioyfull, and in like maner were all the Barons of Fraunce, and all the Scottes: But they were counsailed to returne againe toward Barwike, because of their prouision that folowed them, and to be nere to their awne Coūtrie, and there to abyde their enemies. And so they returned towarde Barwike, and so to their awne Countrie.

Tydings was brought into England how the Frenchmen and Scottes were in Northumberland, and had destroyed and brent the Countrey. The King of England knowyng before of the comming of the Frenchmen, made great prouision for Scotland, both by sea and lande. And by sea, the king had. xxvj. shippes laden with victuall and prouision coastyng the Frontiers of Englande, and readie to enter into euery hauen of Scotland.

The King himselfe came accompanied with his Vncles, the Erle of Cambridge, and syr Thomas Holland, the Erle of Salsburie, the Erle of Arondell, the Erle of Pembrook, the Erle of Stafford, the Erle of Muzien, the Lord Spencer, and so many other Barons and knightes, that they were foure thousand speares, beside them that went before with the Duke of Lancaster, the Erle of Northumberland. &c. Which were two thousand speares, and. xv. hundred Archers, beside verlets. The king of England entreth Scotland with a great power.

And it was tolde the king that the Scottes and French men were lyke to fight with the Englishmen that went before, and therefore the king made suche haste, that he came to the Marches of Duresme, and there he heard that the Scottes were returned into Scotland.

The king passed still forwarde, beyng accompanyed with eyght thousand men of armes, and. lx. thousand Archers, and passed Berwike, and so into Scotland to the Abbey of Maros. The which Abbey, in all the warres that had bene betwene Englande and Scotlande, The Abbey of Maros in Scotlande spoyled and brent.

lande, was neuer hurte, vntill this time, and nowe was it vtterly spoyled and brent, for it was the entent of the king neuer to returne into Englande, vntill he had destroyed a great peece of Scotlande, because they brought in Frenchmen to the destruction of Englande.

When the Admirall of Fraunce knewe that the king of Englande was passed the ryuer of Twede, and was entred into Morland in Scotlande, Then he sayde to the Barons of Scotland, Sirs, why doe we lye here still? Let vs go foorth and looke on our enemies, and fight with them.

It was shewed vs before we came hether, that if ye had out of Fraunce but one thousand of good men of armes, ye should be strong enough to fight with all the Englishmen, and I assure you, ye haue mo here then. xv. C. of good knights and squiers, and suche as will stande by it, and take that fortune that God doth sende.

The Scottes aunswered and sayde, Sir we beleue well that ye and your company are chosen men and valiaunt. But syr we haue knowledge that al the power of England is here at this present, and there were neuer so many Englishmen assembled together in these partes as are nowe, and if ye will, we will bring you into place where ye shal wel see and aduise them. And then if ye thinke them meete to be foughten withall, we wyll not refuse it. Then sayde the Admirall, I pray you let me see them. And they brought him to a Mountaine, where vnder the hill was a passage that the Englishmen must nedes passe, and they sawe them and viewed them to be to the number of sixe thousand men of armes, and lx. thousand Archers and other.

Then sayde the Admyrall to the Erle Douglas, and the Erle Moret, in dede here is no egall number to fight with them, for ye are not aboue. xxx. thousand, and yet many euill armed. But now aduise yourselues best what is to be done, they are now entred into your Country, and they are enough to ouerrunne al your Country, and to destroy it: & ye are not minded to encounter with them, what will ye then do? ye sayd ye could enter out of your countrie dyuers wayes into dyuers places of England: And I thinke it best that we make them some warre there as they doe vs here. And herevnto all the Barones of Scotlande agreed and sayde, we are well contented so to doe, and we knowe dyuers wayes. And they agreed to go into Wales, which is otherwise called Winsland, and so to go to the Citie of Carlisle, and there to be reuenged. And so they left the Englishmen in Scotlande and they went vp the Forestes and Mountaynes. And the Scottishe king was gone to the wylde Scottishe, and there remayned.

Scotland is sore spoyled and plagued.

The king of Englande, with his Vncles, Barons, Knights and army went to Edenborough, the chiefest towne in all Scotland, and there laye. v. dayes, and at his departing set fyre on it, and brent it downe to the ground. And lykewise he brent Estreuelyn, and the Abbay therevnto adioynyng. Also they brent Saint Iohns towne, and the towne of Streuelyn, the towne of Dondee, and to be short, they spared nothing that stood in their waye, neyther Towne, Village, Abbey, nor Church, for they might doe in Scotland what they would, for there was no people left to resist them. For all the people were gone with the Frenchmen & Scots toward Carlisle, as aforesayd.

The king returneth agayne into England, not meting with any Scotte that durst encounter him.

Now when the king had thus spoyled, destroyed, and brent Scotland, the Duke of Lancaster aduised hym to folow the Scottes and Frenchmen to Carlisle. And there were other considered that Winter approched, and that the passage ouer the Mountaynes and forests would be long and daungerous, and that it would be no small thing to victuall still that great army. Wherefore at the last, by the meane of the Erle of Oxford, the king was fully perswaded to returne into Englande as he came, and so he did.

The French men returne into Scotlād as men weerie of that iourney.

The French Lordes and the Scottes lykewise, as aforesayd, made a roade into Northumberlande betweene the Mountaynes, brennyng Manoures and Townes, and all that stood in their waye, and did much hurte, and besieged the Citie of Carleisle, but they gaue it ouer, & returned againe in Scotland the same waye they went, but the Frenchmen sayde, they neuer entended to go that way any more.

When

When the Admyrall of Fraunce and hys companye, were returned to Edenborough, then they tasted of some paine, for they founde the Towne cleane brent, and destroyed, so that there was nothing to be had for money, Wynes there were none, so that for drinke, they had none but small Ale or Beere, and their Bread was made of Barley and of Otes. Also their horses were dead for hunger, and foundred for pouertie. And when they woulde haue soulde them, they wist not to whome, nor there was none that woulde geue them one penny, neyther for horse, nor for harneys. The Souldyours tolde their Capitaines how they were delt withall, and they knewe it to be true by their awne experience, and their seruaunts sayde that they could not endure with that miserie: They sayde that the Realme of Scotlande was such a coūtrie as no host were hable to endure there a Wynter, for if they did they should eyther dye for cold, or starue for hunger, or both. And also if they should departe asunder, and searche for their lyuyng abroad in the Countrie, they doubted that the Scottes would slay them in their beddes. The Admyrall considered wel all these things, and saw all was lyke to be true that they sayde: Howbeit he was in purpose to haue bidden there all the Wynter, and to haue sent vnto the French king, and to the Duke of Burgoyne, and to haue had newe prouision of money and victualles, and to haue made a new freshe warre agayne the next Sommer. Howbeit he sawe well the euill nature and maner of the Scottes, and consydered well the perill of his people, and therfore he gaue leaue vnto all suche as would, to departe. But at their departing, then was the mischiefe: For the Lordes coulde finde no passage for themselues, nor yet for their men. The Scottes would that such knights and squiers as were but poore, should departe, to the entent that they might rule the remnaunt at more ease. And they sayde to the Admyrall, Sir, let your men departe when you will: But as for your selfe, ye shall not departe out of this Countrey, vntill we be fully satisfied of all such charges and dammages as we haue borne and susteyned all this season with your army. This communication seemed harde to the Admirall and to the other Barons of Fraunce. And the Admyrall shewed all this matter to the Erle Douglas, and to the Erle Moret, who seemed to be sore displeased, that they were so hardly delt withall. And so these two Erles spake to the other Erles, and Barons of Scotlande, who sayde howe they had lost as well as they. But they aunswered, sayeng, although you dissemble with them, we will be recompensed. Then these two Erles sayde to the Admyrall and to the other Lordes of Fraunce, that they could not rule the other Lords nor commons: wherefore it behoued them, if they purposed to go out of the realme, to satisfie the commons, and to restore vnto them all their dammages.

Howe the Frenchmen opened their griefes one to another.

Howe the Scots handled the frenchmen.

And when the Admyrall sawe that it woulde be none otherwise, he thought he would not leese the more for the lesse, and he considered well how that he was without comfort, & closed in with the Sea, and saw how that the Scottes were of a wylde opynion, and therefore agreed to the Scottes request, and caused a proclamation to be made, that all maner of persons that could proue that anye of his people had done them any dammage, let them come to the Admyrall, and he would recompense them the value thereof, the which proclamation appeased the Scottes. And so the Admyrall became debter to them all, and sayd how he would not depart out of Scotland vntill all the complayntes were fully satisfied and payde. Then dyuers Knightes and Squyres had passage, and so returned wythout eyther horse or harneis, cursing the day that euer they came into Scotlande, saiyng that there were neuer men that had so harde a voyage, wyshing that the French king had peace wyth Englande one yere or two, and so both kings together to go into Scotlande, vterly to destroy that Realme for euer, for they sayde they neuer sawe so euyll people, nor so false, nor more foolishe people in feates of warre. The Admyrall of Fraunce by them that first departed, wrote his letters to the French king, and to the Duke of Burgoyn, certefying them what case he was in, and howe the Scots dealt with hym, and that if they would haue hym to come home, they must send thether such summes of money as he was become debtor for, to be payde to the knightes, Squires and commons of Scotland. For the Scottes sayd playnely that the warre that they made into England, at that tyme, was

The Admirall of fraūce is driuen to a streight.

The reporte of the french men howe they lyke Scotlande.

for Fraunce, and not for themselues. And therefore all suche dammages as they had taken by that iourney, they would be fully recompensed agayne before he went out of Scotland, to the which he had sworne and agreed.

The departure of the Admirall of Fraunce out of Scotland.

The French king and his counsayle were bounde to redeeme agayne the Admiral, for they sent him thether. Then the sommes of money were ordeyned for, and payde by exchaunge in the towne of Bridges, and so the Scottes were satisfied, and the Admyrall tooke his leaue in Scotland and departed into Fraunce.

The report made by the Admirall vnto the french of the estate and [illegible]ers of Scot-

Nowe when the Admirall was returned into Fraunce to the yong king Charles, and to the Duke of Burgoyn, and they demaunded of him the condicion of the king and the Lordes of Scotland: He answered, that the Scottes somewhat resembled the English men, because they are enuious to straũgers. And moreouer he sayd, that he had rather be Erle of Sauoy, or Erle of Arthoys, then to be king of Scottes, and sayd also that he had seene all the power of the Scottes in one day together, as the Scottes sayd themselues, and yet he neuer sawe together, not past. v. C. Speares, and. xxx. thousande men of warre, the which number against the Englishe Archers, or against a thousand of other good men of armes, could not long endure.

Then the Admyrall was demaunded if he had seene the puyssaunce of England: He aunswered, yea, for on a day quoth he, when I saw the Scots flie away for feare of the Englishemen, I desyred them to bring me where as I might see and aduise the Englishe hoste, and so they did. I was set at a streight passage, where as they must nedes passe, and to my iudgement, they were. lx. thousand Archers, and sixe or seuen thousand men of armes. And the Scottes sayde, that it was all the power of England, and that there were none abydyng behynde.

Then the king and his Counsaile studied a little, and at the last sayd, it is a great thing of lx. thousand Archers, and. vj. or. vij. thousande men of armes. It may well be, quoth the Constable, that they may make that number: But I had rather fight with them at home in their awne Marches with that number, then here with halfe the number: And so I haue heard my father say often tymes when I was yong. By my fayth, sir quoth the Admirall, if ye had bene there with a great number of men of Armes, as I supposed ye should haue bene, I thinke we had famished all in Scotland. And thus an ende of the French mens voyage into Scotland.

Nowe ye haue heard of the iourney that the Frenche men made into Scotland against England, and ye haue also heard before, that the Frenche king entended to enter into England, and made prouision for the same three maner of wayes. First by Scotland, as ye haue alreadie heard, the second by Briteyn, because the Duke of Briteyn was nowe reconciled to the Frenche king, and thirdely by Normandie, in the which two places he made prouision of a huge armie, and nauie, as after shall appere.

[illegible]at prouision made by the [illegible]h against [illegible]ande.

And while the aforesayd French men were busie in Scotland agaynst the Englishe men, as abouesayde, the yong French king Charles, and his Vncle the Duke of Burgoyn and Constable of Fraunce, had great desyre and affection to go with an army into England, and all knights and squires of Fraunce did very well agree therevnto, saiyng why should not we once go into Englande to see the Countrie, and to learne the pathes of the same, as they haue done in Fraunce. So that foorthwith great prouision and furnyture for that voyage was made in Fraunce on all sydes, and taxes and tallages set and assessed vpon the Cities, townes, and Burgesses of the same, and in the plaine Countrie, that in an hundreth yere before there had beene none such seene nor heard of. And also great prouision made by sea all the Sommer tyme vntill the moneth of September, they did nothing else, but grinde Corne, and bake Bisket. And at Tornay, Lisle, Doway, Arras, Amiens, Bethune, saint Omers, and in all the Townes about Scluse, they were occupied to lyke purpose. For the Frenche king by the aduise of his counsaile purposed to take the sea at Scluce, and so to enter England, and to destroy the same. They that were riche men in the Realme of Fraunce to the ayde and furniture of this voyage, were taxed and

seassed

seassed at the thirde penny, and fourth part of their goodes, & many payd more then they were worth besides.

And from Spaine, and from the porte of Ciuile to Pruce there was no great ship on the Sea that the French men could lay theyr handes vpon, neyther any ship that was vnder their obeysance, but they were reteyned for the French king. And his men, and his other prouision came from all partes, and arryued in Flaundyrs, both wyne, salt, fleshe, fishe, otes, hay, Onyons, Bisket, flower, egges in Pipes, and all maner of thinges that could be deuysed, so that the prouision was so great as it could not be beleued of any, but of such as sawe it. Besydes this, Lordes, Knightes, Esquiers, and men of warre were written vnto and desyred to come and serue the Frenche king in this iourney out of Sauoy, Almaine, and from the Sonne goyng downe, to the lande of the Erle of Arminack. And so these Lordes of farre Countries, as the Erle of Sauoye was reteyned with fiue hundreth speares. Also the Erle of Arminack, & the Dolphyn of Annerency, though they were of farre Countries, yet they made their prouisions so great and costly, that it was a great marueyle to thinke thereof: And it was a wonder to consider from whence such prouision came, what by land, and what by sea into Flaundyrs, as to Bruges, to Dan, and to Scluse. Also there was sent for into Holland, Zeland, Middlebourgh, Zirickzee, Dordright, Stonehoue, and to all other townes on the sea coast, and to the riuers enteryng into the sea, for all maner of shippes that could do any seruice, and all were brought to Scluce. But the Hollanders, and Zelanders sayd to them that reteyned them, if ye will haue our seruice, pay vs our wages cleerely, or else we will not go to any Porte, and so they were payde, wherein they did wisely. And (sayth Froyssart) I thinke that sithen the creation of the worlde, there was neuer sene together so many great ships as were at ỹ tyme at Scluse, and at Blanquerge: For in the moneth of September in the sayde yere, they were numbred to be. xij. hundreth, lxxxvij. shippes at Scluse: And their Mastes seemed in the sea lyke a great Wood or Forest. And the Constable of Fraunce his ship, was apparayled and furnished at Lenterginer in Briteyn. Also the Constable of Fraunce caused to be made in Briteyn of Tymber, a Closure for a Towne, made like a Parke, that when they had taken lande in Englande, to close in their fielde to lodge therein with more ease and safetie. And whensoeuer they should remoue their fielde, the Closure was so made, that they might take it a sunder in pieces, and a great number of Carpenters and other were retayned in wages to attend thervpon. And whosoeuer at that tyme had beene at Bruges, at Dan, or at Scluse, and had seene the businesse that there was in chargyng and ladyng of shippes with haye, sackyng of Bisket, and ladyng of Onyons, Peason, Beanes, Barley, Candelles, hosen, shoes, spurres, knyues, daggers, swordes, Targettes, Axes, Mattockes, Nayles of all sortes, Wymbles, Hammers, Beddes, Cowches, Horse shoes, Pottes, Pannes, Candlestickes, Candles, Torches, Piche, Tarre, Rosen, Ropes, Gables, Ankers, shot Powder, Ordinaunce, Armor, and of all other thinges necessarye that might be thought vpon, as Bootes, Clokes, Saddelles, Brydles, Bittes, Stirops, and Stirop leathers, scalyng Ladders, and a number of thinges mo that I can not reherce. Whosoeuer (sayth Froissart) that had beene there and had seene it, although he had bene right sore sicke, yet it woulde haue made him to haue forgotten both hys disease and paine. The lustie yonkers of Fraunce talkyng among themselues, had almost none other talke nor made none other accompt, but that the Realme of England should haue beene vtterly spoyled and destroyed for euer and euer, without all mercie and recouerie.

A great Nauy of shippes.

A Closure made of timber like a closure of a park for the enclosyng of the french army when they should lie in the fielde.

Great and wonderfull prouision.

Of this great preparation and prouision the king of England and his counsayle were well informed, and the king was certainely assured that the French king would come into England, for so had he & his Nobles sworne. And although at the first heryng of thys wonderfull great prouision, it dyd somewhat abashe the Englishmen, which was no great marueyle. For as the matter of it self was very great, so the same was reported to be ten times much more then it was. And agayne, although the Englishmen vnderstood of this great prouision, yet were they not in certaintie, whether the same was wholy purposed to

The king of Englād was certefied of the prouision that ỹ french king made to enter the realme of Englande.

lande in England, or else to laye siege to Calice both by land and sea. For the Englishmen knewe well that of all the Townes of the worlde, the Frenchmen most coueted to haue Calice: Wherefore the king of England sent to Calice great prouision of Wheat and other grayne, Salt, Fleshe, Fishe, Wyne, Beere, and other thinges. And thether was sent Sir Thomas Holland Erle of kent, Sir Hugh Canrell, Sir Wylliam Helman, Sir Dangoses, syr Walter of Vrnes, Sir Water Paulle, syr Wylliam Toncet, syr Lewes of Mountalbon, syr Colers of Dambrichecourt, and fiue hundred men of armes, and fiue hundred Archers, and the Erle Richard of Arondell, and syr Henry Spencer were ordeyned to keepe the Sea, with. xl. great shippes well furnished and trimmed with the number of three hundred men of armes, and sixe hundred Archers.

Sundrye brutes and reports were made of the intention of this great Nauie and armie of Fraunce.

Agayne an other report was bruted abroad that this army of the French being so furnished and appoynted, was not meant to go neyther to Calice, neyther yet into Englande, but rather was altogether purposed against the towne of Gaunt. And (sayth Froissart) as I was informed, the towne of Gaunt the same season doubted greatlye that all that prouision was to come vpon them: But they were in a wrong beliefe, for the Duke of Burgoyne their Lorde meant towards them nothing but rest and quiet, although that Fraunces Atreman were shortly after the making of the peace at Torney slayne, which happened rather by his awne folye, then by anye displeasure that the Duke ought vnto him: but because that matter doth not properly touche this our discourse for Englande, I therefore passe it ouer.

Fraunces Atreman slaine.

And now agayne to returne to the prouisions that were made at thys season at Dan, and at Sluce, it is not had in remembrance of man, neyther in wryting was euer the lyke seene or read of the charges of thys prouision, for, sayth Froissart, Gold and siluer was as fast spent by the French king, as though it had reigned out of the Clowds, or that it had come out of the fome and skomme of the sea.

The young French king was courageous.

The French king himselfe, as yong as he was, had more minde and desyre to this iourney into England, then any other, and so he shewed himselfe alwayes to the ende thereof. And nowe to go forward, euery man helped to make prouision for other, and to garnishe and bewtifie their shippes, and to paynt them with their armes, and to aduaunce and make them a glorious shewe to the whole worlde. Painters at that time were well set on worke, and the time was to them very profitable, for they had whatsoeuer they desyred, and yet there could not enow of them be gotten for money. They made Banners, Penons, Standards of silke, so sumptuous and comely that it was a maruell to beholde.

Great cost vainly spent.

Also they peynted the Mastes of their shippes from the one ende to the other, glittering with Golde, and deuises and armes that was maruelous ryche: and specially (sayth Froissart) as it was tolde me, the Lorde Guy of Tremoyll so decked, garnished, and bewtified his ship with peynting and colours, that it cost him two thousande Frankes of french money. that is more then. CCxxij. pound of the curraunt money of Englande. And in lyke maner did euery Lorde of Fraunce set foorth his deuise and shew.

And as it is before sayde, all that hath beene rehersed, and whatsoeuer else was done in Fraunce concernyng the aduauncement of this iorney, was well knowen in Englande, which brought some feare among them, and therefore they caused dyuers generall processions to be made in euery good Towne and Citie three times in the weeke, wherein prayer was made with feruent spirite and deuocion vnto almightie God to be their Protectour and shield agaynst their enimies, and the perill that the realme was then in. And yet notwythstanding, there were in Englande at that tyme more then a hundreth thousand that hartely wished and desyred that the Frenchmen myght arryue in Englande. And those lustie young laddes, as triumphyng among themselues and their companions would say, let these frenchmen come, there shall not one tayle of them returne agayne into Fraunce. And suche as were in debt and cared not for the payment thereof, they reioysing greatly at the comming of the frenchmen would saye to their creditors when they demaunded their debt of them, Sirs, be you pacient a little and beare wyth vs, for they forge in Fraunce newe

Floreyns

Floreyns wherewith ye shall be payde. And in trust thereof they lyued and spent very largely. And when they coulde not be credited, they woulde saye, what woulde ye haue of vs, it were better for you that we shoulde spend freely the goodes of this Realme, rather then the Frenchmen comming hether should finde and consume the same.

At thys time the king of Englande was in the Marches of Wales, and wyth him the Erle of Oxford, by whose aduise the greatest thinges in Englād were gouerned, & without whose aduise nothing in effect was done. Also there was with the king as chiefe of hys Counsayle, syr Symond Burle, syr Nicholas Braule, syr Robert Tauilion, syr Robert Beauchamp, syr Iohn Saluen, and syr Mighell de la Poole. Also there was named Syr Wylliam Neuell, brother to the Lorde Neuell. All these as the talke went, did wyth the King what they would. And as for the kings Vncles, the Erle of Cambridge, and the Erle of Buckyngham could doe nothing wythout it were agreable to the other aforesayd. And this trouble and difference among themselues was well knowne in Fraunce, which greatly aduaunced the enterprice of the French king.

Now when the king and the Lordes of Englande were truelye informed that the French king was ready with his power to enter into England and to destroy it, then they drewe together in counsayle. And the king at that tyme beyng in Wales, as aforesayde, was written vnto by his Vncles and other of the counsayle, that it was meete and necessary for hym to come to London where his Lords, and he might best consult for the weale and defence of his realme.

The king forthwith returned towarde London with the Queene hys wyfe, and came to Wynsore, but shortly after, he came to Westmynster, and thether came vnto him all the Lordes of his counsayle, and there tooke aduice what things were to be done agaynst this iorney, and enterprice of the Frenche King.

The king of Englād with his counsaile taketh aduice for the defece of England.

Then ỹ Erle of Sarisbury, who was a right valiant and prudent knight sayde before the king and hys Vncles, and before all the Lords and prelates of England that were there present. Sir, my souereigne Lord, and all ye my Lords and other, it ought not to be marueyled at if our aduersary the french king doe come and runne vpon vs, for sithen the death of our late souereigne Lorde and noble king Edward, one of the puyssauntest Princes that euer reigned, this noble realme of Englande hath beene in great hazard and aduenture to haue beene lost and destroyed euen with the lewde and naughtie people brought vp and nourished in the same, which thing is not hidden from Fraunce, and that which is worse, it is well knowne that we among oure selues are not in perfite loue and vnitie, and that maketh our enimy so bolde. And herevnto I wyll specyally direct my speeche, to moue and exhort that peace, vnitie, and loue may be had amongest our selues, and that beyng first had, and faythfully and louyngly graunted of euery of vs, we shall the better deuyse the resistaunce and withstandyng of our forreyn enimies. And nowe to beginne with that matter. First it is meete that we ordeyne a sufficient power for the defence of all oure enimies at euery Porte, Hauen and Creke, within this realme, that our Country receaue no dishonour blame nor dammage. And then let vs with all diligence see well to the defence of all oure good Fortes, holdes, Cities and good townes, and endeuour our selues to the good consideration and defence of the same.

The worthy and godlye counsayle geuen by yᵉ Erle of Salsbury.

Nowe when the Erle of Sarisbury had ended his tale, his wordes and saiyng was very well noted, as the wordes of a sage and valeant knight, and there was no replie made, but with one voice they consented to enter into deuises for defence. And first they thought it most meetest to prouide for the defence of those Hauens where they thought the Frenche king was most lykest to lande. And for that the Erle of Sarisburies possession in parte marched nere vnto the Isle of Wight, which is right ouer agaynst Normandie, and the Countrie of Caulx, therefore he with his Archers and power was there placed for the defence of that frontire. The Erle of Deuonshire was appointed to be at Hampton, with two hundreth men of Armes, and. vj. hundreth Archers, to defende the Hauen and towne. The Erle of Northumberland was placed at Rye, with two hundreth men of Armes, and. vj. hun-

The order of defence made for yᵉ realme of England to withstand the power of Fraunce.

vj. hundreth Archers. The Erle of Cambridge was assigned to Douer, with. v. hundreth mē of Armes, and. xij. hundreth Archers. And his brother the Erle of Buckingham, at Sandwich with. vj. hundreth men of Armes, and. xij. hundreth Archers. The Erle of Stafford and the Erle of Pembrooke were assigned to Orwell hauen, with. v. hundreth men of armes, and. xij. hundreth Archers. And sir Henry Percey, & Foulx Percey, were appoynted to Yarmouth, with three hundreth men of armes, and. vj. hundreth Archers. And sir Symond Burle was appoynted Capteyne of Douer Castell. All the Hauens and Portes betwene the riuer of Humbre, and Cornewall, were relieued wyth men of armes and archers.

And on the Mounteines and hilles all along the sea coast, vpon the frontiers, liyng agaynst Flaundyrs and Fraunce, were placed certeine numbers of watchmen, but in such maner (sayth Froissart) as I can not well describe: But as I heard, they had empty Pypes filled with sande, one set vpon another, and on the height of them was place made where the watch men might both stand and sit, and there they continued their watche both night and daye, hauyng alwayes speciall eye and regarde towarde the sea, hauyng in speciall charge that when they espyed any nauye of Frenchmen drawyng towardes them, that then they should cause certeine Beacons beyng nere vnto them, to be set on fyre, that by reason thereof the people might be drawen the sooner to that place, to awayte for the enemie. It was also ordered, that if it fortuned that the French nauie came, that they should suffer the French king peaceably to take lande, and all his, and to enter into the land three or foure dayes iourney, and that then they shoulde first go betweene the sea and them, and to fight with his shippes if they could, and to destroy them, and to take theyr prouision from them, and then to followe the Frenche men, but not immediately to fight with them, and to harry them and keepe them wakyng, and to kepe them from goyng a foragyng, and from the destruction of the Country, and so also by diligent folowing of them, they should be brought to great lack and scarcetie. This was the opinion and order of this counsaile of England. And at that time also it was agreed, that Rochester bridge should be broken downe, where there is a great Ryuer ronnyng from Arondell, in the County of Sussex, and entereth into the Thames, and so into the sea agaynst the Isle of Tenet: and this bridge they of Londō, to be the more sure, did beat downe.

Great taxes set vpon the people both in Fraunce and in England.

And where as the taxes and tallages were great in Fraunce: In likewise at that tyme they were great in England, so that the realme felt great griefe thereof. There were at that tyme ready in England for defense, of good fighting men, a hundreth thousand Archers, and. x.M. men of armes.

Here the French men courageously make a show to set forward against England.

Nowe the time approched, that euery man beganne in Fraunce to set forwarde, criyng, and saiyng, Now let vs go on these curssed Englishe men, who haue done so many mischiefes and wickednesse in Fraunce, the tyme is at hande, that we shall be reuenged vpon them for the death of our fathers, brethren, and kinsmen, whome they haue cruelly slaine and discomfited. Then the French king tooke his leaue of the Queene his wife, and of the Queene his mother, and of the Duches of Orleaunce, and of all the other Ladies of Fraunce, and the same daye hearde a most solempne Masse in our Ladie Churche in Paris, and he sayde that he purposed neuer to returne againe to Paris, vntill he had bene first in England. And the next day early he road to Senlise: But all this while the Duke of Berry was still in his Countrie of Berrye, although great prouision were made for him, both in Flaundrys and at Scluse. And likewise the Duke of Burgoyne was then in his Countrie, but he forthwith toke his leaue of the Duchesse, and of his children, and determined to take his leaue of his great aunt the Duchesse of Brabant, and so he departed out of Burgoyne, and so roade in great estate, and the Admyrall of Fraunce in his company, and sir Guy of Tremoyll, & so they came to Bruxselles, and there found the Duches of Brabant and other Ladyes, who receyued him with great honour. And two dayes he taryed there with them, and then tooke his leaue, and from thence he road to Mouns in Henault, and there he found his daughter the Ladie of Ostreuant, and Duke Aubert, and his sonne, sir William of Henault Erle

of Ostreuant, who receyued the Duke with great ioy, and so brought him to Valenciens. And the Duke was lodged in the Erles Palace, and Duke Albert in the lodgyng of Vicongnet, and the Ladie of Ostreuant. And from thence the Duke roade to Doway, and so to Arras, and there he founde the Duchesse his wife tariyng for him. Then the Frenche king came to Compaigne, and so to Noyon, and from thence to Peron, and so to Bapalmes, and so to Arras, and dayly there came downe people from all partes, in such great numbers that the Countrie was almost eaten vp. And to say truth, nothing remayned in the Countrie, but it was taken from them, without making any payment for the same. So that the poore Commens that had gathered together their cornes, had nothing left them but strawe, and that also was taken from them, and if they made any complaint thereof, they were eyther beaten or slaine. There Pondes were fished, there houses beaten downe for fyre wood: So that if the Englishe men had arriued in that Countrie, they could haue done them no more hurt, neyther was it likely that they would haue done so much hurt vnto them as the Frenche men did. And when the poore pitifully called vpon them for some amendes, they aunswered, as nowe we haue no siluer to pay, but when we returne we will bring inough, and then euery thing shall be fully aunswered and payde. But when the poore people sawe their goodes thus taken away and spent, and that they durst not complaine thereof, they cursssed them betwene their teeth, saiyng: Get ye into England, or to the deuill, and God graunt that ye neuer returne againe.

The French king came nowe to Lisle in Flaundyrs, and his two Vncles with him, the Duke of Burgoyn, and the Duke of Burbon, for as yet the Duke of Berrey was behinde in his awne Countrey, and made prouision for his iourney. And with the king at Lisle was the Duke of Barre, the Duke of Loreyn, the Erle of Arminack, the Erle of Sauoy, the Erle Dalphyn of Anneringe, the Erle of Geneue, the Erle of Saint Paule, the Erle of Ewe, the Erle of Longueuile, and other great Lordes of Fraunce, in such number as I am not able (sayth Froissart) to name them. The report was, that there should passe into England. xx. thousand knights, and squiers, which certeinely were a goodly company, also. xx. thousand Crosbowes, and. xx. thousand of other men of warre, which were persons that should enter into England, & remaine in the fielde, besyde all the full furniture of the whole nauie vpon the sea. And at this tyme sir Oliuer Clisson was in Briteyn, and prouided there for his businesse and nauie, and was appoynted to bring with him the Closure of the fielde made of Tymber, whereof mencion is made before. And with the sayde sir Oliuer Clisson Counstable of Fraunce, shoulde come out of Briteyn the best knightes and Esquiers therein, as the Vicount of Rhoan, the Lorde of Rays, the Lord of Beawmanour, the Lorde of de la Vale, the Lorde of Rochefort, the Lorde of Malestroyt, sir Iohn of Malestroyt, and fiue hundreth Speares Britons chosen men of warre. For it was the Constables purpose and entent, that no man should enter into England, without he were a man of armes chosen. And he gaue charge to the Admirall, saiyng: take hede that ye charge not our Shippes with Verlettes and boies, for they shall do more hurt then profite. So that two or thre knightes, without they were great maisters & Capitaynes, although they hyred ships for their money, yet should they haue but one horse ouer, & one Verlet. And to say the truth, they ordeyned all theyr businesse in so good order, that dyuerse were of that opinion, that if they might arriue altogether in England, where as they entended to lande (and that was at Orwell Hauen) howe that they should haue put the Countrie in great feare, and so they should haue done without all doubt. For the great Lordes both spirituall and temporall, & the people of the good townes of England were in great doubt: But the Commons and poore people made small accompt thereof, no more did the poore Gentlemen, for they desyred the warre, eyther to lease, or to winne all. And they sayde one to another, I trust God hath sent vs a good tyme, for that the Frenche king will come into this Countrie, he sheweth himselfe to be of a valiaunt courage, and we haue not heard of three hundreth yeres past, of a French king of like courage, but he doth it to make his

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souldiours good men of warre: And we thanke him that he will thus visite vs, for nowe we shall attaine to some riches, or else shortly make an ende of our lyues.

Nowe the Frenche king came downe to Lisle, to shewe that the iorney pleased him, and to come the neerer to his passage. And it was commonly spoken in Flaundyrs, and Arthoys, that the french king and his armie taketh Sea on Saturday, on Mondaye, one Tewesday, so that euery daye in the weeke it was sayde, he departeth to morowe. And the kinges brother, the Duke of Thourayn, and the Bishop of Beauoys Chauncelour of Fraunce, and dyuers other great Lordes tooke their leaue of the king at Lisle, and they returned to Paris, and it was sayde, how that the king had geuen and committed the gouernaunce of the Realme of Fraunce to his sayde brother the Duke of Thorayne, and to dyuers other Lordes, as the Erle of Bloys and other. And yet all this time the Duke of Berry was behinde, and came fayre and softly, for he had no great appetite to this iourney of going into England: But his long taryeng was very displeasaunt vnto the king, and to the Duke of Burgoyn and to the other Lords, for they would fayne haue bene gone. Still great prouision was made, which was very costly and dere vnto them, for that which was not woorth two shyllings, they payde. x. shyllings, and yet they would nedes haue it, for euery man desired to be well furnished, in maner of an enuie that euerie man desyred to be better appointed then other. And though the great Lordes were well payde their wages, other poore felowes bought the bargayne full dere, for some had owyng vnto them for a Moneths wages, and yet could get nothing. The Treasorer of the warres and Clerkes of the Chamber of accompts sayde. Sirs, content you vntill the next weeke, and then ye shall be payde, and so they were aunswered weekely. And if any payment were made vnto them, it was but for eyght dayes, when they were owyng eyght weekes. So that some of the wiser sorte, when they sawe thys maner of dealyng, and howe they were so euill payde, they were much offended and sayde, this voyage will be of small effect: For it is most lykely, or at the least to be greatly suspected, that so sone as the money is collected and gathered of suche taxes as were set, that then they will breake this iorney and returne home agayne into their awne countreyes, and those which cast these doubts, and prouided for themselues, were wise. But the poore Gentlemen and common souldyours, who had spent all that euer they had, and euery thing was so deere in Flaundyrs, that hard it was to get eyther bread or drinke, and specially if any were in suche neede (as there were a great number) to sell his armour to make money of, there was no person to buy it, neyther was there anye money to geue him for it. There was suche and so great a number of people about Dan, Bruges, and Ardenburgh, and specially at Scluse, that when the king came thether, they wist not where to lodge him. The Erle of saint Paule, the Lorde of Cowcy, the Lorde of Auuergne, the Lorde de Antoigne, and dyuers other other Lordes of Fraunce: and to lye the more at their ease, they were lodged at Bruges, and dyuers times they resorted to the king at Scluse, to knowe when they should departe. And euer it was sayde vnto them that within three or foure dayes, or when the Duke of Berry doth come, and also that we haue winde to serue vs. And thus euer the time passed, and the dayes shortened, and the yere beganne to waxe foule, and colde, and the nightes long, the which expence and losse of time muche greeued and offended the Lordes, not onely for that their charges were great, but also most chiefly for that by their long taryaunce, their victualles much diminished.

And in this meane time Lyon King of Armony: who being in Fraunce, and had assigned vnto him by the French king sixe thousande Frankes by the yere, which is one thousand Marke of the curraunt money of England, toward the maintenaunce of hys estate. And at this time he tooke on him for a good entent to go into England to speake wyth the king there, and his counsayle, to see if he might perswade anye maner of peace to be had betwene the two realmes of Englande and Fraunce. And so he departed from his lodging of Saint Aulbyn beside saint Dionise, onely with his awne company and without any great furniture: and so he roade to Bolleigne, and there he tooke shypping, and landed at Douer, where he founde the Erle of Cambridge, and the Erle of Buckyngham, and mo then

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an. C. men of armes, and two thousand Archers, who laye there to keepe that passage. For the brute went that the French king would lande there, or else at Sandwich. And at this time the king of Englande laye at London, and parte of his counsayle with him, and daylie heard tydinges from all the portes of England.

When the king of Armony was arryued at Douer, he had there good cheere, because he was a straunger, and so he came to the kinges Vncles, who receaued him right honorably. And at tyme conuenient they demaunded of him from whence he came, and whether he would. The sayde King of Armony sayde, that in trust of goodnesse he was come thether to see the king of Englande and his counsayle, to treate for peace betwene Englande and Fraunce, for he sayde he thought that the warre was not meete, for he sayde by reason of the warre betwene these two Realmes, which hath endured so long: The Sarazens, Iewes and Turckes are waxen proude, for there is none that maketh them any warre, by reasō whereof I (saith he) haue lost my lande and realme, and am not lyke to recouer it agayne without there were firme peace in all christendome. And I would gladly shew this matter which in effect toucheth all christendome, vnto the king of Englande and to his counsayle, as I haue done vnto the French king. Then the kings Vncles demaunded of him if the french king had sent him hether or no? he answered and sayde, nay there is no man that sent me, but I am come hether by mine awne motion, to see if the king of England and his counsayle would any thing bende to the intreatie of peace. Then it was demaunded of hym where the french king was? he answered I beleue he be at Scluse. I saw him not since I toke my leaue of him at Scluse. Thē he was demaūded how he could make anye entreatie of peace, hauing no power so to do? And they sayde moreouer vnto him, if ye be conueyed to the king our Nephew, and to his counsayle, and the French king in the meane season should fortune wyth hys puyssaunce to enter into England, ye may hap thereby to receaue great blame, and your person to be in great ieopardie with them of the Countrie. Then the king aunswered, I am in suretie of the french king, for I haue sent vnto hym, desyring that vntill I returne agayne, not to remoue from Scluse. And I repute him so noble, and so well aduised, that he wyll graunt my desyre, and that he will not enter into the Sea vntill I returne agayne vnto him. Wherefore, right honorable and valiant gentlemen, I pray you in the instance of loue and peace, to conuey me to speake with the king, for I desyre greatly to see him: Or else ye that be his Vncles, if ye haue aucthority to geue me aunswere to all my demaundes. Then the Erle of Buckyngham sayde, Syr king of Armony, we be here ordeyned to keepe and defend thys passage and Frontier of Englande, and we haue no charge to meddle anye further with the businesse of the realme, without we be otherwise commaunded by the king: But syr ye be come for a good entent into this countrie, and ye are right hartely welcome. But syr, for any certaintie of aunswere ye can haue none of vs, for as now we be not of the counsayle. But we will cause you to be conueyed to the king without perill or dammage. The king thanked them and sayd, I desire nothing else but to se the king & speake with him.

The arriuall of Lyon king of Armony at Douer.

The next day the king of Armony was conueyed with a good conduct that the Lordes appointed vnto him for feare of any rencountries. And at the last he came to London, and ryding thorough London, he was well receaued because he was a straunger. And when time was conuenient, he was brought to ỹ king, who lay then at the Royall, which was then the Quenes Wardrobe, neere vnto Watlyngstreete in London.

When the comming of the king of Armony was knowne, the kinges counsayle drewe to the king, to here what tydings the king brought in that troubleous season. When the king of Armony was come into the kings presence, he made his due salutations, and then began to shew the present estate of Fraunce, and how he was come from thence, specially to see the king of Englande, whome he had neuer sene before, and sayde, howe that he was right ioyous to be in his presence, trusting that some goodnesse should grow thereby. And then he vttered with many wordes, that to withstand the great daunger of the present mischiefe that was lykely to happen to England, therfore he was come of his awne good will

to do some good therin if he might: not sent from the french king, but wylling to set some accorde and peace betwene the two realmes of Englande and Fraunce, if he might.

And the Lorde Chauncelour shortly aunswered him and sayde, syr king ye are welcome into this realme, for the king our souereigne Lorde and all we are glad to see you here: But syr, we saye that the king hath not here all his counsayle, but shortly they shall be here, and then ye shall be aunswered, and so for that time the king of Armony departed. And within foure dayes after the king remoued to his Palayce of Westmynster, and thether came to him all his counsayle, and also the king of Armony.

And when he was come into the presence of the king of Englande, and his counsayle, the king caused the King of Armony to sit by him. And there the king of Armony rehersed agayne the requestes that he made, and also shewed wisely howe that all Christendome was decayed and weakened by occasion of the warres betweene Englande and Fraunce, and how that all the Knightes and squiers of both the realmes entended and prepared themselues to nothing, but alwayes to be of the one parte or the other, whereby the Empire of Constantinople leeseth, and daylie is lyke more to leese. And then he shewed, ỹ by reason of thys warre he hymselfe had lost all his realme of Armonye, and therefore desyred for Gods sake that there might be some treatie of peace had betwene the two realmes of Englande and Fraunce.

The answere made to the king of Armonie.

The Archebishop of Cauntorbury, who was appoynted to aunswere him, said: sir king of Armonie, it is not the maner nor neuer was seene, betwene two such enemies as the king of England, and the Frenche king are, that the king our souereigne Lord should be requyred of peace with his enemie, and he hauyng in readinesse an huge armie to enter his land. Wherefore sir, for aunswere vnto you, if it will please you to returne to the Frenche king, and to cause him and all his puyssaunce to withdraw themselues backe againe into their awne Countryes, and when euerye man is at home, if it please you to returne againe hether, then we will gladly entend to your treatie. And this was the aunswere that the king of Armonie had, and so he dyned with the king of England, and had as great honour done vnto him as could be deuised. And the king offered him many riche giftes of Golde, and siluer, but he would take none, although he had neede thereof, but onelye a Ryng to the value of a. C. Frankes, which was in English money. xj. pound or thereaboutes.

The departure of the king of Armonie.

And after dinner he departed, and toke his way to Douer, and there toke leaue of such Lordes as were there, and so toke his passage and came to the french king, and shewed him how he had bene in England, and what answer he had there. But the french king & his Vncles toke no regard to any thing that he sayde, and therefore sent him back againe immediately into Fraunce.

Shortly after, the Duke of Berry toke his leaue at Paris, & sayd that he would neuer enter there again vntill he had bene in England, although it appered that he thought nothing lesse. And all the way as he came, he had letters from the king, & from the Duke of Burgoyn to hast him away: But yet notwithstãding he hasted fayre & easely, and came by small iourneyes. And in this tyme the Constable of Fraunce departed from Lentringer, standyng on the sea side in Briteine, with a great number of men of armes and prouision. He had. lxxij. great Shippes, and he had with him the Closure of the fielde made of Tymber. And the Constable and his companie had good winde at the begynnyng: But when they approched neere to England, the winde rose so fiercely and was so tempestuous about the entrie of Mergate, & the Thamys mouth, that whether they would or not, their shippes were scattered, so that. xx. kept not together, and some were driuen perforce into Thamys, and there were taken by the Englishe men, and specially there was taken two or three shippes laden with part of the Closure of Tymber that was ordeyned to close in the fielde, and certeine maister Carpenters and Artificers with them, & so they were brought to London, wherat the king had great ioy, & so had all the Londoners. But the Constable and other Lords with much paine came to Scluse to the french king. Of the Constables commyng & his companie, the french king was right ioyfull, and the king sayd vnto him: sir Constable, when shall we depart, certeinly I haue great desyre to see England, & therfore

fore I pray you set forth all things with spede, for mine Vncle the Duke of Berry will be here within these two dayes. Sir, quoth the Constable, we cannot depart vntil the wind serue vs, & againe the tempest is sore and great: Then said the king, I haue beene in my vessell vpon the sea, & the ayre therof pleaseth me right wel, & I beleue I shal be a good mariner, for the sea did me no hurt. In the name of God, quoth the Constable, it hath done hurt to me, for sir we were in great perill cõming from Briteyn hether. The king demaũded how so? Then the Constable sayd, by fortune of the sea, and great windes that rose against vs vpon ỹ frontiers of England. And sir, we haue lost both of our ships & men, for the which I am right sory, but now there is no remedy. Thus the king and the Constable deuised in words: But still the tyme passed away and Winter approched, and the Lords lay there in great cold and perill. The Flemyngs also were very loth that they should returne againe through their Countrie, and said among themselues: why the deuill doth not the french king passe into England? what meaneth he to tary so long in this country? Are we not pore enough, though the French king make vs no porer? And to be short, all the whole Country of Flaundyrs began to mutter and cry out vpon them.

The courage of the French king.

At the last the Duke of Berry came to Scluse to the king, and the king sayd vnto him. A good Vncle, I haue bene greatly desyrous to see you, why haue you taried so long? We had bene as nowe in England, and had fought with our enemyes if ye had bene come. The Duke began to smile and excuse himselfe, but did not vtter what was in his minde. But there they rested. vij. dayes, and euery day it was sayde, that they should depart to morowe. Howbeit, truely the wind was so contrary, that they could not sayle into Enggland. And winter was farre on, for it was past Saint Andrewes tyde: and it was no good season for the Noble men to take the Sea, although diuerse of theyr Shippes were redy crossed to depart. But then the kinges counsaile drewe together, and the Duke of Berry brake all this purpose, and sayde flatly that it was not meete to counsaile the French king beyng but a childe, to take the sea at that season of the yere, and also that the voyage was hindered of much of their prouision that was taken into England, that went with the Constable of Fraunce. And moreouer he sayde, call all the Mariners together, and looke if all they will not say that my counsaile is good. For though we be now. xv. C. good saile of Shippes, yet before we come there, we shall not be three hundreth in companie, and therfore consider what perill we shall put our selues in, and namely in a straunge Countrie, wherein before we haue not trauayled. And in the ende they concluded to differre that voyage vntill Aprill, or May next folowyng. and their prouisions of Bisquet, Salt, Befe, & Wine, should be safely kept vntill then. And so brake vp this most wonderfull voyage for this tyme, which cost the realme of Fraunce a hundreth thousande Frankes, thirtie tymes tolde (sayth Froissart) which of English money was. CCC. xxxiij. thousand. CCC. xxxiij. pounde. vj. shillinges viij. pence, after. ix. Frankes to the pound.

The cõmyng of the Duke of Berrye.

The breaking vp of thys great enterprise.

And in this yere, as sayth Fabian, the Erle of Arondell was sent into the Duchy of Guyan, for to strength such souldours as the king at that tyme had in those partes, or as some wrote, to kepe the Seas from Rouers, & enemies. The which Erle in keepyng his course and passage, met with a great fleete of Flemyngs, laden with Rochell Wine, and set vpon them, and distressed them and their shippes, and so brought them into dyuerse Portes of England. By reason whereof, the sayde Wine was so plentifull in England, that a Tonne thereof was solde for. xiij. shillinges, foure pence, and for. xx. shillinges to take the choyse. And in that fleete was taken the Admirall of Flaũdyrs, which remayned here long after as prisoner.

1387

Ye haue heard before in the beginning of the. x. yere of this kings reigne that a great counsayle was holden at Nottyngham, and vnto the same were called the chiefe Iustices and Sergeaunts at lawe, and that there was proponed certaine articles against the Lordes of the realme that were admitted by Parliament to haue the examination of suche as had beene lewde rulers, and such as had the gouernment of the kings treasure, and that the same articles, as before may at large appere, did specially touch the lyues of the sayd

11 Nottingham counsayle.

honorable personages, & that by the sentence and iudgement of the lawyers they were all condempned as Traytors. The which when the sayde Lordes vnderstood, they assembled themselues together and agreed for the safetie of themselues, and for the better gouernement of the realme to gather suche power as they might, and to resort vnto the king, and to admonishe hym to remoue and aduoyde from him al such lewde counsaylors as before had bene complayned vpon in Parliament, as aforesayde, and also in all humble maner to beseech his highnesse to hearken to their complaynts agaynst the sayd euill counsaylors, which not onely sought the vtter destruction of the realme, but also of his royall person.

The comming of the King and his Lordes to London.

The king hering of thys assembly, came to London in Nouember, being accompanyed with all the aforesayde lewde counsaylors, and there purposed to haue holden a parliament, and to haue attaynted the aforesayde Lordes, which in the last parliament were appointed and auctorised to haue the examination of suche as had consumed and made awaye the kings treasure, as aforesayde: But the king hering of the Lords approching with a great puyssance, steyed in such sorte as that parliament went no farther. Notwithstandyng the king caused to be made, that no Citezene of London should be so hardie to sell to the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Arondell, or anye other the Lords, any harnesse, Bowes, Arrowes, nor any other munition or matter that should tende to the furniture of the warre, vpon a great paine.

A proclamation made by the King agaynst hys Lordes.

The comming of the Lords toward Londō.

But this notwithstanding, the Lords with a goodly company well furnished, came to London: and before they approched neere to the Citie, they sent vnto the King the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, the Lord Iohn Louell, the Lord Cobham, and the Lorde Iohn Euerox requiring to haue deliuered vnto them such as were about him, Traytors and seducers both of him and the realme, and troublers both of pore men and riche, and such as sowed discordes and variaunces betwene the king and his nobles: And they farther declared that their comming was for the honour and wealth both of the king and the realme.

A message sent by the Lords to the king.

But the king ruled by his fyue euill counsaylors, was perswaded that the Lordes intended to bring him vnder: Therefore they gaue him coūsayle to make the king of Fraunce sure friend vnto him in these great necessities, and for to be more in quiet, to giue him the Towne and Marches of Calice, and whatsoeuer he had else beyond the Seas, and so to call in the french king to chastise his enimies, and those Lordes that neuer would be tamed. And immediatly the king sent for the Maior of London, and demaunded of him how many hable men he supposed that the Citie coulde make? And he aunswered that he thought surely within an howre to haue fiftie thousand, well then sayd the king, go and proue what will be done. And after the Maior beganne to attempt the matter, the Citezens aunswered with one voyce, that they would neuer fight agaynst the kings friendes and defenders of the realme: But agaynst the kings enemies, and the enemies of the realme they would alway be readie, which answere the Maior reported to the king.

Euill counsailors giue lewde counsaile.

An vnaduised answere.

At this time also was about the king the Lord Raufe Basset, which sayde franckly to the king, syr I haue bene and shall be your true liege man, and my bodye and goods shall alway be yours in all iustice and truth: But of thys I assure you, if it fortune me to come into the field, vndoubtedly I will alway folow the true part, and it is not I that intend to aduenture the breakyng of my head for the Duke of Ireland. Also at the same tyme was the Erle of Northumberland with the king, which sayd vnto him, syr no doubts therof, but these Lords which now be in the field, alway haue bene your true and faithfull subiects and yet be, and entend not to do or attempt any thing against your estate, wealth and honor: But they feele themselues sorowfully greeued by the wicked imagination and false oppression of certayne persons which are about you. And syr, without fayle all your realme is sore mooued therewith, and that both great and small, as well your nobles as your commons. And I see none other but they entend to aduenture their lyues with the Lords specially in this case, which they doe recon yours & your realmes. And syr, now ye be in the chiefe place of your realme, and in the place of your coronation, nowe order your selfe wisely and like a king, and send vnto them to come into your presence in some open place, and there

The saiyng of the Lorde Basset.

The saiyng and counsaile of the Erle of Northumberlande.

will them to declare vnto you the entent of their comming with so great a number to these parts, and I doubt not, but they will shewe suche reasons, that you shall haue them excused.

The Archebishop of Cauntorbury and Bishop of Ely Chauncelor, and other Bishops there present, affirmed the Erles aduise to be good, and the king considering wisely the case as it stoode, appeased himselfe, and accorded to their aduise, and desyred the Archbishop of Cauntorbury and the Bishop of Ely to aduertise them of his pleasure, which was: that he willed them to come vnto him to Westmynster the Sunday folowyng, and so they tooke their leaue of him and returned vnto the Lordes, and made vnto them relacion of all the kings minde. The Duke of Gloucester and the other Lordes were so stiffe in their matter that they swore all wholy that they woulde neuer leaue of as long as they had one penny to maintaine their cause. And if any of them happened to die, the ouer lyuers should doe the same vntill the time that this matter were brought to good effect: And because they were in doubt that the king by his sinister counsayle should stirre the City of London agaynst them, they first determyned to certefie the Maior and the Citie that their comming was for reformations of great and enorme causes, which they declared vnto the sayd Maior and Citezens in writing, and desired their fauours and counsayle therein. And this done, they farther determyned to kepe their daye on the Sundaye folowyng to come to the kinges presence. And according to the same appointment the sayde Lordes came into the Hall at Westmynster. But before their comming thether, they sent certaine persons to serche both the Mewes, and also the Archebishop of Yorkes place, if percase any man had bene layde there to betrap them. For it was shewed vnto them that in those places there should be some treason wrought against them. And when they perceyued that all was cleere, they went forth on their way. And when they entred into Westminster hall, and had sight of the king, they made vnto him humble obeysaunce, and so went they foorth vntill they came to the nether step going vp to the kinges seat of estate, where they made their second obeysaunce, and then the king made them a countenaunce to come nere[illegible], and they so did, kneeling downe before hym. And he foorthwith arose from his place, and louingly welcommed them, and tooke ech of them by the hand, and that done set him downe againe. There they declared vnto him that their comming was for none euil to his person that euer they imagined or thought: But the cause of their griefe was against the fiue Traytors which were about his person, and suche matters as they had to charge them was there ready in writing, which they deliuered vnto the king. There the king openly promised them that they should appere personally at the parliament, and that none of them shoulde haue of him pardon without the assent of the Lordes, if they had offended according to their accusations, And then foorthwith the king arose from his place, and led them to his chamber, and after that he had dronken with them, they departed. And for as much as it should be well knowne throughout all the Citie that these Lordes had nothing offended him with their comming, the king caused a proclamation to be made, the effect whereof was as foloweth.

The kings answere sent vnto the Lordes.

The great courage of the Lordes.

The Lordes certefie the Citie of London of the cause of their assemblie.

Wisedome preuenteth perilles.

The behauior of ye lordes when they came into the kings presece.

The cause of the Lordes assemblie.

The kinges aunswere to the Lordes.

The departyng of the Lordes.

Richard by the grace of God. &c. We will that it be knowen to all our liege people throughout our Realme of England: That where as Thomas Duke of Gloucester, Richard Erle of Arondell, and Thomas Erle of Warwike haue bene defamed of Treason by certeyne of our counsaylors: We, as it apperteineth, diligently searching the cause and ground of this defamation, finde no such thing in them, nor any suspicion thereof. Wherefore we declare the same defamation to be false and vntrue, and do receyue the same Duke and Erles into our speciall protection. And because their accusers shall be notoriously knowen, their names are Alexãder Archbishop of Yorke, sir Lionel Vere (but in the boke of statutes he is call sir Robert Vere) Duke of Ireland, Mighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolke, Robert Tresilian chiefe Iustice of Englande, and Nicholas Brimbre of London Knight: Who in likewise shall remaine vnto the next Parliament, and there shall stande to their aunswere, but in the meane time we take them into our protection, streightly

A proclamation in the fauour of the Lordes.

The names of the lordes accusers.

streightly charging and commaūdyng that no maner of person charge any of the aforenamed, eyther openly or priuily, neyther in worde nor deede to hurt them, or cause any hurt to be done vnto them, but all querels and demaundes against them to be remitted vnto the next Parliament prefixed.

The accusers are in great feare.

Then came the wicked counsaylours to the king, shewyng to him that they were dayly in daunger of their lyues by the great Lordes of the realme, and saw none other but dayly they should be in more, for ỳ the king had promised that they should apere at the next Parliament, which was at hand, and sayde also that all the displeasure that they had, was onelye for the Kinges sake, and not for any matter of their awne, and that it was not his honour to see them so entreated: And further, they sayde, that they neyther durst nor would put their bodies to so manifest a daunger as to appere in Parliament.

The king considerỳng this, withdrew himselfe from the counsaile of hys Lordes, which then were assigned to sit at London for matters of the Parliament: So that Counsaile which was ordeyned for the purpose to haue the Parliament, was delayed and layd asyde. And these false counsaylours fled from the king into dyuers partes. And among other, Mighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolke fled into Calice, and as it was then sayde, he had shauen off the heare of his heade, and came in lyke a Poulter to the Gates of the Castell of Calice to sell his Capons, where as his brother was Capitain: and anone he was knowne, and taken, and brought to William Beaushampe his brother Capiteyne of Calice, who foorthwith brought him into England to the King. But the King was not a little displeased with his brother for taking and bringyng of him, and therefore committed him to warde. But afterward he set him againe at libertie, for that it should not appere that he punished him for that cause, and so he returned to Calice, & kept his place. Yet Mighell de la Poole, fearing still the displeasure of the great Lordes would not tary, but toke his leaue of the King and departed from him. And the King beyng now destitute of the sayde Chauncelor, and also of the Duke of Ireland, was nothing contented in his mynde: But foorthwith sent for the sayde Duke of Ireland to come to him. And also he sent one Thomas Molyners, which was a man of great power in the Counties of Lancashire and Chesshire, and by him the king sent to the Shirife of Chester a Commission vnder a secrete seale, commaundyng him that he shoulde arreyse a great power, and that they should see the Kinges kinsman and especiall friend the Duke of Ireland conueyed in safetie to his presence, not lettyng for any labour or expenses. Then this Molyners reysed a great power, and suche as for the loue they bare vnto the Duke of Gloucester, and to the other Lordes, would not go with him, he did emprison them in dyuerse prisons, commaundyng the Iaylours to kepe them streyt in Irons, and to geue them bread and water, and some day water onely, vntill his returne againe. The King also commaunded Sir Raufe Vernon, and sir Raufe Ratcliffe to assist them: And so they set foorth toward the King, and they were in number aboue fiue thousand men. Wherof when the Duke of Gloucester had knowledge, he and the Erle of Darbie, the Erle of Arondell, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Nottyngham assembled their powers out of all quarters, to ayde and assist them with all speede agaynst these oppressors of the Commons, and of the Realme, for feare least the honour of the Realme of Englande should be by them troden vnder foote.

The cuill Counsaylors flye.

Mighel de la Poole taken at Calice and brought into England.

Molliners raiseth an armye to helpe the Duke of Ireland.

The Duke of Irelande hauyng in his company Molyners, Vernon, and Ratcliffe, with a power of fiue thousand men, as aforesayde, came still forward vntill he came to Radcocke Bridge, not passyng foure myles from Chepyng Norton: and if he had passed the same bridge, he had bene sure out of the daunger of his enemyes. But when he came thether, he founde it kept by the Erle of Darbyes folkes, which had broken the bridge, and so stopt his passage: And within a little way therof lay the Erle of Darby himselfe with a great company. But after the Duke of Irelande had knowledge of the Erles beyng there, he stayed and caused the Kinges Banner to be displayed, and with a mery countenaunce he exhorted his company to quite themselues valiauntly, and he caused his

Radcock Bridge.

Trompettes

Trompettes to sound: howbeit, there apeared vnto him, that as some were willyng to fight on his part, so there were other that clerely forsooke him, and sayde they wouldе not fight agaynst so manye Noble men, nor in so vniust a cause. The Duke of Irelande espiyng this, gaue his horse the spurres, and roade forwarde, thinking to haue passed the Bridge: But when he came thether and sawe the Bridge broken, he sayde with open voyce, we are deceyued, and turned his horse and alighted, and gate him vpon another Courser, myndyng to haue fled ouer the Thamys: But there met him the Duke of Gloucester, with his companie. And when he sawe that he was enclosed amongest his enemies on the one syde, and the Riuer of Thamys on the other syde, and also the Erle of Darby to prease on him so fast for to haue taken him, he thought to haue put all to hazard, and cast away his Gauntlets, and his sworde to make him the lighter, and gaue hys horse the spurres, and tooke the riuer, and so escaped all his enemyes. And the next newes that was heard of him, was, that he was slaine in Louaine in huntyng of a wilde Boare, in the yere of our Lorde. 1393. and in the. xvj. yere of the reigne of King Richarde the seconde. But when king Richarde heard of his death, he tooke it merueylous heauily, and to shewe the great affection that he bare vnto him, he commaunded that his dead carkasse should be brought from Loueyn into England, and to be conueied with all solempne funerall pompe to the Priorie of Colney in Essex, and caused him to be layde in a Coffin of Cypresse, and to be adourned with princely garmentes, and his face vncouered, and garnished with a Chaine of Golde, and riche ringes put on his fingers. And the King himselfe was at his buryall accompanied with the Dukes mother, and with one Archebishop, and sundrie other Bishops: But of Noble men, there were verye fewe, for they had conceyued suche hatred agaynst him, that they vtterly contemned him. But to returne where we left: After the Duke was fled, as aforesayde, Thomas Molyners woulde haue folowed him also, but the Lorde Mortimer drewe him backe and there killed him. Then the Lordes armye set vpon the people that came with the Duke out of Chesshire, Lancashire, and Wales, and toke them as enemies, and spoyled them of their horse, harnesse, Bowe, and Arowes, and so sent them home without doyng of them any more harme.

The Duke of Irelande flyeth.

The Duke of Ireland escapeth hardly.

After this the Duke of Gloucester, and the other lordes went to Oxenforde, beyng sory that their fortune was not to haue taken the Duke of Ireland. And there they tooke their counsaile what was best for them further to do, to bring their purpose to good ende. And from thence they remoued to saint Albons, and came thether on Christmas Euen, and there taried that day and the next, and on Saint Stephens day they tooke their way to London, & there mustered themselues besydes Clerkenwell, with a goodly army, which they diuided into three battayles, and their harnesse was so cleane and bright, that it was a goodly sight to beholde: And they sent two Knightes, and two Esquiers vnto the Maior of London, and Aldermen, and chiefe Citizens of the same, that they should come and declare vnto the sayde Lords, whether they were minded to take their partes, and the partes of the Commons, or else with the Duke of Irelande and his Adherentes, Traytors vnto the King and the Realme. So came the Maior of London, whose name was Nicholas Exton, and certeine of the chiefe of the City with him, and brought the Keyes of the Citie with them, and submitted themselues to the Lordes, and offered them entrie into the Citie at their pleasures with all their people. And then the Lordes sent certeine personnes before, to searche if there were any bushmentes, or personnes lye in wayte, for to trap or destroy them. And when they were well assured that all was cleere, they entred into the Citie, and there abode quietly. Sone after their commyng, meanes was made that there might be a meetyng betwixt the King and the Lords, & that they might come to common with him in the tower of London, which was agreed vpon. And the Fryday folowyng came vnto the King sitting in a Pauilion stately apparelled, the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Nottyngham, and the Erle of Darby. But before their commyng into the Tower, they had the Keyes of the Gates sent vnto them, and of all the strong holdes within the Tower. And so soone as they came into the kinges presence, after their humble

The Lordes counsaile at Oxenford.

The Lordes send to the Maior and Citezens of London.

The Lordes were circumspect.

The comming of the Lordes to the king.

ble salutations done, they requested the King, that all those of his Court which were knowne or suspected of treason to his person or realme, might be taken and committed to seueral holdes, the which the King graunted. And duryng the tyme of this communication, the Erle of Darby desyred the king vpon the Wall of the Tower to beholde the people that were there assembled for the preseruation of him and his realme, which he did, and marueyled much to see such a goodly armie and strength. Then sayde the Duke of Gloucester vnto him, sir this is not the tenth part of your willyng subiectes that would haue risen to haue destroyed these false Traytors. And after they had such communication with the King, they would haue taken their leaue of him: But the king desyred them to tary all night there with the Quene. The Duke thinkyng to make all sure, made his excuse that he durst not be absent from all those folkes which they had brought with them, for feare that some businesse might arise, eyther in the armie, or in the Citie. But at the kinges instance, the Erles of Nottyngham, and Darby taryed there all night.

And the next daye king Richard, at the instaunce of the Lordes, caused to be taken all suspect folkes of his courte, and to be sent into dyuers prisons to be kept against the parliament, and then to come to their aunswere. The persons that were apprehended, were these. Sir Symond Burley, Sir Wylliam Elman, Sir Nicholas Dagwoorth, syr Iohn Goloford, Clifford and Slake priests, Sir Iohn Beaushamp, syr Thomas Treuet, syr Iohn Salsburie, and one called Lyncoln, and Iames Barners a priest. There should also haue bene apprehended Alexander Neuell Archbishop of Yorke, Mighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolk, and Robert Tresilian chiefe Iustice of England, but these would not be found. And there was also taken Syr Robert Brember of London knight, but he found suretie for his foorth comming. Other Lords and Ladies there were that were put out of the Court, as Iohn Fortham Bishop of Deuelyn, Lord Bewmond, Lorde Sowche, Lorde Louell, Lorde Thomas Canweyes, the Lord Cliffords sonne, Lord Bawdewyn, the Bishop of Chichester the kings Confessor, the Lady Monoy, the Lady Poynings, the Lady Molyners and dyuers other.

The names of the crimindll persons that were apprehended.

Certein persons put out of the Court.

A parliamēt.

The Iudges arested and committed to the Tower.

Shortly after, that is to say the morow after Candlemas daye the parliament began, the which was named the parliament that wrought wonders. And the first daye of the parliament were arested sytting in their places all the Iustices except Sir Wylliam Skipwoorth, that is to saye, Sir Roger Fulthorpe, syr Robert Belknap, Sir Iohn Carey, syr Iohn Holt, syr William Brooke, and Iohn Alocton the kings Sergeaunt at lawe, all which were committed to the Towre, and there kept in seuerall places. The cause of their apprehension was, for that at the last parliament the Lordes and Nobles were made gouernors of the realme, by the assent of the sayde parliament, and also by the assent and counsayle of all the Iustices then beyng, and therefore Indentures tripartited were made, wherof the one part remayned with the king, and the second parte with the Lords that were chosen to gouerne the realme, and the thirde parte with the Iustices. And foras much as the sayde Iustices at a counsayle holden at Nottyngham, as aforesayde, did afterward contrary to the sayde agreement, it was determyned that they should make aunswer thervnto.

Iudgement geuen against the cuill counsaylours.

In the beginning of the parliament was called Robert Veer Duke of Irelande, Alexander Neuell Archebishop of Yorke, Mighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian chiefe Iustice of Englande, to answere Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, Richard Erle of Arondell Thomas Erle of Darby, and Thomas Erle of Nottyngham vpon certaine articles of high treason, which these Lordes did charge them with. And for as much as none of these appered, it was ordeyned by the whole assent of the parliament that they shoulde be banished for euer: And their landes and goodes, moueable and vnmouable, to be forfeit and seased into the kinges hand, the landes entayled onely except.

Robert Tresilian chiefe Iustice of England executed.

Shortly after this, was founde Robert Tresilian chiefe Iustice lurkyng in a Poticaries house at Westmynster, and there founde the meanes to haue spyes dayly vpon the Lordes what was done in the parliament: For all the dayes of his lyfe he was craftie, but at the last his craft turned to hys destruction: for he was discouered by his awne seruant, and so taken

taken and brought to the Duke of Gloucester, and the same daye had to the Towre, and from thence drawen to Tyborne, and there hanged.

The morow after, Syr Nicholas Brembre which afore had bene Maior of the Citie of London against the Citezens will, was brought foorth. This man had done in the Citie many great oppressions, and in his Mairaltie had made great and monstreous stockes to emprison men in, and also he caused to be made a common Axe, to stryke of the heades of them which did resist his will and pleasure, for so highly was he in fauour with the king, that he might do what he would. And the report went that he had caused. viij. thousand and mo to be endited, which before had taken part with ỹ Lordes, which he entended to haue put to execution, if God had not shortened hys dayes. And in the ende, being called to his aunswer, he was found giltie, and had iudgement neyther to be hanged nor drawen, but to be hedded with his awne Axe, which before he had deuised. Sir Nicholas Brembre executed with his awne Axe.

The next day after, there were condempned these folowyng, Thomas Vske, Iohn Blagg, Sir Symon Burly, syr Iohn Beaushamp, Sir Iohn Barners, Iohn Erle of Salsburie, and euerie of them were executed. Dyuers condemned and executed.

As touching the Iustices, they were also condempned to death by the Parliament: But suche meanes was made for them vnto the Quene, that she obteyned of the king pardon for their liues, but they forfeyted their lands and goodes, and were iudged to perpetuall exile, and places appointed vnto them where they should remayne. Iustices condemned to perpetuall exile.

1388

12

And in the. xij. yere of the kings reigne, he kept a Marciall Iustes in Smithfield in London, in the month of Nouember, where all such persons as came in on the kings partie, their Armour and apparell was garnished with whyte hartes, and crownes of Golde about their neckes. The Badge of king Richard the second were white hartes with chaynes of Golde about their neckes.

And of that sorte were. xxiiij. knightes, with. xxiiij. Ladyes also appareled, as abouesayde, and their horses were led with. xxiiij. Cheynes of Golde, and so conueyed from the Towre thorough the Citie of London vnto Smithfield, where the king, the Queene, and many other great estates beyng present (after proclamation by the Heraults made) many goodly and martiall feates of warre were practised, to the pleasaunt recreation of the king and the Queene, and all other the beholders of the same.

To this disporte came many straungers, among the which the Erle of Saint Paule, the Lorde Ostreuaunt, sonne and heyre vnto the Duke of Holland, and a yong sonne of the Erle of Ostrich, were greatly commended.

And when these Iustes had cõtinued by sundry times the space of. xxiiij. dayes, to the great ioye and comforte of the young Iustie Bachelers, and to the kings great honor, who all that tyme kept open houshold for all honest cõmers: I say, when the same was finished, the straungers returned to their Countries with many riche giftes. Fabian.

And this yere also the Scottes brake into the Borders of Englande, robbed Comberland and Northumberlande, besieged new Castell, and discomfited and tooke prisoners the two sonnes of the Lorde Percy of Northumberlande. Cooper. Battaile of Otterborne.

1389

13

And at this time an Esquire of the Prouince of Nauarre, neere to Fraunce, accused an English Esquier, called Iohn Welsh, of certaine points of treason. For triall whereof a daye was appointed for a fight to be taken betweene them, in the kings Palace at Westmynster, where eyther of them kept his day, and fought there a strong fight. But in the ende Iohn Welshe was Victour, and constrayned the other to yeelde him: and then he was dispoyled of his armor, and drawen to Tiborne, & there hanged for his vntruth. A Combat.

And thys yere a truce was taken betwene Englande and Fraunce, and Scotlande, for three yeres. A truce take betweene England Scotland and Fraunce.

1390

14

In the. xiiij. yere of this king, Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, with a goodly company of men of armes, sayled into Spayne, to clayme there suche landes as he ought to haue, in the right of Dame Constance his wife. When the sayde Duke was vpon the other side of the Sea, there came vnto him the king of Portingale with a strong armie, and so entred the Territorie of Spaine. And there chaunced much harme to be done to the Spaniardes in robbing and pylling their countrie, but whether by the Englishmen or the Portingales, Iohn Duke of Lancaster sayleth into Spaine.

tingales, it was not well knowen, but it caused grudge betwene the king of Portingale and the Duke, and also made many Spanyards that ought them good will to drawe back, and departe from them. And for reformation of that euill, certaine persons, as well English as Portingales that were founde giltie of suche robberie, were put to death: By meane whereof, the other feared so, that where by the former lewdenesse the Duke and the king were put to after deale, by the reformation of that euill, they gate againe daylie vpon their enimies: So that in processe of time the king of Spayne was driuen of necessitie to treat with the Duke of a peace and concord.

Of the which peace, as sayth Reynulph in his last boke, and. vij. Chapter, the conditions were these.

Conditions of peace made betweene the king of Spaine, and the Duke of Lancaster.

First, for a finall concord, the king of Spaine should mary the Dakes eldest daughter, named Constance.

Also, that he should geue vnto the Duke in recompense of costes so many wedges of Golde as shoulde lade eyght Charets. And that yerely during the lyues of the sayde Duke and his wyfe, he should at his proper coste and charge, delyuer to the Dukes assignes ten thousand Marke of Gold, within the towne of Bayon.

And after this peace was stablished, and sureties taken for the performaunce of the same: The Duke departed with the king of Portyngale, to whome shortly after he maried his second daughter, named Anne.

An ayde sent out of Englande and Fraunce agaynst the Turkes.

And in this yere the Turks made cruell warre agaynst the Genowayes or men of Geane, & they sought ayde of the king of England, and of the king of Fraunce. And for their helpe there was sent out of England a noble warryour called the Erle of Alby, with two thousande Archers. And out of Fraunce went the Duke of Burbon, and the Erle of Ewe, with xv. hundred speares. The which kept their iourney vntill they came vnto a City in Barbary, named Thunys, sometyme belonging to the sayde Genowayes, where the sayde English and Frenchmen bare themselues so manfully, with the ayde of the Genowayes, that in processe they wanne the sayde Citie from the Turkes, and put the Genowayes agayne in possession thereof, and toke of them many prisoners, the which were exchaunged for christen prisoners before taken. And more, they forced they sayde Sarazens to paye vnto the Genowayes ten thousande Ducates of Golde, for confirmation of a peace for a certaine time. But some other write, that this towne was not recouered, but only a truce taken for a time. And Froissart sayth, that the Christians departed sodainely from the Citie of Thunes, without any league or truce making, fearyng dyuers perilles and incidents that might else haue chaunced vnto them.

The determination of ye iurisdiction and auctoritie of the Bishop of Rome.

And here Cooper (in his Chronicle) sayth: That in this time in Englande it was decreed that the auctoritie of the Bishop of Rome should be ended with the Occean Sea, and it should be lawfull thenceforth to no man to appeale to the Bishop of Rome, nor make sute that any Englishmā should be curssed by his auctority, neyther ỳ any man should execute such commaūdement, though it were obteyned of the Bishop, on payne to leese and forfeyt all his goodes, and his body to perpetuall prison.

The death of king Robert of Scotland.

And in this yere dyed king Robert of Scotland, and Iohn Erle of Carreck his eldest sonne succeded and reigned after him, whome the Scottes called Robert after his father, because they thought Iohn an vnluckie name in a King. He was maymed with the stroke of an horse in his youth, and so made vnhable for the gouernaunce of the Realme, and Duke Robert of Albanye continued as gouernoure all the tyme of hys reigne, and he reigned. xvj. yeres.

1391

15 The Erle of Pembrooke in running at the tylt, was wounded to death.

King Richard liyng at his Manor of Woodstock, and kepyng there his Christmasse: The Erle of Pembrooke beyng yong of age, was desyrous to learne to iust, and requyred a Knight named Sir Iohn Saint Iohn to run with him certeine courses. At whose request the sayd Knight ranne with him in Woodstocke Parke certeine Courses. In the which, were it with stroke or other mishap, the sayde Erle receyued there his deathes wound, and dyed shortly after.

And at this tyme chaunced in London a Bakers seruant to carie a Basket full of horse-

bread: And as he came before the bishop of Sarisburies place in Fletestreet, one of the Bishops seruauntes tooke out one of the Loues, and the Baker was earnest to haue it againe, and the Bishops seruaunt with his Dagger brake the Bakers heade: then came the Citizens and woulde haue had the Yoman to Warde for breaking of the peace, and he resisted and fled into the Bishoppes house. Then roase the streete, namely the youth, and they woulde haue had him out of the Bishoppes house, and there was great heauing and shouyng, and many people vp. And at the last came the Maior of London, and the Shirifes, and they pacified this businesse as soone and as well as they could, and shortly after all was in quiet.

A fond Fray whereby the liberties of London were seazed into the Kinges handes.

In this meane tyme, the Bishop of Sarisbury beyng at the Court with the King, and himselfe also being then high treasurer of England, such worde was brought him of this ryot, and the tale so euill tolde agaynst the Citizens and rulers of the Citie, that the sayd Bishop informed maister Arondell then Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and Chauncelor of Englande thereof, and in fine they two made so grieuous a tale and complaint to the king agaynst the Rulers of the Citie, and Citizens, that the Maior and Shirifes were sent for in all hast: And when they came, they were shaken vp to grieuously, and their honest and reasonable excuses could not be heard: But foorthwith the liberties of the Citie were seazed into the Kinges handes, and the Maior and Shirifes discharged of their offices, and a knight named sir Edwarde Dalingrige made gouernour of the Citie.

Arundel Bishop of Cauntorburie was Chauncelour of England.

And the king beyng thus in displeasure with the Citie, caused Mighelmasse Terme to be kept at Yorke, and so continued vntill Christmasse next folowyng.

The Citizens perceyuyng the king to continue in displeasure with them, made daily labour vnto such friendes as they could make, to pacify the kings wrath agaynst them, and to obteyne his most gracious pardon. The which at length, specially by the meane of the Queene, and Doctor Grauesende then Bishop of London, they obteyned. But first the Citizens were tolde that the King entended to come from his Manor of Shene, to the Citie of London, and then it was lyke they should obtain fauour: Wherefore in all goodly hast the Citizens trymmed and bewtefyed their Citie most sumptuously with Pageauntes and riche hangyngs, and at the day appoynted, foure hundreth of them in one Liuery road and met the King on the Hethe on this side Shene, and in their most humble maner submitting themselues, and praiyng his grace to pardon their follyes past, besought him to take his way to hys Palayce of Westmynster through the Citie of London. The which the King tooke in good part, and graunted them so to do: And when he came at London Bridge, they presented to him two fayre steedes, trapped in riche cloth of Golde, parted of red and white. The which present he thankfully receiued. And so the King kept on his way vntill he came to the Standard in Cheepe, the Citizens of London in their Liueryes standyng vpon eyther syde of the street as the King went, criyng, King Richard, King Richard. And at the sayde Standard in Cheepe was ordeyned a sumptuous stage, in the whiche were set dyuers personages in rich apparell. Among the which, one Angell was ordeyned, which with a vice came downe, and set a riche crowne of gold garnished with stone and pearle vpon the Kinges heade as he passed by, and another on the Queenes, and so they roade foorth vntill they came at Westminster, where the Maior and his companie, takyng theyr leaue of him, returned to London.

Doctor Grauesende Bishop of London restored the liberties of London.

King Richard passeth through London.

The next day folowyng, the Maior and his brethren went to Westminster, and presented there vnto the King two Basons of Siluer and gylt, and in them two thousand nobles of Golde, besechyng him in most humbly wise, to be good and gracious Lord vnto the Citie. The which he accepted thankfully, and gaue vnto them very comfortable wordes. And the thirde day folowyng they receyued a newe confirmation of all their olde franchises and liberties: Wherefore by counsayle of their friendes, they ordeyned a Superaltare of Siluer, and guilt, and therein the storye of Saint Edwarde was grauen most curiously, the which was valued at a thousand marke, and that they also presented as theyr gift vnto the King, which was verye well accepted and taken.

The liberties of London newly confirmed and restored.

The cause why ye Maior and the Citizens of London do come diuerse dayes in the yere solempnly to Paules Church.

And here Fabian sayth, that for the great zeale and loue that the aforesayde Bishop of London bare vnto the Citie and Citizens in this their sute to the King for their liberties, they of theyr awne good willes to this day, yerely vpon the feastfull dayes, as the day ye the Maior taketh his othe, which is the morowe after Simon and Iude, and Alhalowen day, Christmasse day, the Twelfe day, and Candlemasse day, when they go to Paules in theyr Liuereys, they visite the place of his buryall, beyng in the middle Isle in the West ende of the Church, where the sayde Bishop is pictured and drawen foorth in Brasse, holdyng the Charter of the Citie of London, and the great seale of England in his hand. But it semeth to me that this is not true, for the place of buriall in Paules, to the which the Maior doth resorte, is the graue where William, sometyme Bishop of London is buryed, of whom we haue made mention in the first yere of William the Conqueror, who first obteyned the priuileges for the Citie, and so it appereth by the inscription vpon the same Grauestone.

The terme againe remoued to Westmynster.

1393

17

A chalenge made betwene ye gentlemen of England and Scotland.

And the next Terme folowyng, which was Hillary Terme, was holden and kept at London as had bene accustomed.

And in this time, saith Fabian, dyuerse Gentlemen of Scotland chalenged sundrie poyntes of Armes with certeine Gentlemen of England. As first the Lorde Mordife, chalenged the Erle of Notyngham Marshall of England. Sir William Darell Knight, and Cockborne Esquier, chalenged Sir Nicholas Haulbert Knight. And the same feates of Armes were holden in Smithfielde in London. And Mars was so friendly to the Englishe men, that the honour of that iourney went with them: Insomuche that the Erle Marshall ouerthrew the Lorde Mordife his Appellant, and so brused him, that in his returne towarde Scotland, he dyed at Yorke. And Sir William Darell refused his Appellant before they had runne theyr full courses. And the thirde of them, that is to wit Cockborne, was throwen at the seconde copyng, to the ground, horse and man.

Anne Quene of England, and wife to king Rychard dead.

This yere and the. vij. day of Iune, dyed that gracious woman Queene Anne, and lyeth nowe buryed at Westminster by her Lord king Richard, vpon the Southsyde of Saint Edwardes shrine.

And this yere was a Truce concluded betweene France and England for foure yeres.

1394

18

A sore and great tempest.

This yere king Richard made a voyage into Ireland, which was nothing profitable, nor honourable vnto him, and therefore the Wryters seeme to thinke it scant worth the notyng.

Also in this yere was a wonderfull tempest of wynde, which did muche hurte throughout the Realme of England. And in this yere also dyed Constance, the second wife of Iohn of Gaunt, and is buried at Leycester.

1395

19

A mariage concluded betwene king Richard & the frenche kings daughter the Lady Isabel.

This yere king Richard (as sayth Reynulph) went ouer to Calice, and there met with the French king about the conclusion of a maryage, which was with the Ladie Isabell daughter vnto the French king, whome the sayd French king did offer to the king of England to take in mariage as his wife. At the meting of these two Princes, was great prouision made of both sides, and many sumptuous shewes and sightes were there shewed and seene, and many riche and most costly bankets & feastes made by the one prince to the other, the rehersall wherof should be tedious, wherfore I will be short. At the last this mariage was agreed vpon, and the day of the solempnitie therof appoynted. And the xviij. day of Nouember, the sayde King Richard maryed the sayd Lady Isabell in Calice, beyng within the age of. viij. yeres, as saith Fabian. And Polidore also sayth that she was not of ripe and mete yeres to accompany with a man: But the Aucthour of the Booke which is called the Chronicles of England, sayth that she was xix. yeres of age.

Giftes geuen by the kinges of England and Fraunce.

And here a little to note the giftes geuen of the Kinges one to another, whereof Froissart maketh a great & long discourse. But to be short, first king Richard gaue vnto the French king, a Bason of Golde, with an Ewer. Then the French King gaue him three standing Cups of Gold with couers garnished with pearle and stone, and a ship of Gold richely garnished with pearle and stone. At another metyng king Richard gaue him an

Owche,

Owche, set with so fine stones, that it was valued at fiue hundreth Marke. Then the Frenche king gaue him two Flagons of Golde, a Tablet of Golde, and therein an Image of Saint Mighell richely garnished. Also a Tablet of Golde wyth a Crucifix, richely appoynted. And a Tablet of Golde with the Image of the Trinitie, set with pearle and stone, and a Tablet of Golde with an Image of Saint George, richely set with pearle and stone, which all were valued at. xv. hundreth Marke. Then king Richard seeyng the bountie of the French king, gaue to him a Bawderick or Coller of Gold, set with great Diamōds, Rubyes, and Balesses, beyng valued at fiue thousand Marke, the which for the richenesse thereof, and for the excellency and finenesse of the workemanship, the Frenche king ware it about his necke, as often as the king and he met together. Then the Frenche king gaue to him an Owche and a spice Plate of Golde of a great weight, valued at two thousand Marke. Also many were the riche giftes that were geuen and receyued of Lordes and Ladies of both Princes. Among the which are specially noted foure giftes, which king Richard gaue vnto the Duke of Orleaunce, for the which he receyued againe of the Duke treble the value. For where his were valued at a thousand Marke: The Dukes were valued at three thousand Marke.

Now after that these two Kinges had thus solaced themselues, the one with the other, and all matters concerning the mariage fully concluded and ended. The French King, taking his leaue of King Richard, delyuered hys young daughter vnto him, and sayde as followeth.

Right louyng sonne, I delyuer here to you the creature that I most loue in this worlde next my wife and my sonne, beseeching the father of heauen, that it may be to his pleasure, & to the weale of you rrealme, and that the amitie betweene these two realmes, in aduoydyng of the effusion of christian bloud, may be kept inuiolably for the terme betweene vs concluded, which terme was. xxx. yere, as sayth Froissart. And shortly after these two princes tooke their leaue eche of other, and the French King went into Fraunce, and King Richard came into England. Where he and the Queene were by the Citezens of London most honorably conueyed thorough the sayde Citie vnto the Palice of Westmynster.

The latter ende of thys yere the King by sinister counsayle delyuered vp by appoyntment the towne of Brest in Briteyne to the Duke, which was occasion of displeasure betwene the King and the Duke of Gloucester his Vncle, as after ye shall here.

In Februarij next folowyng, the King holding a sumptuous feast in Westminster Hall, manye of the Souldiours which were newly come from the towne of Brest aforesayde, preassed into the hall, and kept a rome together. Which companie the Duke of Gloucester did earnestly beholde, and asked what men they were: and when he knew they came from Brest, which towne was geuen vp without his knowledge, he was vexed in his minde. In somuch as when the King was entred into his Chamber, and fewe nere vnto him, he sayde to the King: Sir, sawe ye not the felowes that sate in so great a number to daye in your hall at suche a table? And the king aunswered yes, and asked the Duke what companie it was? To whome the Duke aunswered and sayde, syr these are the Souldiours come from Brest, and as nowe haue nothing to take to, nor know not how to shift for their lyuing, and the rather for that I am informed, they haue bene before time euil paid. Then sayd the king, it is not my will, but that they should be well payd: And if any haue cause to complayne, let them shewe it vnto oure Treasorer, and they shall be reasonably aunswered.

1390

20

A great feast made by king Richard in Westminster Hall.

In reasonyng of this matter further, the Duke sayde to the king, syr you ought to put your bodye to paine for to wynne a strong hold or towne by feate of warre, before ye take vpon you to sell or delyuer any towne or strong holde that is gotten with great difficulty, and by the manhood of your noble progenitors. To this the king with chaunged countenaunce aunswered and sayde: Vncle, how saye you those wordes? Then the Duke boldly recited the aforesayde wordes. Wherevnto the King being then more discontented, sayde: wene

you that I am a Marchaunt, or a foole, to sell my land? by saint Iohn Baptist nay: But truth it is, that our Cosyn the Duke of Briteyne hath rendred vnto vs all suche sommes of money as our progenitors lent vnto him or his auncestours, vpon the sayde towne of Brest: for the which, reason & good conscience will, ỹ he haue his towne restored vnto him agayne. By meane of which words thus vttered by the Duke, such rancour and malice kindled betweene the King and him, that it ceassed not vntill the sayde Duke was put to death by murder vnlawfully, as shall appere in the next yere followyng.

This present yere the King bearing still malice in his minde agaynst the Duke of Gloucester, as aforesayde, and chiefly for that he and the Erles of Arondell, and of Warwike and other had forced him to renounce his most trustie friends and counsaylors, as he thought, as is before at large declared in the. xj. yere of this Kings reigne, and nowe partlye to be reuenged on their outrage, as he sayde: And partly also for that all princes subiects should take example, not to presse their souereigne Lorde after that maner, he sommoned a parliament to be holden at Westminster. And there, not regarding the othe that he had made before to the Lordes in open parliament, he called out of exile certaine of the Iustices, which by the former sentence giuen, should neuer haue returned. And for that the Deuill is alway readie to hasten euill purposes: This yere came out of Almayne to the King the Prouost of Coleyn with other: And they perceauing that the King was light and Ambicious, thinking also to wynne largely thereby, informed him that eyther he was or should be chosen Emperour, which pleased him highly, and he gaue good credite vnto them, and very liberally rewarded them for their good tydinges. And because he would be certainely certefied, he sent ouer his Ambassadors, which at their returne againe into Englande made reporte vnto the King, that the most parte of the Electors had consented to his election, onely two or three withstood it, for this cause, as they sayd, that he that could not keepe in due obeysaunce his awne subiectes, in his awne realme, it was not lyke that he should gouerne well other lyeng farre of and wide a sunder: Wherefore his Ambassadors aduised him to wynne the fauour of them that so did stick. Nowe whether the messengers did fayne this, to renewe the kings displeasure against the Duke of Gloucester and the Erle of Arundell and other, for that percase they bare them no good will, or that they brought true reporte agayne, it is not knowen: But now when it was thought that this realme of England was most quiet, and that prosperitie was lyke daylie to encrease, what for that the king had maried the French Kings daughter, and had by her great riches: And also for that truce was taken betwene both the princes for. xxx. yeres: And also considering the goodly garnishment of this realme by the great and wise number of noble Lordes, and valiaunt knightes, which were suche, as no christian realme for the number of them coulde then shewe the lyke. All these things considered, euen contrary to all mens expectation, sodainely the kinges maiestie bearing in his heart great wrath and displeasure against the true Lords of his counsayle as aforesayd, whome he nowe purposed to be reuenged of, practised their destructions, which put the realme to great trouble, and in the ende it turned to the ouerthrowe and confusion of the king himselfe, as ye shall here. For the. vj. daye of Iulij next after, the king appointed to keepe a great feast in London, where he purposed to haue had the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Arondell, the Erle of Warwike and dyuers other, which he hated deadly, purposing there to haue trapped and taken all those noble men together without businese, or further resistance. But the Duke of Gloucester excused him by sicknesse: The Erle of Arondell fearing the kinges displeasure kept him at home in his Castell, and so there came to this feast none but onely the Erle of Warwike. And at the comming of the Erle, the king receaued him with maruelous gentle and louing countenaunce, and gaue him very comfortable wordes sayeng vnto him, be of good cheere and take no thought, for losing of Goers lande, swearing vnto him that he woulde prouyde other for him, that should amount to as good a valure. But neuerthelesse, after that dynner was done, the king caused him to be arrested of treason, and deliuered him to be kept in safe custody vntill the next parliament, which he had ordeyned to be kept for

A parliament at Westminster.

An Ambassade out of Almayn.

A malicious report made by the Ambassadours.

A daũgerous feast for the Lordes.

The Erle of Warwike is arested of treason.

for the destruction of him and manye other. The same night also the king spake vnto the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, that he should perswade his brother the Erle of Arondell frankly to submit himselfe, swearing his olde othe by Saint Ihon Baptist, that hurte should he haue none thereby, if he would so do. The Archbishop trusting the kings faire promise, moued this matter to the Erle his brother: But he knowing the kings great malice, and that he purposed nothing more then to apprehend and destroye him, would in no wise agree to his brothers counsaile: howbeit the Archebishop would not so leaue him, but daylie was importune on him to submit himselfe: Saiyng vnto him that all which he mistrusted should passe awaye lyke a clowde. And if he would not submit himselfe when he might, it might fortune to turne to the dishenerityng both of him and his: For it was sayde than, and the same was the opinion of manye, that for none other purpose would he keepe these Lordes vnder a rest, but for to shewe the Lordes of Almayne that he coulde rule the greatest of them. And after that he had so holden his Lordes a season, that it was knowne in Almayne and in outward parties, that then his purpose was to restore them againe to their liberties and dignities. So at the last, by these perswasions & other vsed by the Archbishop of Cauntorburie, his brother the Erle in an vnhappy houre submytted himselfe to the king. And foorthwith he was taken and sent to be kept in the Isle of Wyght. The Erle of Arondell taken and committed.
And the same night that he was taken, the king sent secretly to the Maiour of London, commaundyng hym that he should make ready as many harnessed men as he could, and that they should be in a redinesse within two or three houres to attend vpon the king, whether his pleasure was to go. The king also commaunded the Erles of Rutland, Kent, Huntyngdon and Nottyngham to arme themselues, and to conduct the Londoners. And so they tooke waye to Plassby in Essex, where then was the Duke of Gloucester in his Castell. Notwithstandyng fewe there were that knew, when the king set foorth, whether he would go. And when they came nye the place, the king vewed his people folowyng him, which were numbred by the Heraultes to be. xv. thousand. Then the king sayde vnto them, whatsoeuer ye see me doe, lykewise studie you to doe the same. If I prepare me to fight, doe ye lykewise. If ye see me in peace, rest you also in quyet, doyng hurte to no man. The king sent afore the Erle of Rutlande to the Dukes Castel, that they should see what number of defensible men the Duke had within the Castell: For he was afeard both of the valiauntnesse and wisedome of the Duke. But it happened at that time that the most parte of the Dukes houshold seruaunts, by licence were departed to their friendes and wyfes. When the king was certefied that the Duke had so small a number aboute him, he maruelled muche, for it had bene tolde him before by such as bare the Duke no good will, that he had fortified and manned his Castell. So then the King approched therevnto, his men of armes goyng before him and behinde him: And albeit that the Duke was somewhat accrased, yet he met him with a solempne procession of the Colledge, and receaued him with all the reuerence and humilitie that he could doe, as it became him best to do, being his souereigne Lorde. And the King as he sawe the Duke comming vnto him, and that he made him lowe curtesie: The King clapped his hande vpon his shoulder, and arested him. To whome the Duke aunswered, that he not onely was content to obey his arest, but the arest of the least of his court. And the King sayde vnto him, and will you so, good Vncle? And the Duke aunswered, ye surely syr: then the king folowed the procession, and the Duke folowed the King a farre of. And when the king was somewhat set foorth, he looked back, and called the Duke vnto him, and sayde, By Saint Iohn Baptist, good Vncle, this that is done, shall be for the best both for you and vs, and so entered into the Chapell, where were a great number of reliques and Iewels of great valure: which when the king sawe, he sayde vnto his Vncle, I see you are a good husbande: But nowe go your waye, and take some sustenaunce, and after you haue dyned, ye shall go to the place that I haue appointed, for here you may not tary. Then the Duke prayed the king to shewe him howe many seruauntes he should haue to wayte vpon him: The king aunswered that he should be aduertised thereof before he rose The king arresteth the Duke of Gloucester.

from

from dyner. The Duke then went to his lodging, which was nigh vnto the Chapell. And the King went to his lodging, where was prepared for him and those that came with him great and honorable fare, both of Fishe and Fleshe, and it was no great maruaile, for the Duke was aduertised priuily of the kinges comming. After that the king was set at dyner, he sent to the Duke his minde, what number of persons should wayte vpon him, and wylled him to make shorte worke and come away.

After dyner the king departed, and left to conuey the Duke the Erle of Kent, and the Lorde Thomas Percye Steward of his house. And when the Duke had dyned, he caused suche stuffe to be trussed vp, and carved wyth him, as was necessarie for him. And then bade his wyfe farewell, who was a Lady both honorable, wise and vertuous: and at his departing he desyred her to make humble suite to the king, to haue him his good and gracious Lorde, and that she should boldly offer to sweare that he was neuer Traytor to his person, nor he that willed him any hurt. And when he was a horsback, with a mery cheere, he sayde vnto the Lordes that abode for him. Nowe, whether shall we go? And who shall be our guide? I or one of you? They aunswered with reuerence. Nay syr, it becommeth you to leade, and we to folow. Then sayde he, let vs set forth a Gods name, wheresoeuer your pleasure is that I shall go, and so was he conueyed to Calice, and thus taken and arested at that time, when he thought that he was most in the kings fauour. For not long before the king had geuen him so great giftes, honours and Lordships, that euery man thought there was no man more acceptable in the kings fauour then he.

The Duke of Gloucester is conueyed to Calice.

Now after the taking of these Lordes was blowen abroade, there was made great moane for them throughout all England, as though the Realme had bene deliuered into the enemies handes: so great hope had the Commõs vniuersally in them, but most specially in the Duke of Gloucester, whome the Realme beleued, that by his prosperitie the same was safe from all inward and outward enemies.

A false Proclaymation.

The king perceiuing the great affection that the people bare to the duke and the sayd Lordes, and fearyng insurrection of the Commons, which were not all clere of their Melancholy, caused to be proclaymed, that this takyng of the Lordes was not done for their offenses committed of olde, but for new matters, wherin they had offended sithens the obteynyng of their pardons, as they should vnderstand plainly at the next Parliament.

Duryng the tyme (sayth mine Aucthour) that these Lordes were in prison, so sory was the people for them, that prayers and Processions were vsed throughout all the realme, that it might please God of his goodnes to inspire into the Kinges minde, to be good and mercifull vnto these Lordes, and to conuert his heart from hatred vnto loue. The King heeryng of these prayers, forbad streyghtly all Bishoppes and Prelates that such Processions shoulde be no more vsed.

A Counsaile holden at Nottingham.

And shortly after, the king helde a great counsaile at Nottyngham, and there he hauyng his Iudges, and other of his learned Counsaile, caused inditementes to be drawen of the Duke of Gloucester, and of the Erles aforesayde. And he framed there also an Appellation, and there it was ordeyned that certeine Appellers should lay vnto them highe treason in open Parliament, whose names were Edward Erle of Rutland, Thomas Lord Mowbrey Erle Marshall, Thomas Holland Erle of Kent, Iohn Holland Erle of Huntyngdon, Lorde Beneforde Erle of Somerset, Lorde Iohn Mountagew Erle of Sarisburie, Thomas Lorde Spencer, William Lorde Scrope, Chamberleyn to the king. The which matters beyng deuised, the King caused proclamation openly to be made, declaring vnto the people that these Lordes were arested and imprisoned for high treason. And soone after he sommoned a Parliament to be holden at London the. xv. day of September next folowyng. And thether were commaunded to come all such as the King had best confidence in. And agaynst the tyme of the sayd Parliament, the king reteyned vnto him a gard of Archers of Chesshire, like as he should haue gone in battaile against his enemyes. And those Chesshire men were very rude and beastly people, and fell into such great pryde of the Kinges fauour, that they accompted the king to be as their felowe, and they set the Lordes at naught

The names of the Appealers.

A parliament holden at Westminster.

A garde of Chesshire mẽ to attend vpõ the king.

naught, yet fewe or none of them were Gentlemen, but taken from the plough and cart, and other craftes. And after these rusticall people had a while Courted, they entered into so great a boldenesse, that they would not let, neyther within the Court, nor without, to beate and slay the kinges good Subiectes, and to take from them their victuals, and to pay for them little or nothing at their pleasure, and to ravish their wiues and daughters. And if any man fortuned to complaine vnto the king of them, he was soone ryd out of the way, no man knewe howe, nor by whome, so that in effect they dyd what them lusted.

A new house made for the Parliament.

Against this Parliament, the King had commaunded a great house to be made in the Palace at Westminster, which was so great, that scarcely the roome of the Palace sufficed to set it in. In this house was made a highe trone for the King, and a large place for all estates besydes, to syt in. And also there were places made for certeine Appealers, which are mencioned before, and they to be on the one syde, and the aunswerours on the other, and a lyke roome was made behynde for the knightes and Burgesses of the Parliament. And a place also made for the speaker of the Parliament, who at that time was one named sir Iohn Bushe, which was called a cruel, ambicious, and couetous man without all measure. And immediately after, all men in their degrees were placed, and the cause of the callyng of that Parliament beyng declared, which was that the king had ordeyned it for reformation of dyuerse transgressions and oppressions, done against the peace of our souereigne Lorde the kinges Maiestie, by the Duke of Gloucester, the Erles of Arondell, and of Warwike, and other. Then foorthwith came Sir Iohn Bushe, and made request on the behalfe of the commonaltie, that it might please the kinges highnesse and excellencie, that for the enorme actes done agaynst hys lawes and Maiestie, they might haue condigne punishement accordyng to theyr desertes, and chiefely the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which then sate next vnto the king, whom he called the highest traytor, for where for many causes he should haue bene to the king a most faythfull Counsaylor, he by his euill counsaile and prodigious suggestions, craftilye circumuented the king, inducyng him to graunt his letters of pardon to a great traytour the Erle of Arondell his brother. To this when the Archebishop arose and would haue aunswered, the king would geue him none audience, but commaunded him to sytte downe againe in his place, and not to make any further aunswere, for it should be well inough if he helde his peace for that tyme. Then Sir Iohn Bushe requyred that the Archbishop should not be taken to his aunswere, for he sayde that his wit was so great, and did so farre excell all other, and his craft so great, that I feare he shall circumuent vs: So at that tyme the Archebishop had no further heeryng. The said Sir Iohn Bushe in all his prepositions to the king, did not onely attribute to him worldly honours, but diuyne names, inuentyng flatteryng wordes, and vnused termes, and to a mortall man not conuenient, for as oft as he spake vnto the king in his Throne, he cast his handes abrode, as he had adoured and worshipped God, besechyng his excelse, high, and adorant Maiestie, that he woulde witsafe to graunt him this or that. And the Prince beyng ambicious of honours, did not represse this insolencie, but tooke great pleasure in his wordes, whereof came more inconuenience, as shall appere.

Sir Iohn Bushe speaker of the Parliament.

The Archebishop of Cãtorbury is accused of high treason.

Sir Iohn Bushe a flatterer.

Thus after, as ye haue heard, that the king had excluded the Archebishop from his aunswere: Sir Iohn Bushe, keping his olde flattering way, requyred on the behalfe of the Commons, that the Charters of pardon grãted vnto the traytors, as to the Duke of Gloucester, the Erles of Arondell, and of Warwike, shoulde by the assent and consent of all the whole Parliament be reuoked. The king also in his awne person protested, that those pardons were extorted from him, and that he did not willyngly graunt them, and therefore he requyred that euery man would say his opinion, aswell spirituall as temporall, what they thought therein. The spirituall men began first, being afrayde to displease the king, and sayd that such pardons were reuocable, and at the kinges pleasure, and ought not to be allowed: and lykewyse sayde euerie of the spiritualtie, man by man, vntill it came to the Archebishop of Cauntorbury: For the custome is, when suche questions be asked, the yongest both of the spiritualtie and temporaltie say their opinions

The kinges pardon made voyde by parliament.

first, and so passe foorth in order vntill it come to the highest. And when this question was asked of the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, he aunswered that the kinges person is so high from whom the pardon came, that he durst not say, that any suche Charters were reuocable: Howbeit, in the ende it was determined that such pardons were to be reuoked, for they did empeche the honor of the kinges person.

After that Sir Iohn Bushe had obteyned this reuocation, he declared further, that the Erle of Arondell had yet another speciall Charter of pardon for his awne person, which he obteyned after the first, and in that also the said Sir Iohn Bushe requyred importunately ayde, in the name of the Commonaltie, that the same also might be reuoked. Then this question was also asked of the Prelates, which were of lyke opinion as they were of the first, that is to say, that it was reuocable. At this tyme the Archebishop of Cauntorbury absented himselfe from the Parliament, trustyng in the kinges promise, and lyke also as he had sworne vnto him, that nothyng should be attempted agaynst him in his absence, but the contrary folowed. For still this sir Iohn Bushe pursued him, and at his instant sute, which seemed to be the Kinges will, he was condempned to perpetuall exile, and that he should not make any further abydyng within this realme then sixe dayes. And after this Bishop was thus condemned, he sent to Rome, that Richard Walden his Treasurer might haue the Archebishopricke, whereunto at the kinges instaunce the Pope accorded, & within two yere after was by the same Pope deposed.

The Archbishop of Cauntorbury condempned to perpetuall exile.

Shortly after this, was brought forth Richard Erle of Arondel, on the day of Saint Mathewe the Euangelist, to aunswere before the King, and the whole Parliament, to such thinges as should be obiected and deposed agaynst him. And as he stood at the Barre, the Lorde Neuel was commaunded by the Duke of Lancaster, which sate that day as high steward of England, to take the Whoode from his necke, and to vngyrde him. Then the Duke of Lancaster, to whom by his office it apperteyned, notefyed vnto him, that for his manifolde rebellions and treasons against the kinges Maiestie, he was arested, and hetherto kept in Warde, and nowe at the peticion of the Lordes and Commonaltie, he was called to aunswere to suche crymes as should be there obiected agaynst him, and there eyther to purge him of them, or else to abyde condigne punishment. And first he did charge him that he roade trayterously in harnesse agaynst the king with the Duke of Glocester, and the Erle of Warwike, perturbyng of the peace and realme.

Richard erle of Arondell arreigned of treason.

The Duke of Lancaster high steward of England.

To the which he aunswered, that he neuer did that as a traytor, nor for any hurt meant or intended against the kinges person, but for the kinges profite, and the realme, if that act might be well interpreted as it ought.

Also it was demaunded of him, why that he procured letters of pardon of the king for himselfe, if he knewe that he was not faultie therein? To this he aunswered that he did it not for any feare of any thyng that he had misdone, but for stoppyng of euyll tongues, which neyther bare the king, nor him good wyll.

Also he was demaunded, whether he would denie that he made any such roade with the personnes aforenamed, and that he entred not armed into the kinges presence, agaynst hys pleasure and will? To this he aunswered that he could not say nay.

Then Sir Iohn Bushe cryed importunately and called for iudgement to be geuen against the traytor, & sayd: your faythfull commons aske, and requyre that it may so be. The Erle soberly turned his head, and sayd mildely vnto him: Not the kinges faythfull Commons require this, but thou, and what thou art I knowe well inough. Then the. viij. Appealantes before named, standyng on the other syde, cast their gloues vnto him, and folowed their appeale which before was read, and offered to fight with him man for man, in iustefiyng of their appeale. Then sayd the Erle, if I were at my libertie, & that it might please my souereigne Lord the king, I would not refuse to proue you lyeres in your appeale. And then spake the Duke of Lancaster high Steward, and sayde vnto him, what haue you further to say to the poyntes before alleaged agaynst you? He aunswered that of the kinges grace he had his letters of generall pardon, which he requyred might be allowed. Then

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the Duke aunswered that the Pardon was reuoked by the Prelates and Noble men in the Parliament, and therefore willed him to make some other aunswere. The Erle sayde againe, that he had another pardon vnder the kinges great seale, which was graunted him long after of the kinges awne mocion, which also he requyred to be allowed. The Duke sayde againe, that that pardon was in likewyse reuoked. And after this, when the Erle had nothing to saye for him selfe: Then the king with his Scepter made countenaunce to the Duke to geue iudgement. Then the Duke vsed these wordes vnto him: Forasmuch as thou art cõuicted of high treason. &c. Thou shalt be drawen to the Galowes, and there hanged, and after taken downe, and thy Bowelles to be taken out of thy body, and burned, and after to be behedded, and quartered. And this iudgement geuen in this maner, the Duke pawsed a while, and then sayd: The King our souereigne Lord of his grace, because thou art of his blood, and one of the Peeres of the realme, hath remitted all the other paines vnto the last, so that onely thou shalt lose thy head.

The Erle of Arondell condempned and iudged.

And anone he was taken from the place, and without delaye had to the Tower hill, and there went before him, and behinde him the aforesayde furious Chesshire men, which onely in this Parliament had lycence to beare weapon. There went with him also to his death the Erle of Nottyngham, that had maried his daughter: The Erle of Kent his Nephewe, the Erle of Huntyngdon, Iohn Holland, which were all vpon great horsses, and had with them a great company of harnessed men. And when he should departe the Palaice, he desyred his hands might be let loose, and that he might geue suche money as he had in his Pursse with his awne hands, betwixt that and Charing crosse. And so he gaue his almose, but his armes were bound behinde him. The Londoners seyng him thus passe thorough the City, bewayled sore his fortune, who not long before, among all the noble men was most famous, for he was so noble and valyaunt, that all the worlde spake honor of him. And when he came to the Towre hill, the noble men that were about him, moued him verie earnestly to acknowledge and confesse that he had offended the king in high treason: But he in no wise would agree so to do, but sayd that he was neuer Traytor in worde nor deede. Then he turned to him that was the executioner and kyssed him, and said: do thy duetie, and as thou art commaunded, but torment me not, but with one stroke strike of my head, and he assayed himselfe with his fingers, whether the sworde was sharpe enough, and sayde it is very well. Then sayde he to his kinsmen that stood there, it had bene more meeter for you to haue bene awaye then at this acte. I haue bene he that hath brought you vp, and haue enriched you, & brought you to honor, and ye lyke vnkinde persons rewarde me with this, to bring me to shame: But the time will come and that shortly, when there shall as many maruaile at your misfortune, as doth now of my fall. And then kneeled he downe, and the Executioner with one stroke strake off his head, and his bodye was honorably buried in the Augustine Fryers.

The Erle of Arondell is executed.

Then returned they that were at the execution, and shewed the king merily of the death of the Erle: But though the king was then mery and glad that the dede was done, yet after, as mine Aucthor sayth, he was exceedingly vexed in his dreames, imagening that the Erle appered vnto him. &c.

After the iudgement and death of the Erle of Arundell, as aforesayde, then was Thomas Becham Erle of Warwik brought foorth to abyde the iudgement of the Parliament. And when his accusers charged hym, as a Traytor, with diuers articles of treason, such as were before alleged against the Erle of Arundell, he aunswered that his minde was neuer to be Traytor vnto the king, nor he thought neuer that those rydinges and assemblyes that he made, could be accompted as treason. And when the Iudges had shewed vnto him that it was treason, he humbly asked of the king mercy and grace. The king then asked him whether that he had so rydden with the Duke of Gloucester, and the Erle of Arundell: he aunswered that he could not denie it, and wished that he had neuer sene them: then sayde the king, doe you not knowe that ye are giltie of treason? he aunswered againe I knowledge it, and with great weeping and sobbyng required al those that were present, to

The Erle of Warwike is arreigned of Treason.

make intercession to the kinges Maiestie for pardon for him. Then the king and the Duke of Lancaster commoned, & after the king had pawsed awhile, he sayde to the Erle, by saint Iohn Baptist Thomas of Warwike, this confession that thou hast made, is vnto me more acceptable then all the landes of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Erle of Arundell. Then the Erle making still intercession for pardon, the Lordes humbly besought the king to graunt it him. The king then was contented to graunt hym his lyfe, but he banished him into the Isle of Man, which then was the Lorde Scropes, and he promised the Erle, that he and his wyfe and children should haue honorable enterteynment: But that promise was slenderly kept, for both the Erle and the Countesse led their lyues in great penurie.

The banishment of the Erle of Warwike.

The king not yet quieted, sent one of his Iustices called Wylliam Rykyll, borne in Ireland, to Calice, which was commaunded to enquire of the Duke of Gloucester, whether he had committed any such treasons as before were alleged agaynst the Erle of Arundell, and the Erle of Warwike, and that he should write what he sayde, and what the Duke did confesse: which after the sayde Iustice had speedely done, he returned vnto the King, and shewed him such things of his awne deuise, as he thought would best please the King, affirming that those things the Duke had franckly confessed. The king after the sight therof, purposed the death of the Duke, and yet not willing to haue him brought vnto open iudgement, for he feared the people, who bare him great loue and fauour, and therefore he sent the Erle of Nottyngham vnto Thomas Mowbrey Erle Marshall, which then had the keeping of the Duke in Calice, and commaunded him that priuily the Duke should be killed. But he fearing to commit such an enorme deede, deferred the matter, though the king would haue had it done with all speede. For the which the King was sore mooued agaynst the Erle, and sware that it shoulde coste him his lyfe, if he obeyed not quickly his commaundement. And beyng thus constreyned he called out the Duke at midnight, as though he should haue taken shypping to go into Englande, and there in his lodgyng with his seruaunts, casting on Fetherbeds vpon him, he was smowthered. And so was this honorable and good man miserable put to death, which for the honor of the King and wealth of the realme had taken great trauayles.

The Duke of Gloucester shamefully murtherd.

After that the king in thys vnhappye Parliament had brought all these matters to passe: yet woulde he not dissolue the same, but proroged it, because it was nigh the feast of Christmasse, and ordeyned that it should begin againe immediatly after the feast at Shrewesbury. And after that the king & Lords were come together, the king obteyned that the whole power of both the houses was graunted vnto sixe or eyght persons which had auctboritie to determine suche causes as yet hanged in the parliament. By vertue of which graunt, the number aforesayde did proceede in derogation of the state of the house, and to the great disaduauntage of the king, and perillous example in time to come. And for that the king had spent much money at these Parliaments, he required to haue one disme and a halfe of the Clergie, and a fiftene of the temporaltie, and then he tooke vpon him the name of the Prince of Chester, for loue that he bare to the Chesshire men.

The parliament proroged vnto Shrewesbury.

King Richard nameth himself prince of Chester.

Then was the Erle of Darbie made Duke of Hertfoord: The Erle Marshall Duke of Norffolk, the Erle of Rutland Duke of Aubemarle: the Erle of Kent Duke of Surrey, and the Erle of Huntyngdon Duke of Excester: The Countesse of Norffolk Duches of Norffolk, the Erle of Somerset Marques of Dorset: The Lorde Spencer Erle of Gloucester, the Lorde Neuyll Erle of Westmerland, the Lorde Scrope the kings Chamberleyn, the Erle of Wiltshire, the Lord Percy Steward of the kings house Erle of Worcester.

Creation of Dukes and Erles.

The king after this triumphed not a little as one, that had conquered and ouerthrowne his enimies, and he waxed so hawtie, that he had all estates in contempt, and thought himselfe more noble then any prince lyuing. And then he chaunged his armes that his Graundfather had giuen, and ioyned Saint Edwardes armes and his together. And to rewarde the persons aboue named, whome he had aduaunced to honor, he gaue vnto them a great

King Rychard altereth his armes.

a great parte of the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Arondels lands. And whatsoeuer the king did, no man durst speake a worde, or aduise hym in any thing, but must sothe him in whatsoeuer he sayd, or did. And such as were then chiefe of hys Counsayle, the commons iudged to be the woorst of all other, the which were these. The Duke of Aumarle, the Duke of Norffolk, the Duke of Excester, the Duke of Wiltshire, Sir Iohn Bushe, Sir Wylliam Bagot, syr Thomas Grene knight, to whom as is aforesayd, the Commons bare great and priuie hatred.

The Lorde Cobham is arreigned and atteinted.

Sone after this, the king caused to be arreigned and atteinted the Lord Cobham, vpon those articles that the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Arondell, and the Erle of Warwike were condempned for: But the Lorde Cobham was pardoned of his lyfe, and put to exile into the Isle of Gernesey, and there was assigned vnto him a small and poore lyuyng. And for an ende of thys parliament the king graunted a generall pardon to all persons, and for all maner of offences, except onely fiftie persons, whose names he would not declare, nor no man so priuy about hym that could vnderstand them. And it was sayde, that he kept that secret, that when any great man offended, he woulde then declare that he was one of the fiftie that was excepted, and by that meanes he had alwayes his subiectes in his daunger.

A generall pardon.

Thys yere being the. xxij. yere of hys reigne, it chaunced Henry Erle of Darby a little before created Duke of Herfford, a prudent and wyse man, and welbeloued of all, calling to his minde, and well consideryng with himselfe howe king Richarde his Cossyn Germaine was nowe come to that trade, that he little or nothyng regarded the counsayle of hys Vncles, nor other graue and sad persons, but did all thing at his pleasure, vsyng his wyll in steede of lawe and reason. Wherefore on a daye beyng in the company of Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norffolk, and Erle Marshall, he beganne to breake his minde vnto him, rather for sorrow and griefe, then for malice or displeasure, rehersing how king Richard little esteemed the Nobles of hys Realme and as muche as laye in him, sought daylie occasions to destroy the more part of them, dispatching some by death, and other by banishment. And this his cruell and seuere gouernement (sayde he) is not onely greeuous to the Nobilitie, but to the Commons also, who greatly murmured thereat, therefore for as much as I knowe he loueth you, and, I am sure, so do you him, when time oportune will serue, ye shall doe well to aduertise him therof, and to beseche his grace to turne the lefe, and vse a better way. When the Duke of Norffolk had heard fully his deuice, he tooke it not in good parte, but reconed that he had gotten a pray, by the which he should obteyn greater fauour of the king then euer he had, and for that time dissembled the matter and so departed. And after, when he had oportunitie and sawe his tyme, he declared to the king what he had heard: and to aggrauate, and to make the offense the greater, he added much therevnto, but left out nothing.

1398

22

When the king had heard him, and had pawsed a little with himselfe, he beganne to be in a great chafe, but after a whyle he tempered his melancholy, and was content to here both parties together, and therefore called vnto him the Duke of Lancaster, who was chiefe of his counsayle, and both the Dukes of Herfford & Norffolke, and caused the accuser openly to declare what he had heard the Duke of Herfford speake. The Duke of Norffolke rehearsed agayne the tale that he had tolde to the king, but not in such order as the Duke of Herfford had tolde it to him, but had added therevnto, and altered very much thereof. When the Duke of Herfford heard the tale so tolde, he was somewhat troubled therewith and pawsed awhyle, and after turning him to the Duke of Norffolk, he declared worde by worde what he had sayde, and shewed the cause why he so spake, denyeng all the other matters that the Duke of Norffolk had added therevnto, and sayde further vnto the king, that if it would please hys grace to suffer hym, he would prooue his accuser vntrue, and a false forger of lyes by the stroke of a speare and dent of a sworde. The Duke of Norffolk affirmed constantly hys tale to be true, and refused not the Combate. The king demaunded of them if they woulde not agree among themselues?

selues? which they both denyed, and threwe downe their gages. By saint Iohn Baptist, quod the king, if you of your selues will not agree, I will not studie how to agree you, and then he graunted them the battayle, and assigned the place to be at Couentrie, in the moneth of August next ensuyng.

A Combate betwene the duke of Herford and the duke of Norfolke.

Then was great preparation made, as to such a matter apperteyned, and when all things were in readynesse, and the daye come, thether came the king being accompanied with all his nobles. And thether came also the two Dukes aforesayde, that is to say, the Duke of Herfford Appellant, & the duke of Norffolk Defendãt, & they beyng armed, entred on horsback the one after the other into the Listes, & the people cryed vpon God to saue and prosper the Duke of Herfford, for they loued not the Duke of Norffolke, because it was said that he murdered the Duke of Glocester at Calice, as aforesayd. Now the time beyng come, these two noble men, eche hauyng his Speare in rest, and readie to ioyne the battaile, the king cast downe his warder, and commaunded them to stay, and then the king and the Lordes went to counsaile, and they toke vp the matter: And after great deliberation, the king by the mouth of the king of Herault pronounced sentence in this sort, first that Henry of Lancaster Duke of Herfford Appellant, and Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norffolke Defendant, haue honorably and valiantly appered here within the listes this day, and haue bene redy to darreyne the battayle, lyke two valiant knightes, and hardie Champions: But because the matter is great and weightie betweene these two great Princes, this is the order of the king and his counsaile. That Henry Duke of Herfford for dyuerse considerations, and because it hath pleased the king, shall within. xv. dayes depart out of the realme, for the terme of ten yeres, without returnyng, except by the king he be repealed againe, and that vpon paine of death.

The Duke of Herfordebanished for ten yeres.

The Herault cryed againe and sayde, that Thomas Mowbray Duke of Northffolke by the ordenaunce of the King and his Counsaile, because that he had sowen sedicion in the realme by his wordes, whereof he can make no proofe, shall aduoyde the realme of England and dwell where he lust out of the Kinges dominions, and neuer to returne againe into the same vpon paine of death, and that the king woulde stay the profites and reuenewes of hys landes vntill he had receyued such sommes of money as the Duke had taken vp of the Kinges treasurer, for the wages of the Garrison of Calice, which were still vnpayd. And then they called before him the two banished persons, and made them swere, that ỹ one should neuer come into the place where the other was (willyngly) nor kepe companie together in any other forein region.

The Duke of Norffolke banished for euer.

The Duke of Norffolke, which supposed to haue bene borne out by the king, was sore repentant of his enterprise, and departed sorowfully out of the realme into Almain, & at the last came to Venice, where for thought he died.

The Duke of Herfford tooke his leaue of the king at Eltham, and there the king released vnto him foure yeres of his banishment. And so he toke his iourney, and came to Calice, and so into Fraunce, where he cõtinued a while.

When he was arriued in Fraunce, king Charles heeryng the cause of his banishment, which he esteemed very small and light, receyued him gently and honorably enterteyned him: Insomuch, ỹ he had by fauour obteined the mariage of the only daughter of Iohn Duke of Berry, Vncle to the French king, if king Richard had not cast a stop in his way: For he well considered how the Commonaltie loued the Duke, and howe desyrous they were of his returne into Englande: and then foreseeyng that if he should be ioyned wyth so great an affinitie as the blood of the house of Berry was in Fraunce, and afterward sodeinly to returne into Englande, it might fortune to turne to hys more displeasure then pleasure, wherefore he letted that mariage.

Iohn Duke of Lancaster dyeth.

Duryng the first yere of the exile of this Duke, his father Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster dyed, and is buryed on the North syde of the Quier of the Church of Saint Paules in London. The death of this Duke shortened the life of king Rychard, for he notwithstandyng, that the Duchie of Lancaster was to this Duke Henrye lawfully discend-

ed, not onely seased without right or title all the goodes of the sayde Duke Iohn his parent, but also defrauded his heyre of his laufull inheritaunce, receyuyng the rentes and reuenues of all his patrimonie, and geuyng to other that which was not his, and distributed the Dukes landes to his Parisites, and flatteryng folowers. This act was iudged of all the nobilitie to be vnlawfull, vniust, and vngodly, to depriue a man beyng banished out of the realme without desart, of his inheritaunce. But Edmond Duke of Yorke, Vncle to Henrie nowe lawfully Duke of Lancaster, was sore moued with this chaunce, to see the king breake and violate all lawes: And after the murther of hys brother the Duke of Gloucester, to spoyle and robbe the sonne of his other brother. For he before this tyme, as much as his pacience could beare, dyd tolerate and suffer the death of his brother, the banishment of his Nephew, and many mo iniuryes, which for the lightnesse and youth of the king he passed ouer: But nowe that he sawe there was no hope of amendment of the kinges gouernement, and that he had no man nere him that durst boldely admonishe him of his office, and dutie, he therefore as a wise man, thought it meete in tyme to get him to a restyng place, and to leaue the folowyng of so doubtfull and wilfull a Captaine: Wherefore he with the Duke of Aumerle his sonne, departed from the Court, and went to his house at Langley.

In this meane tyme, king Richard had made great preparation to go into Ireland, and gathered together great summes of money by sundrie deuises and practises: as first, he caused an inquirie to be made in euery shyre, of those that had beene in armes with the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Arondell, and the Erle of Warwike, and caused dyuerse Bishoppes and men of honour in euery shyre, to aduise such as had offended, to confesse their treasons by writyng, and put them in the kinges mercie, promisyng that they should haue no hurt thereby. Wherefore many were constreyned, as well of the Clergie, as of the Commonaltie, to make great fynes. And also manye Noble men were compelled to pay vnto the king great sommes of money, which was called *Pleasaunce*, to please the king withall. Also at thys tyme the king caused many blacke Chartres to be made, and forced men to signe and seale the same, by the which he might whe he would vndo any of his subiectes. But some write that it was for that he purposed to delyuer Calice, and all his landes beyonde the Sea, to the French king, and to shewe that al his subiectes had assented therevnto. New exactions. Blanck Chartres.

When all these thinges were done, as is mencioned before, the king set forward with a great nauie & power of men towards Ireland, in the moneth of Aprill, to suppresse and tame the wilde heddes of the Irishe men, and he had with him his garde of Chesshire men, in whome hee put his speciall trust. Also he caried with him the greatest of the noble mens sonnes of England, as the Duke of Gloucesters sonne and heyre, the Erle of Herford son and heire to Henry Duke of Herfford and Lancaster. Also he was accompanied with the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Exeter, and many other: And at his departure he left for his Lieutenant in England, Sir Edmond of Langley his Vncle, Duke of Yorke. And so the king entered into Ireland, and set fiercely vpon the Irishe men, and compelled them shortly to submit them selues. The saiyng also was, that before his goyng into Ireland, he had let the realme to ferme to Sir William Scrope Erle of Wiltshire, and then Treasurer of England, to Sir Iohn Bushe, Sir Iohn Bagot and syr Henry Grene, knightes, for the terme of xiiij. yeres: By reason whereof they procured many men to be accused, and such as were accused, there was no remedye to deliuer him, or them, but were he poore or riche, he must compounde and make his fine with those Tyrannes, at their will and pleasure. Nowe the King beyng in Irelande, as aforesayde, he so subdued the Irishemen, and that in short space, that he brought the greatest part of the realme into very good order, and set them very quiet. The king setteth foorth to Ireland. The King had let the Realme to Ferme.

1399

23

But while the king was thus occupyed in Irelande, the Duke of Herford by the prouocation of Thomas Arondell, Archebishop of Cauntorbury, who, as you before haue heard, was banished by king Richard, and was in Fraunce with the said Duke of Herfford, returned nowe both into England, and landed at Rauenspurre in the North Countrie, in the The landing of the Duke of Lancaster and ye Archebishop of Cauntorbury.

the moneth of August, and by reason of his title to the Duchie of Lancaster, he raysed and assembled the people euer as he went, so that he had gathered together a great number of people. And, as sayth Hall, there resorted vnto him, the Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, and the Lordes Percey, Rose, Willoughby, and other, and takyng an othe of him, that he should not do to king Rychard any bodily harme, they made to him homage, & became his liege men, and so tooke theyr iourney towardes London, where they were receyued with all ioy and gladnesse. Then the Duke consulted there dyuerse dayes with his friendes. And thether came vnto him, Thomas Arondell, sonne to Richard Erle of Arondell, by king Richard a little before put to death, which had late escaped out of prison. When the Duke had well perceyued and considered the great loue and fauor that was borne him, as well of the nobilitie, as also of the commonaltie, and how they came dayly vnto his reliefe, he not onely yelded thankes vnto God therefore, but shewed himselfe most thankefull vnto them for the same, and then set forwarde into the West Countrie, and still as he passed, his people encreased without number, and beyng nowe so well and strongly accompanied, he then proclaymed open warre agaynst King Richard, and all his partakers and friendes.

King Richard returneth to England.

King Richard beyng in Ireland, and nowe heeryng of the Dukes arryuall in England, hastened not a little to set all thinges there in order, and returned into England, and landed at Mylforde Hauen, in the beginnyng of September, and from thence passed vnto the Castell of Flynt in Wales ten Myles distant from Chester, and there rested him and his people, entendyng there to haue gathered a great power, and to haue set vpon the Duke. But in this meane time, the aforesaid Duke, who had proclaymed himselfe Duke of Lancaster, in the right of his father Iohn of Gaunt, was come to Bristow and there without resistance tooke Sir William Scrope Erle of Wiltshyre, and high Treasurer of England, Sir Iohn Bushe, and Sir Henry Grene, who foorthwith were adiudged, and were beheaded. There was also taken Sir Iohn Bagot, but he escaped, and fled into Ireland.

William Scrope Sir Iohn Bushe and Grene put to death.

Now king Richard was not so diligent to gather his power together, but they were as hastie to flie from him, and to ayde the Duke, which amased the King much, and in the ende the king determined to kepe that Castell, and to abyde fortune. And this (sayth Hall) is to be noted of all Princes, rulers, and persons set in Auctoritie, that this Duke Henry of Lancaster should be thus called to the Kingdome, and haue the helpe and assistaunce almost of all the whole realme (which perchaunce neuer thereof once thought or dremed) and that King Richard should thus be left desolate, voyde and desperate of all hope and comfort, in whome if there were any offence, it ought rather to haue bene imputed to the frayltie of his youth, then to the malice of his hart.

A speciall note.

When the Duke of Lancaster knew that king Richard was come to the Castell of Flint, he came forward with speede with a great armie, and drewe nere Chester: When Thomas Percey Erle of Worcester, and Lord Steward of the Kinges houshold, and brother to the Erle of Northumberland, heard tell of the Dukes approchyng, and bearyng displeasure to the king, because a little before he had proclaimed his brother a Traytor, he calling together the Kinges housholde, did before them all breake his white staffe, and bid euery man go where he would, and shift for himselfe. And when the Kinges seruauntes sawe this, they dispersed themselues, some one way, and some another, and left the king alone, sauyng two or three Lordes, and a fewe men.

Thomas Percie Lord stuard breaketh his staff.

The King is forsaken of all and left alone.

The Duke approchyng very nere to the Castell of Flint, whereof king Richard beyng aduertised by Iohn Pallet, and Richard Seymer (his assured seruauntes) departed out of the Castell, and fled to Conway, and there he sent for the Duke of Exeter his brother, the Erle of Northumberland, and Thomas Archebishop of Canterbury, and desyred them to come to the Castell vnto him, to whome he shewed his [illegible]pose, and that he was well content to geue vp the Crowne, and to be discharged of that great Burthen, and shortly after, he yelded himselfe vnto the Duke, who secretly sent him to the Tower of London.

The Kinge yeldeth him selfe to the Duke of Lancaster.

When

When the Duke had thus possessed his pray, he returned to London, and shortly after called a Parliament the. xiij. of September, in the kinges name, at the which many of the Kinges friendes, but more of his, appeared. There was declared how vnprofitable king Richard had bene to the realme duryng his reigne, howe he subuerted the lawes, polled the people, ministred iustice to no man, but to such as pleased him. And to the entent that the Commons might be perswaded that he was an vniust and vnprofitable Prince, and a tyraunt ouer his subiectes, and therefore worthie to be deposed, there were set foorth certeine articles very heynous to the eares of many, and to some incredible, the effect of which articles hereafter folowe. A parliamēt at Westminster.

1 First that King Richard wastefully spent the treasure of the realme, and had geuen the possessions of the Crowne to men vnworthie, by reason wherof dayly newe charges more and more were layde in the neckes of the poore Commonaltie. And where diuers Lordes, aswell spirituall as temporall, were appoynted by the high Court of Parliament, to common and treate of dyuerse matters concernyng the common wealth of the same, which beyng busy about those commissions, he with other of his affinity went about to empeche them of treason, and by force and threatnyng, compelled the Iustices of the realme at Shrewesbury to condiscend to his opinion, for the destruction of the sayd Lords: insomuch that he began to rayse warre against Iohn Duke of Lancaster, Thomas Erle of Arondell, Richard Erle of Warwike, and other Lordes, contrary to his honour and promise.

2 Item, that he caused his Vncle the Duke of Gloucester to be arrested without law, & sent him to Calice, and there wout iudgement murdered him. And although the Erle of Arundell vpon his arreignment pleaded his Charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shamefull maner sodeinly put to death.

3 Item, he assembled certeine Lancashire and Chesshyre men, to the entent to make warre on the foreseyde Lordes, and suffered them to robbe and pill, without correction or reprofe.

4 Item, although the King flatterynglye, and with great dissimulation made Proclamation throughout the realme, that the Lordes before named were not attached for any cryme of treason, but onely for extorcions and oppressions done in this realme, yet he layde to them in the Parliament, rebellion and manifest treason.

5 Item, he hath compelled diuerse of the sayde Lordes seruauntes and friendes, by menace and extreme paymentes, to make great fines to their vtter vndoyng. And notwithstandyng his pardon to them graunted, yet hee made them fine of newe.

6 Item, where diuers were appointed to cōmon of the estate of the realme, and the common wealth of the same. The same king caused all the rolles and recordes to be kept from them, contrary to his promise made in the Parliament to his open dishonour.

7 Item, that he vncharitably commaunded, that no man vpon paine of losse of lyfe and goodes, should once entreate him for the returne of Henry, nowe Duke of Lancaster.

8 Item, where this realme is holden of God, and not of the Pope or other Prince, the sayde king Richard, after he had obteyned diuerse actes of Parliament for his awne peculiar profite and pleasure, then he obteyned Bulles and extreme censures from Rome, to cōpel all men streightly to kepe the same, contrary to the honor and auncient priuileges of this realme.

9 Item, although the Duke of Lancaster had done his deuoyre agaynst Thomas Duke of Norffolke, in proofe of his quarell, yet the sayde Kyng without reason or ground, banished him the Realme for ten yeres, contrary to all equitie.

10 Item, before the Dukes departure, he vnder his broade seale licenced him to make attourney to prosecute and defende his causes: The sayde king after his departure would suffer none attourney to appere for him, but dyd with his at his pleasure.

11 Item, the same king put out diuerse Shirifes lawfully elected, and put in their

rowmes, diuerse other of his awne minions, subuertyng the lawe, contrary to his othe and honour.

12 Item, he borowed great sommes of money, and bound him vnder hys letters patents for the repayment of the same, and yet not one penny payde.

13 Item, he taxed men at the will of him and his vnhappy counsail, and the same treasure spent in folie, not paiyng poore men for their vitail and viande.

14 Item, he sayd that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and sometyme in his brest, by reason of which fantasticall opinion, he destroyed Noble men, and impouerished the poore Commons.

15 Item, the Parliament sittyng and enactyng diuerse notable statutes for the profite and aduauncement of the common wealth, he by his priuye friendes and soliciters, caused to be enacted, that no acte then enacted should be more preiudiciall to him, then it was to any of his predecessors, through which prouiso he did often as he list, and not as the lawe ment.

16 Item, for to serue his purpose, he would suffer the Shirifes of the shire to remaine aboue one yere or two.

17 Item, at the sommons of the Parliament, when Knightes and Burgesses should be elected, and that the election had full proceded, he put out diuers persons elected, & put in other in their places, to serue his wil & appetite.

18 Item, he had priuie Espials in euery shyre, to here who had of him any communication, and if he commoned of his lasciuious liuyng, or outragious doyng, he streight wayes was apprehended, and made a grieuous fine.

19 Item, the Spiritualtie alleaged against him, that he at his goyng into Ireland exacted many notable summes of money, besyde plate, and iewels, without lawe or custome, contrary to his othe taken at his coronation.

20 Item, when diuerse Lordes and Iustices were sworne to say the truth of diuerse thinges to them committed in charge, both for the honour of the Realme, and profite of the king, the sayde king so menaced them with sore threatnynges, that no man would or durst say the right.

21 Item, that without the assent of the Nobilitie, he caryed the Iewelles, and Plate, and Treasure ouer the sea into Ireland, to the great empouerishyng of the realme. And all the good recordes for the common welth, and against his extortions, he caused priuely to be embesiled, and conueyed away.

22 Item, in al leages & letters to be concluded or sent to the See of Rome or other Regions: His writing was so subtill and so darke, that no other prince durst once beleue him, nor yet his owne subiectes.

23 Item, he most tirannously and vnprincely sayde, that the lyues and goodes of all hys subiectes were in the princes hands, and at his dispositiō.

24 Item, that he contrarie to the great Charter of England caused diuers lustie men to appeale diuers olde men, vpon matters determinable at the common lawe, in the Court martiall, because that in that court is no triall but onely by battayle: Wherevpon the sayde aged persons fearing the sequele of the matter, submitted themselues to his mercy, whome he fined and raunsomed vnreasonably at his pleasure.

25 Item, he craftily deuised certaine priuie othes, contrarye to the lawe, and caused diuers of his subiectes, first to be sworne to obserue the same, and after bounde them in bondes for the former keping of the same, to the great vndoyng of many honest men.

26 Item, where the Chauncellour according to the lawe, woulde in no wise graunt a prohibicion to a certaine person: the king graunted it vnto the same person vnder his priuie seale, with great threatnings, if it should be disobeyed.

27 Item, he banished the bishop of Cauntorbury wythout cause or iudgement, and kept him in the Parliament Chamber with men of Armes. Item, the Byshoppes goodes he graunted

graunted to his successour, vpon condition that he should maintayne all his statutes made at Shrewesburie. Anno. xxj. and the statutes made, Anno. xxij. at Couentrie.

28 Item, vpon the accusation of the Archbishop, the king craftily perswaded the sayde Bishop to make no aunswere, for he would be his warrant, and aduised him not to come to the parliament. And so without answere he was condemned and exiled, and his goodes seased.

After that king Richarde was charged with the aforesayde articles, there was an instrument made, declaryng his aunswers, & how he consented wyllingly to be deposed, the tenor of which instrument was as followeth.

THis present instrument made the Monday the. xxix. daye of September 1389. and in the. xxiij. yere of king Richard the second, witnesseth: that where by the aucthoritie of the Lordes spirituall and temporall of this present parliament, and commons of the same, the right honourable and discreete persons, here vnder named, were by the sayde aucthoritie assigned to go vnto the tower of London, there to here and testifie suche questions and aunswers as then and there should be by the sayde honourable and discreete persons heard: know all men to whome these present letters shall come, that we Sir Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke, Iohn Bishop of Hertford, Henry Erle of Northumberland, Raufe Erle of Westmerland, Thomas Lorde of Barkeley, William Abbot of Westmynster, Iohn Priour of Cauntorburie, Wylliam Thirnyng, and Hugh Burnell knights, and Iohn Markam Iustice, Thomas Stowe, and Iohn Burbage Doctours of the lawe Ciuille: Thomas Fereby and Dionyse Lopham Notaries publique, the daye and yere abouesayd, betwene the houres of eyght and nine of the clock in the fore noone, were present in the chiefe chamber of the kings lodging within the sayde place of the towre, where was rehersed vnto the king, by the mouth of the foresayde Erle of Northumberlande, that before tyme at Conwaye in Northwales, the king being there at his pleasure and libertie promised vnto the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the sayde Erle of Northumberlande, that he for the insufficiency which he knewe himselfe to be of, to occupy so great a charge as to gouerne this Realme of Englande, would gladly leaue of, and renounce the right and title, as well of that, as of the title of the crowne of Fraunce and his maiestie, vnto Henry Duke of Herfford, and that to doe in such conuenient wise as by the learned men of this laude it should most sufficiently be by them deuised and ordeyned. The copy of an Instrumente.

To the which rehersall, the king in our presence aunswered beningly and sayde, that such promise he made, and so to the same he was at that houre in full purpose to perfourme and fulfill, sauyng that he desyred first to haue personall speeche with the sayde Duke, and with the Archebishop of Cauntorbury his Cossyns. And furthermore, he desyred to haue a bill drawen of the sayde Resignation, that he might be perfite in the rehersall thereof. After which Copie by me the sayde Erle of Northumberlande delyuered, we the sayde Lordes and other departed. And vpon the same after noone, the king desyring much of the comming of the Duke of Lancaster, at the last the sayd Duke with the Archebishop of Cauntorbury entered the aforesayde Chamber, bringing with them the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Burgeyny, and Lorde Willoughby with dyuerse other.

Where after due obeysaunce done by them vnto the king, he familierly and with a glad countenance (to vs apperyng) talked with the saide Archbishop & Duke a good season. And that communication finished, the King with a glad countenaunce, in presence of vs and the other aboue rehersed, sayde openly, that he was readie to renounce and resigne all his kingly maiestie in maner and forme as he before had promised. And although he had and might sufficiently haue declared his renouncement by the reading of another meane person, yet he for the more suretie of the matter, and for that the sayde resignation should haue his full force and strength, he therefore red the scrole of resignation himselfe, in maner, and forme as followeth.

¶ In the name of God, amen. I Richard by the grace of God, king of Englande and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Irelande, acquyte and assoyle all Archebishops, Bishops, and other King Rychard resigneth ye crowne and Kingdom of Englande.

other prelates secular & religious, of what dignitie, state or condition that they be of: And also all Dukes, Erles, Barons, Lords, and all mine other liege men, both spirituall and secular, of what maner of name or degree they be, from their othe of fealtie and homage, and all other deedes and priuileges made vnto me, and from all maner of bandes of allegeaunce and regaly and Lordship, in the which they were or be bound vnto me, or in any otherwise constreyned: And them their heyres and successors for euermore from the sayde bandes and othes I release, delyuer, acquyte and set them for free, dissolued and acquited, and to be harmelesse, for somuch as longeth to my person by any maner of waye, title or right, that to me might follow of the aforesayde things, or of any of them. And also I resigne all my kingly dignitie, maiestie and crowne, with all the Lordships, power and priuileges to the aforesayd kingly dignity and crowne belonging, and all other Lordships and possessions to me in any maner of wise apperteyning, what name and condition soeuer they be of, except those lands and possessions for me & mine Obite purchased and bought. And I renounce all right and all colour of right, and all maner of title of possession, and Lordship, which I euer had or haue in the same Lordshippes, and possessions, or any of them, or to them, with any maner of rights belonging or appertayning vnto any parte of them.

And also the rule and gouernaunce of the same kingdome and Lordships, with all ministrations of the same, and all things and euerye of them that to the whole Empire and iurisdictions of the same belongeth of right, or in any wise may belong.

And also I renounce the name of worship & regaly and kingly highnesse, cleerely, freely, singularly and wholy, in the most best maner and forme that I may, and with deede and word I leaue of and resigne them, and go from them for euermore, sauyng alwayes to my successors kings of Englande, all the rightes, priuileges and appurtenaunces to the sayde kingdome & Lordships aboue sayd belonging and apperteyning: For well I wote and knowlege, and deme my selfe to be, and haue bene, insufficient and vnhable and also vnprofitable, and for mine open desertes not vnworthy to be put downe. And I sware vpon the holy Euangelistes, here presently with my handes touched, that I shall neuer repugne to thys resignation, dimission, or yeelding vp, nor neuer impugne them in any maner, by worde or by deede, by my selfe nor by none other: Nor I shall not suffer it to be impugned, in as much as in me is, priuily or aparte. But I shall haue holde and kepe thys pronouncyng, dimission and leauyng vp for fyrme and stable for euermore, in all and in euery part thereof, so God help me and all Saints, and by thys holye Euangelist by me bodely touched and kyssed. And for more record of the same, here openly I subscribe and signe thys present resignation with myne awne hande. And foorthwith in oure presences and other he subscribed the same, and after delyuered it vnto the Archebyshop of Cauntorbury, saiyng that if it were in his power or at his assignement, he would that the Duke of Lancaster, there present, should be his successor and king after him. And in token thereof, he toke a ryng of Golde from his finger, being his signet, and put it vpon the said dukes finger, desyring & requiring the Archbishop of Yorke, to shewe and make reporte to the Lordes of the Parliament of his voluntarie resignation, and also of his entent and good minde that he bare towarde his Cossyn the Duke of Lancaster, to haue him hys successor & king after hym. And thys done, euery man toke their leaue and returned to their home.

On the morowe followyng, beyng on the Tewesday, and the last day of September, all the Lordes spirituall and temporall, with also the commons of the sayde parliament, assembled at Westmynster: where in the presence of them, the Archbishop of Yorke, according to the kings desyre shewed vnto them seriously the voluntary renouncing of the king, with also the fauour that he ought vnto his Cossyn the Duke of Lancaster, for to haue him his successor. And moreouer he shewed vnto them the Schedule or bill of renouncement, signed with King Richardes hand.

And when the things aforesayde were by the sayde Bishop fynished, the question was

asked first of the Lordes, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: The which when it was of the Lordes graunted and confirmed, the lyke question was asked of the Commons, and of them in lyke maner affirmed.

After which admission, it was then declared, that notwithstanding the foresayde renouncing so by the Lords and commons admitted, it were needfull vnto the realme, in the aduoyding of all suspicions and surmises of euill disposed persons to haue in wryting and regestred the manifolde crymes and defautes before done by the sayd Richard, late king of England, to the ende that they might first be openly shewed vnto the people, and after to remaine of record among the kings records. The which articles are before expressed.

Now when the Lordes of the parliament had consydered this voluntarie renouncement of King Richarde, and that it was behouefull and necessary for the weale of the realme to proceede vnto the sentence of his deposall, they there appoynted by the auctboritie of the states of the sayde parliament, that is to saye the Byshop of Saint Asse, the Abbot of Glascenbury, the Erle of Gloucester, the Lorde Barkeley, Wylliam Thyrning iustice, and Thomas Erpyngham, and Thomas Gray knightes, that they should geue open sentence to the kings deposition. Wherevpon the sayde commissioners layeng their heades together, by good counsaile and aduisement and of one assent agreed among them, that the Bishop of Saint Asse should publishe the sentence for them and in their names, as followeth.

The deposition of king Richard the seconde.

¶ In the name of God, amen. We Iohn Bishop of Saint Asse or Assenence, Iohn Abbot of Glascenbury, Richard Erle of Gloucester (and so the names of the other as they are aboue rehersed) chosen and deputed speciall commissioners by the three estates of this present parliament, representing the whole body of the realme, for all such matters by the said estates to vs cõmitted: we well vnderstandyng & consydering the manifolde crymes, hurtes and harmes done by Richarde King of Englande, and the misgouernaunce of the same by a long time, to the great decay of the sayd land, and vtter ruine of the same shortly to haue bene, ne had the speciall grace of our Lorde God thervnto put the soner remedy: And also furthermore consydering ẏ the sayd king knowyng his awne insufficiency, hath of his awne meere mocion and free will renounced and geuen vp the rule and gouernaunce of this lande, with all rightes and honours to the same belongyng, and vtterly for his merites hath iudged himselfe not vnworthely to be deposed of all kingly maiesty and estate royall. We the premisses well consydering, by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name and auctboritie to vs, as abouesayde, committed pronounce, decerne and declare the same king Richard, before thys to haue bene and to be vnprofitable, vnhable, vnsufficient, and vnworthy to the rule and gouernaunce of the aforesayde realmes and Lordships, and all other the appurtenaunces to the same belongyng. And for the same causes we depriue him of all kingly dignitie and worship, and of any kingly worship in himselfe. And we depose him by our sentence definitiue, forbydding expresly to all Archebishops, Bishops, and all other Prelates, Dukes, Marquesses, Erles, Barons and Knightes, and to all other men of the aforesayd kingdome and Lordships, or of other places belonging to the same realmes and Lordships, subiectes and lieges whatsoeuer they be, that none of them from this time forward, to the aforesayde Richard as king and Lorde of the aforesayde Realmes and Lordships, be neyther obedient nor attendaunt.

And immediately after this sentence, the Duke of Lancaster rysyng from the place where he then sate, and standing where all might behold him, spake these wordes. I Henrie of Lancaster clayme the realme of England, and the crowne, with all the appurtenaunces, as I that am discended by ryght lyne of the blood commyng from that good Lorde king Henry the thirde, and through the right that God of his grace hath sent vnto me, with the helpe of my kinne, and of my friendes to recouer the same, which was in poynt to be vndone for default of good gouernaunce and due iustice.

Henry Duke of Lancaster maketh clayme to the crowne and kingdome of Englande.

After which words, thus by him vttered, he returned & sate him downe in the place where he before had sitten. Then the Lordes heryng this claime, commoned secretly among

among themselues, and then was it demaunded of them what they thought: and they all agreed to the sayde clayme, and that he was worthie to reigne as king ouer them. Then the Archbishop of Cauntorbury hauyng knowledge of the Lordes mindes, stoode vp, and asked the Cōmons if they would assent to the Lordes, to the which also they assented. After which aunswere the Archbishop went to the Duke, and after low & solemne obeysaunce, kneelyng vpon his knee, did afterwarde arise, and tooke the Duke by the right hande, and led him vnto the kinges seate, and there wyth great reuerence placed him.

Duke Henry placed in the regall seate.

After the Duke was thus placed as king, then he stood vp and sayde to the Lordes and Commons present: I thanke you my Lordes spirituall and temporall, and all the states of this lande, and I geue you to vnderstand, that it is not my wil that any man thinke that by the way of Cōquest I would disenherite any man of his heritage, franchise or other rightes, that of right to him belongeth, nor to put him out of that which he now enioyeth, & hath had before tyme by custome of good lawe of this realme, except such priuate persons as haue bene against the good purpose & the cōmō profit of the realme.

When the king had thus spoken, he sate downe, and then it was agreed that the Procurator aforenamed should go vnto the Tower, and resigne vnto the late king Richard all their homages and fealties in the name of the whole realme, and to shewe vnto him, not onely the maner of his deposition, but also howe Henry Duke of Lancaster was placed in the Kingdome, which was done accordyngly, and the next day after, the Duke was openly proclaymed Kyng by the name of King Henry the fourth.

HENRYE THE FOURTH.

NOW after King Richard was deposed, as you haue heard, then Henry Plantagenet, borne at Bolyngbrooke in the Coūtie of Lincolne, Duke of Lancaster and Herford, Erle of Darbie, Leycester, and Lyncolne, sonne to Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, tooke vpon him the gouernment of this realme, and was by sounde of Trompet proclaymed king of Englande, and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Irelande, the. xxix. day of September, in the yere of our Lorde 1399. by the name of King Henry the fourth, and was crowned at Westminster the. xj. day of October then next folowing, which was the day of the Translation of Edward the Confessor, with all tryumph and solemnitie.

1399

I

The Coronatiō of king Henrie the fourth.

And at the day of his coronation (as sayth Hall) because he would not haue it thought that he tooke vpon him the Crowne without good title and right therevnto had, therefore he caused it to be proclaymed and published, that he chalenged the realme not only by cōquest, but also for that he was by king Richard adopted as heyre, and declared successor of hym, and by resignation, had accepted the Crowne and Scepter, & also that he was next heire Male of the blood royall to king Rycharde.

Henry prince of Wales.

Shortly after his coronation, he created his eldest sonne Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, and Erle of Chester beyng then of the age of. xij. yeres, and caused him to be proclaymed heyre apparant to the Crowne of this realme. And soone after he called his high Court of Parliament, in the which was demaunded by king Henryes friendes, what should be done with king Richard. And as the aforesayde Hall sayth, whome I chiefely folowe in this history, for that he hath diligently traueyled therein. The Bishop of Carlisle which was a man well learned, and of a good courage, stood vp and sayde: My Lordes, I require you to take hede what aunswere you make vnto this question: For I thinke there is none of you worthie or mete to geue iudgement on so noble a Prince as

The bishop of Carliale a stout bishop.

King

King Richard is, whom we haue taken and honoured for our souereigne and liege Lorde, by the space of. xxij. yeres, & I assure you, there is not so ranke a traytor, nor so arrant a thefe, nor yet so cruel a murderer, apprehended or deteyned in prison for his offence, but he shall be brought before the Iustice to heere his iudgement: And yet ye will proceede to the iudgement of an annoynted king, and here neyther hys aunswere nor excuse. And I say, that the Duke of Lancaster, whom you call king, hath more offended and more trespassed to king Richard & this realme, then the king hath eyther done to him or to vs. For it is manifest and well knowen, that the Duke was banished the Realme by king Richard and hys counsaile, and by the iudgement of his awne father (for the space of. x. yeres) for what cause all you knowe, and yet without licence of king Richarde he is returned againe into the realme, yea and that is worsse, hath taken vpon him the name, title, & preheminence of a king: And therfore I say, that you haue done manifest wrong, to proceede in any thing against king Richard, without callyng him openly to his aunswere and defence. Assoone as the Bishop had ended his tale, he was attached by the Erle Marshall, and committed to ward in the Abbey of Saint Albones.

A bishop cõmitted to ward for talking to broad in the parliament house.

And in the sayde Parliament it was concluded, that King Richarde should continue in a large prison, and should haue all thinges honourably ministred vnto him, aswell for his dyet as also apparell. And that if any person or persons would presume to styrre and rere warre on the behalfe of king Richard for his delyueraunce out of prison, that then King Richard himselfe should be the first that should die for that commotion.

An order take how king Richarde should be intreated.

A sore sentence.

In this Parliament, the Lorde Fitzwater appealed the Duke of Aumarle of high treason, and offered to fight with him in Listes royall: Likewyse the Lorde Morley appealed the Erle of Sarisbury, and there were mo then. xx. Appealants which waged battail in this Parliament: But the king pardoned all their offences, sauyng the faultes of the Lorde Morley, and the Erle of Sarisbury, whom he committed to ward, and after at the request of their frendes, they were againe set at libertie. The king also punished extremely all suche as were priuie and doers of the murder of Thomas hys Vncle, late Duke of Glouecester, which was shamefully murthered, as is before, in the Towne of Calice. Also he greatly aduaunced sundrie of hys frendes, and called out of banishment Richard Erle of Warwike, and restored the Erle of Arondelles sonne to his awne possession and dignitie, and manie other. He tooke into his speciall fauour Iohn Holland Duke of Exeter, and Erle of Huntyngton, halfe brother vnto King Richard which had espoused the Ladie Elizabeth his awne sister: And he beyng before Captaine of Calice, was greatly moued and inwardly grieued, that King Rychard his brother was remoued out of the seate royall, and therefore began to styrre vp newe mocions and factions within the Realme: the which the king much feared, and therefore he reconciled him to his fauour, and made him as he supposed, his perfect friende, where in deede he was his deadly enemye.

Sundrie appeales.

A reuengement of the Duke of Glouecesters death.

Iohn Holland Duke of Exceter.

Also in the ende of this Parliament were repealed all the statutes that were made in the xxj. yere of the reigne of King Richard. And then King Henry supposyng that he had wonne the heartes and fauoures, aswell of the Nobilitie both spirituall and temporall, as of the Commons of his realme, prayed that for the aduoydyng of all claymes, tytles and doubtes that might be made vnto the Crowne, that he might haue his dignitie, lyne and successiõ enacted, confirmed, and entayled, by the assent of the high Court of Parliament, the which was done in maner and forme folowyng.

At the request and petycion, aswell of the nobilitie, as of the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, it is ordeyned and established, that the inheritaunce of the Crowne and Realmes of Englande, and of Fraunce, and of all other Lordships to ỹ king our souereigne Lord, aswell on this side the seas, as beyond, apperteining, with their appurtenaunces, shall be vnited and remain in the person of our souereigne Lord the King, and in the heyres of his bodie lawfully begotten. And especially at the request and assent afors sayde it is ordeyned, established, pronounced, enacted, written and declared, that my Lorde Prince, Henry, eldest sonne to our souereigne Lorde the king, shall be heyre

An act entitlyng King Henrye the fourth to the Crowne of the realme.

heyre apparant, and successor to our souereigne Lorde in the sayde Crowne, Realmes, and Seigniories, to haue and enioy them with all their appurtenaunces, after the deceasse of our sayd souereigne, to him and the heyres of his bodie begotten. And if he die without heyres of his bodie begotten, that then the sayde Crownes, Realmes, and Seigniories, with their appurtenaunces shal remaine to the Lord Thomas, second sonne to our sayd souereigne Lorde, and to the heyres of his bodie begotten. And if he depart without issue of his body begotten, all the premisses to remain to Lord Iohn his thirde sonne and to the heyres of his bodie begotten. And if he die without issue, then the Crownes, Realmes, and Seigniories aforesayd with their appurtenaunces shall remaine to the Lord Homfrey, the fourth sonne to our sayd souereigne Lord, and to the heyres of his bodie lawfully begotten.

Now when King Henry had thus mortised himselfe and his issue so sure and fast, as he thought, that the same was not possible to be remooued, then was he neerer an vtter ouerthrow and destruction than euer he was, for suche is the nature of dissimulation, that when fortune with her flattering seemeth most to ioy and laugh, then (so fickle is she of condition) is most perill and daunger at hand: For now dyuers of those Lords which were king Richardes friendes, outwardly dissimuled that which they inwardly conspired, which was the finall confusion and destruction of King Henry, and to restore agayne their olde Lorde and mayster king Richarde. And the better to bring thys matter about, they practised with the Abbot of Westminster that then was, who had no good opinion of king Henry, for that he heard him once saye, when he was Duke of Lancaster, that Princes had to little, and the religious had to much, and therefore he supposed that he would not be a friend vnto the Church, if he contynued long in that dignitie. Vnto the house of thys Abbot resorted one day as bidden gestes of the sayde Abbot, Iohn Holland Duke of Exceter and Erle of Huntyngdon, Thomas Holland Duke of Surrey, and Erle of Kent, Edward Duke of Aumarle and Erle of Rutlande, sonne to the Duke of Yorke, Iohn Mountagew Erle of Salsbury, Hugh Spencer Erle of Gloucester, Iohn the Bishop of Carleill, Sir Thomas Blunt, and one Magdalen, one of king Richards Chapell, a man as lyke vnto him in stature and proporcion, as vnlike in birth and dignitie. This Abbot highly feasted these great Lordes, and when dyner was done, they withdrew themselues into a secret Chamber, and when they were set, Iohn Holland Duke of Exceter, who bare great grudge agaynst king Henry, declared to them their allegeaunce promised, and by othe confirmed to king Richarde his brother, forgetting not the highe promocions and dignities, which he and all they present had receyued of the liberalitie of his sayde brother, by the which they were not onely bound to take part with him and his friendes, but also to be reuenged for him and his cause on hys mortall enemies and deadly foes: In the doyng whereof he thought pollicy more meeter to be vsed then force. And the better to bring this matter about, he deuised a Iustes to be kept betwene him and. xx. on his part, & the Erle of Salsbury & xx. of his part, at Oxforde: To the which Iustes King Henry should be desyred to be present, and when he were most earnestly beholdyng the pastyme, he should sodainely haue beene slayne and destroyed, and by this meanes king Richard, which was then alyue should be restored to his libertie and to his crowne and kingdome.

A conspiracie against king Henry the fourth.

A iustes to be holden at Oxforde.

This deuise seemed to please well all that were present, wherfore they made an Indenture sextipartite sealed with their seales, & signed with their handes, in the which eche bounde himselfe to other to endeuour themselues for the destruction of king Henry, and the erection and restoring of king Richard, and sware on the Euangelistes the one to be true to the other, euen to the houre and poynt of death.

Nowe all things beyng thus appoynted and concluded, the Duke of Exceter came to the King to Wynsore, humbly beseeching him for the loue that he bare to the noble actes of Chiualrie, that he would vouchsafe not only to repaire to Oxford, to see and beholde their enterprises and attemptes, but also to be the discouerer and indifferent Iudge (if any ambiguitie should arise) of their courageous actes and royall triumph. The king seing himselfe so earnestly desyred, and that of his brother in lawe, and suspecting nothing lesse

The king is requested by the Lords to come to the Iustes.

lesse then that which was purposed, did gently graunt vnto his request. And so sone as the Duke had his aunswere, he returned home to his house and prepared all things necessarie for the exployt of his pretensed purpose. And when the time drue neere, he came to Oxforde with a great companye of Archers and horsemen, and when he came thether, he found there all his confederates well appointed for the purpose, except the Duke of Aumarle Erle of Rutlande, for whome they sent messengers in great haste. Thys Duke of Aumarle went before from Westminster to see his father the Duke of Yorke, and sittyng at dynner, he had his Counterpane of the indenture of confederacie (whereof is mencion made afore) in his bosome. The father espyed it, and demaunded what it was. His sonne lowely aunswered, that it touched not him: By Saint George, quod the father, but I will see it, and by force tooke it out of his bosome, and when he perceyued the content thereof, and the sixe seales set and fixed to the same, whereof the seale of his sonne was one, he sodeynely roase from the Table, commaundyng his horses to be saddeled, and in a great fury sayd to his sonne: thou Traytor theefe, thou hast bene a Traytor to king Richard, and wilt thou nowe be false to thy Cosyn King Henry? Thou knowest well inough, that I am thy pledge, Borow, and Maine perne bodie for bodie, and for lande and goodes in open Parliament: and goest thou about to seeke my death and destruction? By the holy Roode I had rather see thee strangled on a Gybbet. And so the Duke of Yorke mounted on horsebacke, to ride to Windsore to the king, and to declare the whole matter vnto him. The Duke of Aumerle considerying in what case he stoode in, tooke his horse and roade another way to Windsore, ridyng all the way in post (which his father beyng an olde man, could not do) and when he was alighted at the Castell gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saiyng that he must nedes deliuer the keyes to the king. And when he came before the kinges presence, he kneeled on his knees, beseechyng him of mercie and forgeuenesse. The King demaunded the cause, and he declared vnto him plainly the whole confederacie. Well sayd the king, if this be true, we pardon you: if it be feyned, at your extreme perill be it.

Treason will breake out.

While the king and the Duke talked together, the Duke of Yorke knocked at the Castell Gate, whom the king caused to be let in, and there he deliuered the Indenture which before he had taken from his sonne. Which wrytyng when the King had red and seene, perceiuyng the signes and seales of the Confederates, he chaunged his former purpose: For the day before he heard that the Chaloners and defenders were all in a redinesse, and thought the same day to haue gone thether, but now he stayed, and wrote his letters foorthwith vnto the Erle of Northumberland his high Constable, and to the Erle of Westmerland, his high Marshall, and to dyuers other his friendes, of his doubtfull daunger and perelous ieopardie.

The Confederators perceiuyng the lacke of the Duke of Aumerle, and also seyng no preparation made there for the Kinges commyng, imagyned that their purpose was disclosed to the King, wherefore, that thing which they purposed preuily to haue done, they determined now openly with speare and shielde to set foorth and aduaunce. And so they adourned Magdalene a man resemblyng much King Richard, in royall and Princely vesture, calling him King Richard, and affyrmyng that he by fauour of his kepers was delyuered out of Prison and set at libertie. Nowe while the Confederates with theyr newe deuised King, accompanied wyth a puyssaunt armie of men, toke the direct way to Windsore: King Henry beyng admonished of their commyng, with a fewe horse in the night went from Windsore, and came to the Tower of London aboute midnight, where he in the Mornyng caused the Maior of the Citie to bring vnto him three thousand Archers, and thre thousand Billmen well armed and appoynted.

Magdalene a man that much resembleth king Richard the seconde.

The Lordes of the Confederacie came to Windsore, and entered the Castell, where they fyndyng not theyr pray, determined with all speede to passe foorth towardes London: But when they were well onwarde of theyr iourney, they then chaunged theyr purpose, and returned backe to Colbroke, and there stayed. These Lordes had many people fo-

lowyng them, what for feare, and what for entreaty, and specially for that they beleued certeinly king Richard was there present with them. When King Henrie heard of theyr commyng toward London, he issued out of the sayd Citie with twentie thousand men, and came to Hounslow hethe, and there pitched his campe, myndyng there to abyde the commyng of his enemyes. But when the Lordes were aduertised of the kinges commyng, and of hys great puyssaunce, beyng eyther amased with feare, or else repentyng their enterpryce, or mistrustyng theyr awne companie, they departed from Colbroke to Barkhamsted, and so to Ancester, and there the Lordes tooke theyr lodgyng: The Duke of Surrey, Erle of Kent, and the Erle of Sarisbury in one Inne, and the Duke of Exeter, and the Erle of Gloucester in another, and all the armie lay in the fieldes. In the night tyme the Baylife of the Towne with. lxxx. Archers set on the house where the Duke of Surrey and the other lay: The house was manfully assaulted, and strongly defended a great space. The Duke of Exeter beyng in another Inne, with the Erle of Gloucester, set fyre on dyuerse houses in the towne, thynkyng that the assaylantes would leaue the assault and rescue theyr goodes, which they nothyng regarded. The army lyyng without, heryng noyse, and seeyng fyre in the towne, thinkyng that the King was come thether with his puyssaunce, fled without measure to saue themselues. The Duke of Exeter & his companie seeyng the force of the townes men more and more to encrease, fled out on the backe syde, entendyng to repayre to the armie, which they found dispersed and re-
The ouerthrow and discomfiture of the Lords.
tyred. Then the Duke seeyng no hope of comfort, fled into Essex: And the Erle of Gloucester goyng towarde Wales, was taken and behedded at Bristowe: Magdalene flyyng into Scotland, was apprehended and brought to the Tower of London. And the Lordes which were still fighting in the towne of Cicester, were wounded to death and taken, and their heades stricken off and sent to London: And there were taken Sir Bennet Shelly, and Sir Barnard Brokas, and. xxix. other Lordes, Knightes, and Esquiers, and sent to Oxforde, where the King then soiourned, and where Sir Thomas Blunt and all the other prisoners were executed.

When the Duke of Exceter heard that his complices were taken, and his counsaylors apprehended, and his friendes put in execution, he lamented his awne chaunce, and bewayled the misfortune of his friends: But most of all he was troubled to thinke vpon the wretched ende that should happen to King Rycharde hys brother, whose death he sawe as in a Glasse, to be at hand by reason of this his vnhappie enterprise, and thus beyng succourlesse, and wandering vp & downe, at the last he was taken in a towne called Plashey in Essex, and there made shorter by the head, and in that place specially (sayth Hall) for that he in the same Lordship, betrayed Thomas Duke of Gloucester, and was the very cause of hys death and destruction, and so the common prouerbe was verified, as you haue done, so shall you feele.

After this, Magdalene that represented the person of king Richarde amongest the rebels, and dyuers other were put to execution, and all the heads of the chiefe conspirators were set on poles ouer London bridge, to the feare of other which were disposed to commit lyke offense. The Abbot of Westmynster in whose house this confederacy was conspired, heeryng that the Chiefeteynes of his Felowship were taken and executed, he goyng betwene the monasterie and his mansion house, for thought fell into a sodaine palsey, and shortly after without any speeche ended his lyfe: After whom the Bishop of Carlisle, more for feare then sicknesse yeelded his spirite to God, as one desyring to die by deathes darte, rather then by the temporall sworde.

But now drewe on the time, the Innocent must perishe with the Nocent, and the vngiltie with the giltie: For king Richard being ignoraunt of this conspiracie and kept in miserable captiuitie, was by king Henry adiudged to die, for ỹ he would delyuer himself of al inward feare of his enemies, wherfore some write that he commaunded him to be slaine, & others say that he was agreeable therevnto, and some others affirme that he knewe not of it, vntill it was done: But howsoeuer it was, Kyng Rychard dyed of a violent death:

death: And one wryter sayth that king Henry sitting at hys table, and sore sighing sayde, haue I no faythfull friende that will delyuer me from him whose lyfe will be my death, and whose death will be the preseruation of my life? Thys saiyng was noted of them that were present, and specially of one called Sir Piers of Exton. This knight incontinently departed the Court with eyght talle persons with him, and came to Pomfret, commaundyng that the Esquire which was accustomed to sewe, and take the assaye before king Richard, should no more vse that maner of seruice, saiyng: let him eate well nowe, for he shall not long eate. King Richard sate downe to dyner, and was serued without curtesie or assaye, he much marueylyng of the sodaine mutation of the thing, demaunded of the Esquyre why he did not his duetie? Sir sayde he, I am otherwise commaunded by sir Piers of Exton, which is newly come from King Henry. When he heard that word, he toke the caruyng knyfe in his hande, and strake the Esquire on the head, saiyng, the Deuill take Henry of Lancaster and thee together: and with that word Sir Piers entered into the Chamber well armed, with eyght talle men in harneys, euery man hauing a byll in his hande. King Richarde perceyuing them armed, knew well that they came to his confusion, and putting the table from him, valiauntly tooke the byll out of the first mans hande, and manfully defended himselfe, and slewe foure of them in a short space. Sir Piers beyng somewhat dismayed with his resistyng, lept into the Chayre where king Richard was wont to sit, while the other foure persons chased him about the Chamber, which being vnarmed defended himselfe against his enemies that were armed (which was a valiaunt acte) but in conclusion he came by the Chayre where Sir Piers stoode, who with a stroke of his Pollax felled him to the ground, and soone after was rid out of his lyfe in this worlde. When this knight perceyued that he was dead, he lamented and sayde: O Lorde, what haue we done? we haue murdered him whome by the space of xxij. yeres we obeyed and honoured as our souereigne Lorde, nowe will all Noble men abhorre vs, and all good men hate vs, and poynt at vs as the murderers of a noble Prince. Thus haue you heard the death and ende of King Richard the second as the best aucthours report of it.

The death of king Richard the second.

When King Richard had thus ended his lyfe, he was then enbaulmed, and seared, and couered with lead, all saue his face (to the entent that all men might perceyue that he was departed out of this lyfe) and was conueyed to London, and so to the Tower, and from thence through London to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, and there remayned three dayes, that all the people might see him, and from thence he was conueyed to Langley in Buckyngham shire, where he was buryed: And afterwarde by king Henry the fift, was remoued to Westminster, and there honourably entombed wyth Queene Anne his wyfe.

King Rychard first buried at Langley, and after remoued to Westminster.

Now newes were first brought to the French King, how King Richard was deposed of his Kingdome, at the which the sayde French king wondered not a little, and cryed out of the shamefull doyng thereof, that an annointed king, and crowned Prince should be so vilye vsed: But the French king was not so much agreeued, but Walleram Erle of Saint Paule, which had maryed king Richardes halfe sister, was muche more gricued, who beyng moued with highe disdeine agaynst king Henrie, ceased not to prouoke the Frenche king and his counsaile, to make sharpe warre vpon England, to reuenge the iniury and dishonour committed and done to his sonne in law king Richard, and he himselfe sent letters of defiance into England: Which thing was soone agreed vnto, and an armie royall appoynted with all speede to inuade England. This armie was come downe into Picardie, readie to bee transported into Englande: But when it was certeinly certefyed that king Richard was dead, and that theyr enterprice for his deliuerance was vaine, the armie was discharged, and euery man returned to his home. But shortly after, the French king gathered another great power, & entred the Duchy of Aquitaine and Gascoyn, and thought there to haue greatly preuayled. But king Henry beyng aduertised of all the Frenche attemptes, sent the Lorde Thomas Percey Erle of Worcester with a goodly crewe of Souldiours into Acquitaine to ayde and assist Sir Thomas Knolles his Lieu-

The French king sendeth his letters of defiance vnto the king.

tenant there, and to perswade and exhort the people to continue in their auncient libertie, and due obeysance. When the Erle was there arryued, he so wisely entreated the noble men, and perswaded the Magistrates of Cities and Townes, and so gently and familiarly vsed himselfe to the common people, that he not onely appeased their furie and malice, which they had conceyued agaynst King Henry, for the death & destruction of king Richard, but also he brought them to an vniforme obeysance, receiuyng of them othes of obedience, which done, he returned againe into England with great thankes.

When king Charles of Fraunce perceyued that his purpose and attempt came to no good conclusion in Acquitain, and that king Richard beyng dead, his enterprice into England would be to no purpose, he determined with him selfe howe to haue the Ladie Isabell his daughter, which was espoused to king Richard, to be restored home to him againe: And for that purpose he sent a solempne Ambassade into England to king Henry, which gently receyued them, and gaue aunswere that he would shortly send his Commissioners to Calice, which should further common and conclude with them, not onelye vpon that request, but also of dyuerse other matters of great importance.

An Ambassade sent from the French King to the king of England

And shortly after their departyng, he sent Edward Duke of Yorke before called Duke of Aumerle, which succeded in the sayde Duchie his father Edmond Duke of Yorke, a little before deceassed, and Henry Erle of Northumberlande into the Countie of Guysnes, and there they mette with the Frenche Commissioners, who assembled together dyuerse tymes and in dyuerse places.

The Duke of Burbon aboue all thinges, requyred in the name of the French King his maister, to haue Queene Isabell to him deliuered: But the English men denyed that, and required to haue her to be maryed to Henrie Prince of Wales, a man both in blood and age to her in all thinges equall: But the French King vtterly refused that maryage, saiyng that he would neuer ioyne affinitie againe with the Englishe Nation, because that the allyaunce had such infortunate successe.

Then they beganne to entreate a continuall peace, which request the French men refused, and in conclusion they agreed that the truce which was taken betwene them and King Richard for the terme of. xxx. yeres, was renued and confirmed: But some write that a new league was then concluded to continue the liues of both the Princes, which should appere to be true. For the king of England sent shortly after the aforesayd Ladie Isabell (vnder the conduct of the Lorde Thomas Percey Erle of Worcester, beyng associate with many noble and honourable personages, aswell women, as men, hauyng wyth her all the Iewelles, Ornamentes, and Plate, with a great surplusage geuen to her by the king, which she brought into Englād) in solemne estate vnto Calice, and there shee was deliuered to Waleran Erle of saint Paule Lieutenant for the French king in Picardie, and so conueied to her father, which gaue her in maryage to Charles, sonne to Lewes Duke of Orliaunce. The French men often tymes requyred king Henry to assigne vnto her a dower, but all was in vaine, for the Englishe men aunswered, that the matrimony was neuer consummate, by reason wherof, she was not dowable by the very treaty of the mariage concluded, and so this matter cessed and was no more moued.

The Ladye Isabell and wife of king Richard is sent home to her father the French king.

Nowe as the olde prouerbe sayth, after winde commeth raine, and after one euill commonly ensueth another: So duryng this tyme that king Henry was vexed and vnquieted, both within the Realme and without, Owen Glendor a squier of Wales, perceyuyng the realme to be vnquieted, and the king not very well setled in his kingdome, purposed to take vpon him the principalitie of Wales, and the name & preheminence of the same: and what with faire flatteryng wordes, and large promises, he inuegled and allured an vndiscrete number of Welshe men, who tooke him for theyr Prince, and made to him an othe of allegeance and subiection. And beyng thus aduaunced and supported, he made sharpe and cruell warre vpon Reignold Lorde Gray of Rithen, and tooke him prisoner, promisyng him libertie, and that he would discharge his raunsome if he would take his daughter in mariage, thinkyng by that affinitie to haue great ayde, and to be of a great power in Wales.

Owen Glendor rebelleth.

Wales. The Lord Gray beyng not very riche, neyther of substaunce nor of friendes, considerynge this offer to be the onely way of his reliefe and deliueraunce, assented to his pleasure, and maryed the Damosell: But this false father in lawe kept him with his wife still in prison vntill he dyed: And not content with this heynous offence, he also made warre vpon the Lorde Edmond Mortimer, Erle of Marche, and in his awne Lordship of Wigmore, where in a conflict he slue many of the Erles men, and toke him prisoner, and fettered him in Cheynes, and cast him in a deepe and miserable Dungeon. The king was requyred to purchase his deliueraunce, by dyuerse of the Nobilitie, but he would not here on that syde, but rather desyred and wished all his linage in heauen, for then his title had beene out of all doubt & question.

Edmond Mortimer taken and imprisoned.

Owen Glendor glorifiyng in himself for these two victories, inuaded the Marches of Wales on the west syde of Seuerne, robbed Villages, brent townes, and slue the people, and beyng laden with praves and bloody hands returned againe into Wales, neuer ceassyng to doe mischiefe vntill the next yere that the king raysed a great armie and puyssaunce, to resist and defende his malicious attemptes, as after shall be declared.

And in this first yere also this realme was not only troubled with Ciuile sedition, and the craftie practises of the Frenchmen, and great trouble of the Welshmen, but also of the Scottes with all their power armed themselues agaynst thys king Henry, the occasion whereof was, that George of Dunbare Erle of the Marches of the realme, made meanes vnto king Robert of Scotland that Dauid hys eldest sonne might marie the Erles daughter called Elizabeth, and delyuered for the same mariage into the kings handes a great some of money. When Archibald Erle Douglas heard of thys conclusion, he disdeyning the Erle of Marches blood to be aduaunced before hys stock, did eyther by fayre wordes or else by disbursing a greater some of money, so enuegle king Robert of Scotlande, that Dauid his heyre refusyng the first damosel, maried the Erle of Douglas daughter: The Erle of March desyred restitution of his money, to whome the king gaue many trifelyng answers, the which he tooke in so euill parte, that he with his wyfe fled into Englande vnto Henry Erle of Northumberlande, entending to be reuenged vpon the king of Scotlande, and with the helpe of the borderers, brent dyuers townes, and slue many persons within the realme of Scotland.

Ciuile sedicion.

Kyng Robert beyng hereof aduertised, first depriued the Erle George of all his dignities and possessions, and caused his goodes to be confiscate, and then wrote to the king of England earnestly beseeching him, if he would haue the truce any lenger to continue, eyther to delyuer into his possession the Erle of March, and other Traytors and rebels to his person and realme or else to banish and exile them out of his realme and dominions. King Henry aunswered discretely the Herault of Scotland, that the worde of a prince ought to be kept, and hys wryting and seale ought to be inuiolate: And consydering that he had graunted a saufe conduyt vnto the Erle and hys company, he would neyther without cause reasonable breake his promise, nor yet deface his honour, which aunswere beyng declared to the king of Scottes, he incontinent did proclayme open warre against the king of England, with bloud, fyre and sworde.

War proclaymed by the Scottes agaynst England.

King Henry forthwith gathering together a great puyssance & army, entered into Scotland brennyng and spoyling townes, Villages and Castels, sparyng nothing but Religious houses and Churches, and brent a great parte of the townes of Edenborough and Lyth, and besieged the Castell of Maydens in Endenborough in the ende of September, whereof was Captain Dauid Duke of Rothsay, and Prince of the realme, and Archibald Erle Douglas wyth many hardy men. Robert Duke of Albany beyng appoynted Gouernour of the Realme, because the king was sick and vnapt to rule, sent vnto king Henry an herauld, assuryng hym on hys honour that if he would abyde and tary hys commyng, which should be wythin sixe dayes at the most, he would geue hym battayle, and remoue the siege, or else die for it.

Robert Duke of Albany promiseth to fight with King Henryes power.

The king beyng glad of these newes, rewarded the Herault with a Gowne of Silke, and a chayne of Golde, promising him in the worde of a Prince, not to depart thence, but to abyde there the comming of the Gouernour. The sixt daye passed, ye sixe and sixtene

to,

to, the Gouernour neyther appered nor sent worde, the Wynter waxed colde, victuall fayled, men dyed of the Fluxe, and it rayned euery day so abundauntly, that hunger and colde caused the king to breake vp his siege, and to depart out of Scotland without battayle or skirmishe offered: duryng which time both the Wardeynes of the Marches beyng with the king, the Scottes made a roade into Northumberland, and burned diuerse townes in Bamborough shyre, and shortly returned againe, or else they had bene trapped and come to late home.

The Scots inuade England.

When the king of Englande had dismyssed his souldyours and discharged his armie, the Scottes entendyng to be reuenged of their great dammages to them by the English nation done & committed by the Erle Douglas, appoynted two Armies to inuade Englande. Of the first was Chiefetaine syr Thomas Halibarton of Dirlton, and Patrike Hebborne of Hales, which made a road into England, and returned with little losse and no great gayne. After this the aforesayde Sir Patrike Hebborne, encouraged with the prosperous successe of his first iourney, with a great armie of the people of Lowdian, inuaded Northumberland, robbyng and spoyling of the countrie, and departed homeward, not without great gayne of beastes and captiues: But by the waye he was encountered with the Erle of Northumberlands Vice Wardeyn, and other gentlemen of the borders, at a towne in Northumberland called Nesbit, and there the Englishemen sore assayled, and the Scottes valiauntly resisted, but after a long fight the victorie fell on the Englishe part, and as Iohn Maior the Scot wryteth, there were slaine the Flowre of all Lowdian, and specially syr Patrike Hebburne with many of hys lynage. There were apprehended Syr Iohn, and Wylliam Cockborne, syr Robert of Bas, Iohn and Thomas Hablincton Esquiers, and a great number of the common people. The Erle Douglas beyng sore greued with the losse of his Nation and friendes, and entending to requite the same if it were possible, did by the consent of the gouernour of Scotland gather together an armie of twentie thousand talle men and mo. In the which armie the Lorde Mordack Erle of Fiffe, sonne to the Gouernour of Scotlande, the Erle of Angus, and many other Erles and Barons of the Nobilitie of Scotland. These valyaunt Captaines and courageous Souldyours entered into Northumberland, with baners displayed lyke men that thought themselues hable to spoyle the whole Countrie of Northumberland. Now when they were entred into Englande, thinking no puyssaunce hable to encounter with their force, sodainely there issued out of a Valey beside a towne called Homelden, The Lorde Henry Percey, whom the Scottes for his haut and valyaunt courage, called Sir Henry Hotspurre, and in his companie the Lorde George of Dunbarre Erle of Marche before banished Scotlande, as you haue heard, with all the Gentlemen of Northumberlande, and eyght thousand men on horsback and on foote: The encounter was sharpe, the fight was daungerous and doubtfull, but in the ende the victorie chaunced to the Englishe nation, and there were slaine of the Scottes of men of great renoune and estimation, Sir Iohn Swynton, Sir Adam Gordon, Sir Iohn Leuyston, Sir Alexander Ramsey of Dalehouse, and. xxiij. knightes mo, beside ten thousand of the common people. And there were taken prisoners, Mordack Erle of Fiffe, Archibald Erle Douglas, Thomas Erle of Murrey, Robert Erle of Angus, and as some writers affirme, the Erle of Athell, and Menteth with fiue hundreth other.

The Scots are discomfited.

Sir Henry Hotspurre.

The Scots agayne ouerthrowne.

When the Lorde Percy had obteyned this great victorie, he sent his prisoners into dyuers Fortresses, and determyned to subdue or destroy all the Countries of Lowdian and Marche, whose heades and Gouernours eyther he had slaine, or by force taken Captiues. And so with a great power entered into Tiuedale, wastyng and destroyeng the whole Countrie, and there besieged the Castell of Coclaues, whereof was Captaine Sir Iohn Grenelow, who seyng that his Castell was not long hable to be defended, fell to composition with the Englishmen, that if the Castell were not succored within three Moneths, that then he would delyuer it into the Englishmens handes.

Tiuedale.

The Captaine thereof wrote vnto the Gouernour, which callyng a great counsayle, the

the most part aduised hym rather frankly and freely to yeelde the Castell, then to put in ieopardie the remnaunt of the Nobilitie of Scotlande: So muche was their courages abated and cooled wyth the remembraunce of the last conflict and battayle: But the Gouernour rebuking their feynt and cowardly hearts, swore that if no man would follow of the Nobilitie, he would doe his deuoyre to reskew the Castell at that daye. But this othe was neyther kept nor broken, for he little preparing and lesse entendyng the othe which he solemply made, neuer set foote forward duryng the first two Moneths, for the reysing of the siege, or rescuyng of the Castell. But the Englishmen beyng sent for to go with the king into Wales, raysed their siege and departed, leauyng the noble men prisoners still with the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde Percy his sonne, which by the king were commaunded to keepe them to his vse, and not to delyuer them without his assent.

1400

The king maketh prouision to enter into Wales.

The French king aydeth Owen Glendor.

The French king aydeth the Welshme against king Henry.

Herfford West besieged.

Skirmishes with the French.

The king now purposing his iourney and enterprise into Wales, made great prouision both for men, munition and artillery meete for suche a businesse, whereof the Frenche king beyng aduertised, sent priuilye the Lorde Iames of Burbone Erle of Marche, & his two brethren, Iohn and Lewes with. xij. hundred knightes and Esquiers, to ayde Owen Glendor against King Henry, and the sayde Iames of Burbone with his companye tooke shipping wyth. xxx. sayle at the mouth of Seyn, and the winde not beyng fauourable to his purpose, could not approche to the coast of Wales, but came before the towne of Plymmouth in Deuonshire, and there leauing his great shippes lyeng at Anker, in the night tooke lande, and brent, spoyled and destroyed dyuers small Villages and poore cottages, and robbed fiue or sixe little Crayers and fisher boates laden with Fishe and corne. But while he and his companye lyke greedy Wolues were seeking after their praye, the winde arose high, and a great tempestuous rage and furious storme sodainly flushed and drowned. xij. of his great shippes, which laye in the mouth of the hauen for his safegarde and defense. Whereof when the Erle was aduertised, and perceauing by the fyring of the Becons that the people beganne to assemble in plumpes to encounter with him, and also seyng his power sore diminished, as well by the slaughter of suche as raunged abroade in hope of spoyle and praye, as by the furious rage of the vnmercifull sea, and hydeous tempest, with muche paine and great labour tooke his shippes againe, and was not without great ieopardie of his lyfe driuen on the Coast of Briteyn, and landed at Saint Malos. The French king perceauyng that this iourney had euill successe, appointed one of his Marshalles called Memorancy, and the Master of his Crosbowes, with. xij. thousande men to sayle into Wales, which tooke shipping at Brest, and had the winde to them so prosperous that they landed at Milford Hauen, and leauyng the Castell of Penbrooke vnassaulted, because it was well fortefyed, manned and victualled, besieged the towne of Herfford West, which was so well defended by the Erle of Arondell and his power that they much more lost then gayned. And from thence they departed towarde Owen Glendor, whome they named Prince of Wales, and founde him at the towne of Denbigh abyding their comming with ten thousand men. They were of him louyngly receaued and gently enterteyned: And when all thinges were prepared, they passed by Glamorgan shire toward Worcester, and there brent the Suburbes: But hering of the kings approchyng, they sodainely returned into Wales. The king with a great puyssaunce folowed and found them enbattailed on a high Mountayne, and a great valey betwene both the armies, so that eche army playnely perceaued other, and euery hoste looked to be assaulted of hys aduersary, and of the grounde to take the most aduauntage: Thus they contynued eyght dayes together from morning to night readie to abide, but not to geue battayle. There were many fierce skirmishes, and many proper feates of armes daylie done, which the French Chronicles more then the Englishe can reporte. For there were slayne the Lorde Patrioles of Tries, brother to the Marshall of Fraunce, the Lorde Mattelone, and the Lorde Vale, and the Bastard of Burbone with fiue hundreth gentlemen.

The

The Frenchmen and Welshmen were sore troubled and afflicted wyth famine, that their hartes and courages were sore abated, for the king had so stopped the passages, that neyther victuall nor succour could by any waye be conueyed vnto them: wherefore of very necessitie they were compelled eyther to fight or flee, and so by the aduisement and counsayle of the Marshall of Fraunce, which put not to much confidence in the wauering Welshmen, the whole host departed the eyght day, in the secretest maner that they could deuyse. The Frenchmen with little rewardes and small gayne returned into Briteyn, making small boast of their painefull iourney.

The French men returne againe into Fraunce with little gayne, and lesse worship.

When the king perceaued them thus departed, he followed them and chaced them from hill to dale, and from one place to another, but all in vaine, and perceyuing then the time of the yere to be passed, and seyng that as then he coulde doe no good, he returned agayne to Worcester, and there dispersed his armie, and returned agayne to London.

While the king was occupyed in Wales, as aforesayde, certeine lewde and sedicious persons had blased abroade & noysed that king Richard (which openly was seene dead) was yet liuyng, and desyred ayde of the common people, to repossesse his realme and royal dignitie: And for the better blasing of this false rumor abroade, they set vp vpon postes, and cast about the stretes, sundrie most slaunderous and sedicious billes and rymes, agaynst king Henrie, and his proceedyngs. The King beyng not a little offended with these malicious doynges, caused diligent searche to be made for the auethors thereof, and amongest other, there was found out, Sir Roger Claringdon knight, and viij. gray Friers, which accordyng to theyr desertes were put to execution at Tyborne.

A rumour spread abrode that King Richard was alyue.

Sir Roger Claringdon knight.

And here is to be shewed that king Henry nowe seekyng friendship and affinitie in Germanie, sent this yere his eldest daughter Blaunche, accompanied with the Erle of Somerset, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Lorde Clifford, and other Noble personages into Almaine: which brought her to Coleyn, and there with great tryumph she was maryed to William Duke of Bauier, sonne and heyre to Lewes of Bauier the Emperour, in the which yere also dyed Ladie Katheryn Swynsford, the third wife of Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, father to this king Henrie, and was buried at Lincolne.

Blaunch the eldest daughter of king Henry, maried to ye Duke of Bauier.

In the sayde yere king Henrie maried Iane Duches of Briteyne, late wife to Iohn Duke of Briteyne, at the Citie of Winchester, and with all tryumphant pompe conueyed her through the Citie of London to Westminster, and there she was crowned Quene.

King Henry maried to Iane Duches of Briteyne.

While these thinges were thus in doyng in England, Waleram Erle of Saint Paule, which had maryed the halfe sister of king Richard, hauyng a deadly hatred to king Henrie, assembled a great armie, wherein (as sayth maister Hall) were. xvj. thousand men, and a great number of the same were Noble men, and after he toke shippyng at Harflet, and landed in the Isle of Wight: And when he sawe no appearance of defence, he burned two poore Villages, and foure simple Cottages, and for great tryumph of thys noble acte, he made foure knightes: But sodeynly, when he was aduertised by his Espyalles, that the people of the Isle were assembled and approched to fight with him, he with all possible hast tooke his ships and returned home againe, wherewith the noble men of his companie was much discontent and displeased, considerynge that his prouision was great, and his gaine small or none. And at this present tyme, Iohn Erle of Cleremont, sonne to the Duke of Burbon, wonne in Gascoyne, the Castelles of Saint Peter, Saint Marie, and the newe Castell: And the Lorde Delabreth wonne the Castel of Carlaffin, which was no small losse to the English Nacion: Duryng which time dyed Philip Duke of Burgoyn, & Duke Albert of Bauier Erle of Henault.

Waleram Erle of saint Paule entereth England with a power.

Philip duke of Burgoyn dead.

In the ende of this yere dyed Geoffrey Chawcer, the most excellentest Poet that euer was in England, deceased the. xxv. day of October, and lyeth buryed in the bodie of the Church of Westminster, on the Southsyde neere vnto the Clocke. And the same yere also dyed that excellent Poet Iohn Gowre, who lyeth buryed in Saint Audries Church in Southwarke, and he buylded a great part of the same Church.

Geoffrey Chawcer.

Iohn Gowre.

1401

This yere appered a Comete or blasing starre of a great and huge quātitie, which some expounded to signifye great effusion of mans blood, and the same proued true, as after ye shal here. For Henry Erle of Northumberland, and Thomas Erle of Worcester his brother, and his sonne Lorde Henrye Percye, called Hottespurre, which were to king Henrie in the beginnyng of his reigne both friendes and ayders, perceyuyng now that the king had pacifyed all ciuile sedition, and repressed his enemies, & had brought his realme to a conuenient quietnesse, they began nowe somewhat to enuy his glorye, and grudged at his wealth and felicitie: And specially grieued, because the King demaunded of the Erle and his sonne, such Scottishe prisoners as they had taken at the Conflictes fought at Homeldon and Nesbit, as you before haue heard. For of all the Captiues which were then taken, there was deliuered to the Kinges possession, onely Mordake Erle of Fiffe, sonne to the Duke of Albany, Gouernour of Scotland: For the king diuerse and sundry tymes requyred them of the Erle and his sonne, but the Percyes affyrmyng them to be theyr awne proper prysoners, and theyr peculiar prayes, did vtterly denie to deliuer them, insomuch, that the king openly sayd, that if they would not deliuer them, he would take them without deliueraunce. Wherewith they beyng sore discontent, by the counsaile of Lorde Thomas Percey Erle of Worcester, whose studie was euer to procure malice, and to set all thinges in broyle and vncertemtie, faynyng a cause to proue and tempt the king, came to him to Windsore, requyryng him by raunsome or otherwise, to cause to be deliuered out of prison, Edmond Mortimer Erle of March their Cossyn Germaine, whome (as they reported) Owen Glendor kept in fylthie prison, shakeled with Irons, onely for that he tooke the kinges part, and was to him faythfull and true. The king beganne not a litle to muse on thys request, and not without cause, for in dede it touched him as nere as his shirt, for that he was so neere of the blood of king Richard, and had good cause to make clayme to the Crowne. For this Edmond was sonne to Erle Roger, which was sonne to Ladie Philip, daughter to Lionell Duke of Clarence, the third sonne to king Edward the third, which Edmond at King Richardes goyng into Ireland was proclaymed heyre apparant to the Crowne of the realme, whose Aunt called Elianor this Lord Percey had maryed. And therfore the King little forced although that lynage were clerely subuerted, and vtterly extinct.

3 A blasyng starre.

Henry Erle of Northumberland & the Erle of Worcester, &c. begin to rebell.

When the king had well aduised vpon and considered thys matter, hee made aunswere and sayde, that the Erle of Marche was not taken prisoner neyther for his cause, nor in his seruice, but willyngly suffered himselfe to be taken, the which fraude the king caused to be openly published, and thys answere pleased nothing the Erle of Worcester, but put him in a great Choler and chafe, and departed in a great rage and fume, insomuch ỳ syr Henry Hottespurre sayde afterwardes openly: Beholde the heyre of the realme is robbed of his right, and the robber with hys awne will not redeeme him. And nowe the Percies disposed and bent themselues in all that they myght vtterly to depose king Henry, and to restore theyr Cossyn Edmond Erle of Marche vnto the Crowne and Diademe of the realme, whome they shortly after not onely deliuered out of the Captiuitie of Owen Glendor, but also entred into a league and amitie with the sayde Owen agaynst King Henrie and all his friendes, to the great displeasure and long vnquietyng of Kyng Henry and his partakers.

The Lorde Percey & his brother redeme Edmond Mortimer Erle of March and pay his raunsome.

And here sayth Hall, that the aforesayd Owen Glendor, and the Erle of Marche, and the Percyes were greatly abused and deceyued by a Welshe Prophecier, who made them to beleue, that king Henrye was the Moldewarpe cursed of Gods awne mouth, and that they three were the Dragon, the Lyon, and the Wolfe, which shoulde deuide this realme betwene them by the prophecie of Mawmet Marlyn: But in the ende all turned to their confusion and destruction, and specially of Owen Glendor, and the Lord Percey: For the Erle of March was euer kept in the Court vnder such a keper, that he could neyther do, nor attempt any thing agaynst the king, without his knowledge, and dyed without issue, leauyng his right title and interest to Anne his sister and heyre, maryed to Rychard Erle

Edmonde Mortimer Erle of March dyed without issue.

Erle of Cambridge father to the Duke of Yorke, whose ofspring in continuance of tyme obteyned the game, and gat the garland.

The Percies rayse a power against king Henry.

King Henrye nowe knowyng of this Confederacie, and nothing lesse mindyng then that which hapned after, gathered a great armie to go againe into Wales, whereof the Erle of Northumberland and his sonne were aduertised by Lord Thomas Erle of Worcester, and with all the diligence that they could, raysed all the power that they could make, and sent to the Scots which before were taken prisoners for ayde of men, and promisyng the Erle Douglas the towne of Barwike, and a parte of Northumberland, and to other Scottishe Lordes great Lordships and Seigniories, if they obteyned the vpper hand and superioritie. The Scottes allured with desyre of gaine, and for no malice that they bare to king Henry, but yet somewhat desirous to be reuenged of theyr olde griefes, came to the Erle with a great companie: And to make their cause to seeme good and iust, they deuysed certeyne Articles by the aduyse of Richarde Scrope Archebishoppe of Yorke, brother to the Lord Scrope, whome King Henry caused to be behedded at Bristow, as you haue heard before: which Articles they shewed to dyuerse noble men and Prelates of the realme, which fauouring and consentyng to the purpose, promised them ayde, not onely by wordes, but also by writyng. Howbeit, whether it were for feare, eyther for that they would be lookers on, and no deede doers, neyther promise by worde nor by writyng was performed: For at the day of conflict all the confederates absented them selues, and left the Erle of Stafford alone, which beyng of a haute courage and hie stomacke kept his promise, and ioyned with the Percies to his destruction.

The Lord Percey, with the Erle Douglas, & other the Erles of Scotland, with a great armie departed out of the North partes, leauyng hys father sicke (which promised vpon his amendment and recouerie, without delay to followe) and came to Stafford, where his Vncle the Erle of Worcester and he met, and there began to consult vpon their great affayres, and there also they exhorted theyr Souldiours to spare no trauaile for the libertie of theyr Countrie, protestyng openly that they made warre onely to restore the noble realme of England to his accustomed glory and freedome, which was gouerned by a tyraunt, and not by his lawfull and right king. The Capteynes sware, and the Souldiours promised to fight, yea and to dye for the libertie of their Countrie.

The king with his power cometh to Shrewsburie.

When all thinges were prepared, they set forward towarde Wales, lokyng euery houre for new ayde and succours. The king heryng of the Erles approchyng, thought it pollecy to encounter with them before that the Welsh men should ioyne with their armie, and therefore returned sodeinlye to the towne of Shrewesburie. He was scantly entred into the towne, but he was by hys Postes aduertised that the Erles with Baners displayed, and battails raunged, were commyng towarde him, and were so hote and courageous, that they with light horses began to skirmish with his hoste. The King perceiuyng theyr doynges, issued out and encamped himselfe without the East gate of the towne. The Erles nothing abashed, although their succors them deceyued, embattayled themselues not farre from the Kinges armie. And the same night they sent the Articles, whereof is mencion made before, by Thomas Kayton, and Thomas Saluayn Esquiers, to the king, the true Copye whereof, as sayth Hall, doth followe.

Articles proponed by the Percies agaynst king Henry.

I We Henry Percie Erle of Northumberlande, high Constable of England, and Warden of the west Marches of the same toward Scotland, Henry Percie oure eldest sonne Wardeyn of the East Marches of Englande towarde Scotland, and Thomas Percie Erle of Worcester beyng Proctours and protectours of the common weale, before our Lorde Iesus Christ oure supreme iudge, doe allege, say, and entend to proue with our handes personally this daye, agaynst thee Henry Duke of Lancaster, thy complices and fauourers, vniustly presuming, and named king of Englande, without title of right, but onely of thy guyle and by force of thy helpers: That when thou after thine exile diddest enter into Englande, thou madest an othe to vs vpon the holy Gospelles, bodely touched and kyssed by thee at Dankaster, that thou wouldest neuer claime the crowne, kingdome, nor state royall.

royall, but only thine awne proper inheritaunce, and the inheritaunce of thy wyfe in Englande, and that Richarde our souereigne Lorde and king and thine, should reigne during the time of his lyfe, gouerned by the good counsayle of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall. Thou hast imprisoned the same thy souereigne Lorde, and our king within the Tower of London vntill he had for feare of death resigned his kingdomes of Englande and Fraunce, and had renounced all his right, in the aforesayde kingdomes, and other his dominions and landes of beyond the sea. Vnder colour of which resignation and renunciation by the counsayle of thy friends and complices, and by the open noysing of the raskall people, by thee and thine adherents assembled at Westmynster, thou hast crowned thy selfe of the realmes aforesayde, and hast seazed and entered into all the Castels and Lordships perteyning to the kings crowne, contrarie to thine othe, wherfore thou art forsworne & false.

2 Also we doe allege, saye and entend to prooue, that where thou sworest vpon the same Gospels in the same place and time to vs, that thou wouldest not suffer any dismes to be leuyed of the clergie, nor fiftenes on the people, nor any other tallages nor taxes to be leuyed in the realme of Englande, to the behofe of the realme during thy lyfe, but by the consideration of the three estates of the realme, except for great neede in causes of importaunce or for the resistaunce of our enemies, onely, and none otherwise. Thou contrary to thine othe so made, hast done to be leuied right many dismes and fiftenes and other impositions and tallages, as well of the Clergie, as of the commonaltie of the realme of England, and of the Marchaunts, for feare of thy Maiestie royall, wherefore thou art periured and false.

3 Also we doe allege, saye and entend to proue, that where thou sworest to vs vpon the same Gospels in the aforesayde place and time, that oure souereigne Lorde and thine, king Richard should reigne during the terme of his lyfe in his royall prerogatiue and dignitie: Thou hast caused the same oure souereigne Lorde and thine, traytorously-wythin the Castell of Pomffret, without the consent or iudgement of the Lordes of the Realme, by the space of. xv. dayes, and so many nightes (which is horrible among christian people to be heard) with hunger, thirst and colde to perishe, to be murdered, wherfore thou art periured and false.

4 Also we doe allege, saye and entende to prooue, that thou at that tyme when our souereigne Lord and thine, King Richard was so by that horrible murder dead as abouesayde, thou by extorte power diddest vsurpe, and take the kingdome of Englande, and the name, and the honour of the kingdome of Fraunce vniustly and wrongfully, contrary to thine othe from Edmonde Mortymer Erle of Marche, and of Vlster, then nexte and direct heyre of Englande and of Fraunce, immediately by due course of inheritaunce after the decease of the aforesayde Richarde, wherefore thou art periured & false.

5 Also we doe allege, saye and entend to proue, as aforesayde, that where thou madest an othe in the same place and time to support and maintayne the lawes and good customes of the realme of Englande: And also afterward at the time of thy coronation, thou madest an othe, the sayd lawes and good customes to keepe, and conserue inuiolate. Thou fraudulently and contrarie to the lawe of England and thy fautours, haue written almost thorough euery shyre in Englande to chose such knightes for to holde a parliament, as shall be for thy pleasure and purpose, so that in thy parliamentes no iustice should be ministred against thy minde in these our complaynts now moued & shewed by vs, whereby at any time we might haue perfite redresse: Notwithstanding that we according to our conscience (as we trust ruled by God) haue oftentimes thereof complayned, as well can testifie and beare witnesse the right reuerend fathers in God, Thomas Arondell Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke: wherefore nowe by force and strength of hand before our Lorde Iesu Christ, we must aske our remedy and helpe.

6 Also we doe allege, saye and entende to prooue, that where Edmonde Mortimer Erle of Marche & Vlster, was taken prisoner by Owen Glendor, in a pitched and fought-

en fielde, and cast into prison, and laden with Yron fetters for thy matter and cause whom falsely thou hast proclaymed willingly to yeelde himselfe prisoner to the sayd Owen Glendor, and neyther wouldest delyuer him thy selfe, nor yet suffer vs his kinsmen to raunsome and delyuer him: yet notwithstanding, we haue not onely concluded and agreed with the same Owen for his raunsome at our proper charges and expenses, but also for a peace betweene thee, and the sayde Owen. Why hast thou then not onely published and declared vs as traytors, but also craftely and deceitfullye imagined, purposed and conspired the vtter destruction and confusion of our persons? For the which cause we defie thee, thy ayders and helpers as common Traitors and destroyers of the realme, and the Inuadours, oppressours and confounders of the very true and right heyres to the crowne of Englande, which thing we entende with our handes to proue thys daye, almightie God helping vs.

The kinges aunswere to the Lordes articles.

When king Henry had read their articles and defiaunce, he aunswered the Esquiers, that he was readie with dent of sworde and fierce battayle, to proue their quarell false and feyned, and not with wryting and slaunderous bylles, and so in his righteous cause and iust quarel, he doubted not but God would both ayde and assist him agaynst vntrue persons, and false forsworne traytors, with which aunswere the messengers departed.

The next daye in the morning early, which was the Euen of Marye Magdalen, the king perceaued that the battayle was neerer then he eyther thought or loked for, therefore least long taryeng might minish or hinder his strength, he did with all speede set his battayles in good order: and lykewise did his enimies, which both in puissaunce and courage was nothing to hym inferior. Then sodainely the Trumpets blewe, and foorthwith the battayles ioyned. The Scottes which had the forward on the Lordes syde, entending to be reuenged of their olde displeasures, done to them by the Englishe nation, set fiercely on the kings foreward, that they made them draw back, and had almost put them out of their araye. The Welshmen also, which sith the kings departure out of Wales, had lurcked and lyen in woodes and Mountaynes, hearyng of thys battayle toward, came to the ayde of the Erles, and refreshed the werie people with newe succours. When a fearefull messenger had declared to the king that his people were beaten downe on euerye syde, it was no neede to bidde him sturre, for sodainely he approched with his freshe battayle, and comforted, hartened and encouraged his parte so, that they toke their hartes to them, and manfully fought with their enimies. The Prince that daye holpe much his father, for although he were that daye sore wounded in the face with an arrow, yet he neuer ceassed either to fight wher the battayle was most strongest, or to encourage them who seemed to him to faynt. Thys sore and fierce battayle continued three long houres with indifferent fortune on both parts: but at the last the king cryeng victory, brake the array, and entered into the battayle of his enemies, and fought fiercely, and entered so farre into the battayle, that the Lorde Douglas strake him downe, and slue Syr Walter Blunt, and three other apparelled in the kings sute and clothing, sayeng: I maruell to see so many kings to arise so sodainely agayne, but sone after the king was reysed agayne, and that daye he did many a Noble feate of armes. For the Scottes write, and Frenche men also, though the Englishmen keepe sylence, that he himselfe slue with his awne handes that daye. xxxvj. of his enimies, and the other of his parte encouraged by his doings fought valyauntly, and slue the Lorde Percy called Sir Henry Hotspurre, the best Captaine on the parte aduerse, and when his death was knowne, they fled and happie was he that was formost. And in that flight the Erle Douglas fallyng from the cragge of a Mountayne brake one of his stones, and so was taken, and for his valyauntnesse was of the king freely and frankely deliuered. There was taken also Sir Thomas Percy Erle of Worcester and dyuers other. On the kings parte were slaine Sir Walter Blont, and. xvj. hundreth other persons: But on the parte of the rebels were slayne the Erle of Stafford, the Lorde Percy, and aboue. v. thousand other, and as for the Scottes fewe or none escaped alyue.

The battaile of Shrewsburye.

Sir Henry Hotspurre is slayne.

The king obtayneth a great victory of his Lorde.

After this great victory by the king obteined, he first rendred his humble and harty thanks

thanks to God almightie, & caused the Erle of Worcester the next morow after to be drawne hanged and quartered in the towne of Shrewsbury, and his head to be sent to London, and there set vpon a pole vpon London bridge, and the same time also were many moe Captaynes executed in the sayde place. And this being done, the king lyke a valyaunt Conquerour returned to London with great pompe, where he was by the Magistrates of the Citie most solemply receaued, and ioyfully welcommed. But here a little to returne, before his departure from Shrewesburie he not forgetting his enterprise agaynst Owen Glendor, sent into Wales with a great armie Prince Henry his eldest sonne agaynst the sayde Owen, and hys sedicious complices, which being dismayed and in a manner desperate of all comfort, by the reason of the kings late victorie, fled into desert places and solitarie Caues, where he receyued a finall rewarde, meete and prepared by Gods prouydence for such a rebell and sedicious seducer. For being destitute of all comfort, and dreading to shewe his face to any creature, lacking meate to sustaine nature, for pure hunger and lack of foode, miserably ended his wretched lyfe. Nowe after that the death of Owen was knowne to the Prince, and that the Prince with little labour, and lesse losse had tamed and brideled the furious rage of the wylde Welshmen, and had left Gouernours to rule and gouerne the countrie, he returned to his father with great honor and no small prayse.

Owen Glendor being forsaken of all people, dyed by hunger and famine.

The Erle of Northumberland heeryng of the ouerthrowe of hys brother and sonne, came of his awne free will to the kyng, excusyng himselfe as one neyther partie nor knowyng of theyr doyng nor enterpryse: The king neyther accused him, nor helde him excused, but dissembled the matter for two causes, one was, he had Barwike in his possession, which the king rather desyred to haue by pollicy, then by force: The other was, that the Erle had his Castelles of Alnewyke, Warckworth, and other, fortefyed with Scottes, so that if the Erle were apprehended, all Northumberlande were in ieopardye to become Scottishe: For these causes the king gaue him fayre wordes, and let him depart home, where he continued in peace a while, but after rebelled as ye shall here.

And in this tyme, at the charges of the Citie of London, where before there was a certeine prison in Cornehill called the Tonne, they nowe buylded in the same place a fayre Conduyt, which at this day is called the Conduyt in Cornehyll.

The buylding of the Conduit in Cornehill.

1402

This yere Walteram Erle of Saint Paule, consideryng that he had defyed king Henrye, and also that he had made dyuerse voyages, and done little dammage to the Englishe Nation, but had susteyned much losse, and yet continuyng in hys olde malice agaynst the king of England, by the assent of the French King, assembled a great number of men of warre, as fiue hundred men of armes, fiue hundred Genowayes with Crosbowes, and a thousande Flemynges on foote, and layde siege to the Castell of Marke, three Leagues from Calice, within the territorie of the king of England, the xvj. day of Iuly, whereof was Capteine Sir Philip Hall, with lxxx. Archers, and xxiiij. other Souldiours. The Erle raysed agaynst the Castell dyuers engynes, but they preuayled not, for they within shotte so fiercely, and cast stones so incessantly, and defended the same so manfullye, that they preuayled not at that tyme. And the Erle perceiuyng that his enterprise had not such successe as he looked for, retyred with his men lodged in the towne, fortefiyng the same for feare of rescues that might issue from Calice. The next day he gaue a sore assault again, & with great force entered the vtter Court, of the Castell & toke therein a great number of horse, Kyne and Cattaile, at the which assault sir Robert Barynguile, cossyn to the Erle, was slain. The same day an hundreth Archers on horsebacke came out of Calice, and perceiued the doynges and demeanour of the Erle and his companie, and toward night they sent an Herauld vnto him, certefiyng that they would dyne with him the nexte daye: To whome he proudly aunswered, that he would gladly receyue them, and theyr dinner agaynst theyr commyng shoulde bee ready prepared.

4

Waleram Erle of saint Paule once againe assayleth king Henry the fourth.

The next day ensuyng issued out of Calice two hundreth men of armes, two hundreth Archers, three hundreth men on foote, with x. or. xij. Chariots laden with victuall and Artillery,

Artillery, conducted by Sir Richard Aston knight, Lieutenant of the Englishe pale for the Erle of Somerset, Captaine generall of those Marches, which in good order of battaile marched toward their enemies, which before by their espialles were aduertised of their commyng: But that notwithstandyng, they issued not out of their lodgynges to encounter with them, but kept themselues within their Closure.

The Englishe men shot so closely and so sharpely together, that the Flemynges and footemen began to flie: The men of Armes fearyng the slaughter of theyr horses, ran away with a light galolp: The Genowayes which had spent the most part of their shot at the assault, made little defence, and small resistance, and so were all slaine and put to flight. The hastie and rashe Erle of Saint Paule, and dyuerse other without stroke geuen to their enemies, fled to Saint Omers: And there were taken of the best of the armie, as sayth the Frenche and Duche Chronicles, lx. or. lxxx. persons, amongest whome the Capteyn of Bulleyn was one, and many Lordes and knightes slaine. After that the Englishe men had taken all the Cartes, Munitions, and victualles that their enemyes had brought thether, they returned to Calice in great triumph: And within fiue dayes after, there issued out of the English pale about the number of fiue hundreth men, toward Arde by night tyme, thinkyng to haue found the towne vnprouided: But Sir Mansard de Boys, and the Lord Kygnie defended it, and disappointed the Englishe men, who with the losse of forty men, returned to Calice: Which dead persons were brent in an olde house, because their enemies should be ignorant of the dammage that the Englishe men had by them susteyned.

The French men are discomfited.

The Erle of Saint Paule beyng at Turwyn, and yet imaginyng in some part, or by some way to be reuenged of the Englishe men, and to recouer some part of his losse, but more of his honour, sent for a great companie of Noble men, and valiaunt personages, and concluded to inuade the Marches of his enemyes. But the French king considerynge the Erles euill fortune, commaunded him to leaue off his enterprice, with the which he was sore displeased. Yet to aduoyde perilles, the French king layde in Garrison at Bulleyn and other places, the Marques of Pount, sonne to the Duke of Barre, and the Erle of Dampney, and Sir Iohn Harpadane, a knight of great renowne and high estimation.

The king of England circumspectly fore seeyng thinges to come, and imaginyng that the Frenche men attempted some newe enterprice agaynst him, or his Dominions beyond the Sea, sent foure thousand men to Calice, and to the Sea, whereof three thousand landed at Scluse, which besieged a Castell standyng in the mouth of the Hauen, and made dyuerse assaultes, and lost diuerse of their companie: But newes were brought to them, that the Duke of Burgoyne had desyred lycence of the Frenche king to besiege the Towne of Calice, for which cause they raysed their siege, and went to the defence of Calice.

And this yere also sayth Reynulph, the Emperour of Constantinople, whose name, as some wryters call him, was Robert, came into Englande, onely to see the Countrie, and maners of the people thereof.

Plimmoth is spoiled by the French men.

And this yere the Lorde of Castell in Briteyn landed within a myle of Plymmoth, with a great companie, and lodged in the towne all that day and night, and the next day spoyled and robbed the sayde towne, and caryed away all that was therein, and returned againe into their Shippes.

1403

Sone after this, Lewes Duke of Orleance, brother to the French king, a man of no lesse pride then of great courage, wrote his letters to king Hēry, aduertising him that he for the perfect loue which he bare to the noble feates of Chiualrie and Martiall actes, could inuent nothing more honourable nor laudable to them both, then to meete in the fielde, eche part with an hundred Knightes and Esquiers, all beyng Gentlemen, both of name and armes, armed and weaponed at all poyntes, to fight and combate to the yeldyng, and

A Frenche brag.

euery person to whome God should send victorye, to haue his prisoner, and him to raunsome at his pleasure, offering himselfe & his companie to come to his City of Angulesme, so that the king of England would come to the lands and borders of Burdeaux, and there defende his chalenge.

The

The King of England, which was as graue and wittie, as the Duke was hautie and courageous, wrote to him againe, that he not a little mused and more maruayled, that the Duke beyng sworne aswell to him, as to King Richard, to mainteyn the peace betweene his brother the Frenche king, and them concluded, and to that had set his signe and great seale, would nowe for vaineglorie, and vnder the colour of doyng of deedes of Armes, not onely violate the peace, and breake the amitie betwene them before concluded, but also geue an occasiō of displeasure and ingratitude, by the which in conclusion might rise mortall warre, and deadly enemitie: affirmyng farther, that no king annoynted, of very dutie was euer bound to answere any chalenge, but to his pere of egall estate, & equiuolent dignitie. And that no Christian prince ought or should consent to warre or effusion of Christian blood, but onely for the defence of his realme, or for conquest of his right, or for the amplifiyng of Christes fayth, and Christian religion, and not for pride, worldly fame, and vaineglorie: And saiyng further, that when oportunitie of tyme, and conuenient leysure serued, he would transfrete and passe the sea himselfe, with such companie as he thought most conuenient, into his Countrie of Gascoyne, at which tyme the Duke, might set forward with his band, for the atteynyng of honour, and accomplishyng of his couragious desyre, promisyng in the word of a Prince, that he would not thence depart, vntill the Duke eyther by fulfillyng his awne desyre, or by singuler Combate betwene them two, onely for the aduoidyng of the effusion of Christian blood, should thinke himselfe satisfied and fully aunswered. Howbeit, at that time he beyng busied with weightie affayres, concernyng the publike weale of his realme, could neyther appoynt tyme nor place, protestyng that the deferryng of tyme was neither for disdeyne, nor yet for cowardnesse, but onely to abate the pride of him, which knowyng not himselfe, nor fearyng reproche, regarded not his othe, wrytyng nor seale. The wise and graue aunswere of king Henry.

To this aunswere the Duke of Orliaunce replyed, and king Henry reioyned, the which doynges for the vnprincely tauntes conteyned in them, I thought mete to omit and passe them ouer.

The Duke of Orleaunce not content with the king of England, assembled an army of sixe thousand men, and entered into Guyan, and besieged the Towne of Vergie, whereof was Capteyne Sir Robert Antelfielde a valyant knight, and an hardie Capteyne, hauyng with him onely three hundreth Englishe men. The Duke almost euery day assaulted the towne very fiercely, but they within the Towne couragiously defended the same. Insomuche that when they had lien there three monethes, and had lost many of his men, and gotten nothing, without honour or spoyle returned into Fraunce. The Duke of Orleaunce besiegeth Vergie in Guyan.

After this, the Admirall of Briteyn, which was greatly enflamed and encouraged, because the last yere he had entered the Hauen of Plymmoth, and robbed and spoyled the towne, and afterward had taken certayne ships with Wine. And he being now accompanied with the Lorde Castell a valyaunt Baron of Briteyn, and hauing. xxx. sayle of shippes well furnished with artillerie, municion, and victualles, and. xij. hundreth men of armes, sayled from Saint Malos, and came before the towne of Dartmouth, and would haue landed, but by the force of the townes men, and men of the countrie, they were repulsed and put back: In which conflict the Lord of Castell with his two brethren, with foure hundreth other were slayne, and aboue two hundreth prisoners taken and raunsomed, whereof the Lord of Baqueuile high Marshall of Briteyn was one, which was brought to the king, and was afterward redeemed. The Admirall of Fraunce is discomfited.

The Admirall being sory of thys infortunate enterprise, with much losse and no gayne returned hastely into his Countrey. King Henry being aduertised of this attempt, sent the Lorde Thomas his sonne, which after was Duke of Clarence, to the sea, with a great nauie of Shippes, to the entent that eyther with battayle or spoyling or destroyeng of the Sea costes, both of Briteyn and of Fraunce, he might reuenge this iniurie and inuasion. And he sayling by the sea costes landed diuers times, and brent townes and destroyed people without any pittie or mercie: And when he thought his quarell well reuenged, he The Lorde Thomas Duke of Clarence.

sayled toward England, and in his returning he encountred with two great Caricks of Geane, laden with riche merchaundise, betwene whome was a great conflict, and a bloudy battayle: But after long fighting the Englishmen preuayled, and brought both the Carickes into Camber before Rye, where one of them by misaduenture of fyre perished, to the losse and no gayne of both the parties.

John Duke of Burgoyn would haue besieged Calice, but he was forbidde by the french King.

About this time, Iohn Duke of Burgoyn, which had long laboured, and nowe obteyned lycence to besiege the towne of Calice, preparyng Engynes, and all other Instruments necessarie for that purpose, assembled at Saint Omers sixe thousand men of armes. xv. hundred Crosbowes, and xij. thousande footemen. And now when all things were in a readinesse, and the whole armie assembled, he was by the Frenche king and his counsayle (who had some mistrust in hym) countermaunded and forbidden any further to proceede in that enterprise: For the which cause he conceaued such an hatred and deadly malice against the Duke of Orleaunce (whome he thought was the onely let and stop of his glorie and renowne) that he euer after, not onely stomaked and grudged agaynst him, but in the ende (as you shall here) brought him to death and finall destruction.

Wylliam Serle one of the murderers of the Duke of Glocester, taken and executed.

And it so happened, that this yere one Wylliam Serle, whome some call Iohn Serle, beyng one of the murderers at Calice of the Duke of Glocester, was taken lurking in the Marches of Scotlande, and drawen on an Herdle from that place vp to London, and committed to the Tower, and then brought to Westmynster, and there he was also charged that he had bruted abroad that king Richard was alyue, and for these things was there arreigned, condempned, iudged, hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne.

1404

6

John Erle of Northumberland conspyreth against king Henry.

The Erle of Northumberland, of whome before is spoken, bearing no litle hatred vnto King Henrie, for the death of his sonne Sir Henrie Hotspurre, and his brother the Erle of Worcester, as aforesayde, did daylie practise some meane to be reuenged therof, and now secretly he began to breake his minde to Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke, brother to Wylliam Lorde Scrope, high Treasorer of Englande, whome king Henry (as you haue heard) behedded at Bristow, & with Thomas Mowbray Erle Marshall, sonne to Thomas Duke of Norffolke, for king Henryes cause before banished the realme of England, and with the Lordes, Hastynges, Fauconbridge, Bardolfe and dyuers other, which he knew to beare deadly hatred vnto King Henry. And after many meetings, and long consultations had, they finally did conclude and determine: that all they, their friends and Alies, wyth all their power should meete at Yorkeswolde at a daye appointed, and that the Erle of Northumberland should be Chiefetayne of the armie, who promised to bring with him a great number of Scottes.

The king hath knowledge of the conspiracie.

Thys conspiracie was not so secretly kept, nor so closely couered, but that the king had knowledge thereof, and was fully informed of the same: wherefore to preuent the time of their assembly, he with suche power as he could sodainely call together, marched with all speede into the North partes, and was there with all his hoste and power, before the Confederats heard any thing of his comming forward, and sodaynely he caused

Diuers Lordes apprehended and executed.

to be apprehended the Archebishoppe, the Erle Marshall, Syr Iohn Lampley, and Sir Robert Plumpton. These persons were arreigned and atteinted of highe treason, and adiudged to die, and so on the Monday in the Whitson weke, all they without the Citie of Yorke were beheaded.

The Archebishop of Cãterburye intreateth for the Archbishop of York.

And here I finde written in an auncyent historie, that after the taking of the Archebishop of Yorke, that the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, called Thomas Arondell came vnto the king and sayd, Sir if the Bishop of Yorke haue so greatly offended you as it is sayd, yet I pray you consider that I am your ghostly father, and the second person in your realme, & that you ought not to hearken to anye mans voyce before me: wherefore I counsayle you reserue the payne and punishment of the sayde Bishop to the Popes iudgement, and he will take suche order as ye shall be pleased. And if you will not so doe, yet let him be referred to the parliament, and keepe your handes vndefiled from his bloud. The king answered: I may not staye him for the rumour of the people. Then

the Archebishop called for a Notarie, to make an Instrument of the kings answere, that if neede were, it might be presented to the Pope: But the king would not stay but caused execution, as aforesaid.

Execution.

Beside the persons aforenamed, dyuers other of the sayde conspiracie, as the Lorde Hastyngs, the Lorde Fauconbridge, Sir Iohn Coluile of the Dale, and Sir Iohn Griffith were behedded at Durham.

The Erle of Northumberland perceauing his counsayle to be reuoked, and his confederates put to shamefull execution, fled into Scotland to hys olde friend George of Dunbarre Erle of Marche, which the yere before was reuoked out of exile, and restored to his possessions, name, and dignitie, where he taried vntill the next Sommer, and then sayled into Fraunce, and after into Flaunders, desyring ayde and assistaunce agaynst king Henry: But when he sawe little hope of comfort, and that fewe hearkened to his request, he accompanied with the Lorde Bardolph much dismayed, and more desperate, returned againe to his true friends into Scotland, and there made his abode the whole yere, abyding the fauour of fortune: Duryng which tyme, the king without any difficultie tooke into his possession the towne of Berwike, the Castels of Alnewike, and all other Fortresses apperteyning to the Erle. And lyeng at Berwike, he caused to be put to death the Barons sonne of Greystock, Sir Henry Beynton, and Iohn Blenkensop, and fyue other, as offenders in this conspiracie.

The Erle of Northūberland flieth into Scotland.

Nowe when king Henry had thus appeased this late conspiracy, he sent his sonne the prince of Wales, accompanied with Edward Duke of Yorke, and a great armie with him, to encounter with the Scottes, which by promise were bounde to ayde and assist the aforesayde Conspirators: But they hearyng that the founders of the warre were apprehended and put to death, made no haste forward, but taried peaceably at home. So that the Prince entring into Scotlande, and fynding no resistence, brent Townes, spoyled Villages, and wasted the Countrey euery where as he passed: which thing so much amased the king of Scots and his counsaile, ỹ notwithstanding that he had gathered & appoynted a great host vnder the Conductes of the Erles of Douglas, and Bowhan to resist the prince and his inuasions: yet they sent Ambassadors vnto him, requyring him of peace and finall concord: which request he vtterly denayed, but at their humble peticion a truce for certaine Moneths was taken, of the which they were both glad and ioyous, and so the prince laden with pray & spoyle, returned with great gaine to his father.

The Prince of Wales entreth with a power into Scotland.

Whyle the prince persecuted thus the country of Scotland on the land, Sir Robert Vmfreuyle Vice Admirall of England vexed the Countries of Fiffe, and Loghdian on the Sea coast, for he lyeng in the Scottishe Sea xiiij. dayes, and euery day landed on the one side or other and tooke prayes, spoyles and prisoners maugre the great powers of the Duke of Albany, and the Erle of Douglas: in so much that he brent and tooke the towne of Peples on their fayre day: and with great gaine returning to his shippes, brent the Galiot of Scotlande with many other Vessels, and sent cloth, victuall and dyuers marchaundizes to to euery towne in Northumberlande, setting thereon no great price, wherfore the Scots called him Robin Mendmarket.

Robyn Mendmarket.

The king about this time was newly vexed and vnquieted, for notwithstanding the fortunate successe that he had obteyned in all his outwarde warres and inward affayres, yet some of his people bare vnto him such cancard heartes, that still they practised his destruction: For nowe was a newe rumour spread abroade that king Richard was alyue once agayne, and that he was in Scotland: To the which fable, suche credite was geuen, that if prudent pollicie had not foreseene the daunger thereof, it had kindled a greater flame then would haue bene eyther easely or quickly quenched.

A newe rumour that king Richard was alyue.

This Sommer the plague of pestilence reigned so sore in the Citie of London, and in the countrie also rounde about the Citie, that the king durst not repayre thether. Wherefore he departing from the Castell of Ledes in Kent, determined to take shipping at Quynborough, and to sayle ouer to Lye in Essex, and so to Plasshy, there to passe hys time vntill the plague were cessed: And because certayne Pirates of Fraunce were lurck-

1405

A great pestilence and death in London.

ing at the Thames mouth wayting for their praye: Thomas Lorde Camoys with certaine shippes of warre was appoynted to waft ouer the Kyng. When the Kyng was on the Sea, and in the middest of his iourney, whether the winde turned, or that the Lorde Camoys kept not a direct coursse, or that his shippe was but a slugge. The French men, which by all similitude had knowledge of the kings passage, entered amongest the kings Nauie, and tooke foure Vessels next vnto the kings ship, and in one of them, Sir Thomas Rampston Knight the kings Vice Chamberleyn, with all his Chamber stuffe and apparell, and followed the king so neere, that if his Ship had not beene swift, he had landed sooner in Fraunce, then in Essex. The king being sore moued with the Lorde Camoys, caused him to be attached and endited, that he condiscended and agreed with the French men, that the king in his iourney should be intercepted and taken. On this poynt he was arreigned the last day of October, before Edmond Erle of Kent that daye high Stuarde of the Realme, on which daye he was adiudged by his Peeres not giltie, and was dismissed at the barre, and restored to all his lands, goods & offices.

The king in great daunger to be taken of the Frenchmen.

In this yere king Henrye, not onely desiryng newe affinitie with foreyn Princes, but also the preferment of his lyne and progenie, sente the Ladie Philip his yonger daughter to Erick king of Denmarke, Norway, & Swethen, which was conueyed thether with great pompe, and there with muche tryumph was solemply maryed to the sayde king, where shee tasted both of welth and wo, ioy and paine.

This yere Rochester Bridge was begon to be buylded of stone, and the same together with the Chapell standyng at the ende of the same, was finished by Sir Robert Knolles knight, who also newly reedefyed the bodie of the Church of the white Friers in Fletestrete in Lodon, & there was buried.

1406

You heard before howe king Robert of Scotland, beyng very aged and impotent, was not able to gouerne and rule his realme, and howe Walter his brother, beyng by him created Duke of Albanie (which was the fyrst Duke that euer was in Scotlande) was made Gouernour of his brothers Countrie and Dominion. After which office and preheminence by him obteyned, he so sore thirsted after the Crowne and Scepter royall, that he cared little though the king his brother & his two sonnes had beene at Christes fote in heauen. And somewhat to further his purpose, it vnfortunately chaunced, that Dauy of Rothsay Prince of the realme, and eldest sonne to the king was accused to his father of diuerse and sundry crimes, and especially of wanton and dissolute liuyng, as rauishyng of wyues, deflowryng of Virgines, and defilyng of maydens: wherefore the king deliuered him to his brother the gouernour, trustyng that by his good counsaile, and discrete aduertisement, he would not onely amend his lyfe, but also waxe graue, prudent, and wise. Nowe when the Duke had possessed part of his desyred pray, he sent his Nephewe from Castell to Castell, from prison to prison, from place to place, and in conclusion lodged him in a Towre within the Castell of Franklande, where with famine he caused him miserably to ende his lyfe, puttyng a poore woman to painefull death, which gaue to the Prince the milke of her brestes by a Rede into the prison. His death was long hidden from the king his father: But in conclusion the Gouernour shewed vnto the king, how dyuerse persons trayterously had murdered him, which were apprehended and iudged to die, and yet in their lyues they neuer knewe nor sawe him. The King notwithstandyng his brothers excuse, doubted much of the ende of his other sonne named Iames, wherfore he priuily prouided a ship, in the which he put the childe, beyng then of the age of. ix. yeres, vnder the tuition of the Lord Henry Seintclere, Erle of Orkeney, willyng him to conuey the prince into Fraunce, if by any possibilitie he could thether atteyne. And if fortune should driue him vpon the coast of England, he wrote his most gentle and louyng letters vnto king Henry, the effect whereof were, that forasmuch as a truce was taken betwene them, and that in the same was conteyned, that all men conueighyng letters from the one of the kinges to the other shoulde surely and safely passe and repasse without any contradiction, and that therefore it would please him not to breake nor denie the sayde libertie to the bearer of his letter which was his only sonne, and to suffer him not onely to liue safely and

8

The Ambicious minde of the Duke of Albanie.

The Duke of Albanie cruelly murdered the Prince of Scotland.

and surely vnder his protection and defence, but also to vouchesafe to preserue and defende him, beyng now the onely heyre of the kingdome of Scotland, from the malicious attemptes of his ambicious & cruel kindred.

Now all thinges beyng in a redynesse, the Mariners set forwarde and departed from Bas Castle with this yong Prince, and Henry Percey, sonne to the Lord Percey, called Hottespurre before slaine at Shrewsbury, and by force of tempest were driuen vpon the coast of England in Holdernesse, at a place called Flamborough hed, the. xxx. day of March, where the yong prince for to refreshe himselfe tooke land, and soone after he and all his companie were taken, and brought to the king at Windsore, where he with all due reuerence deliuered his fathers letter. When the letter was read and vnderstand. the king assembled his counsaile, to knowe what should be done with this noble infant. Some to whome the continuall warres was odious and hatefull, affirmed that there could not happen a more surer or better occasion of peace betwene both the realmes, which beyng so offered, they would in no wise should be reiected but taken, consideryng that this Prince was sent thether in trust of safegarde, in hope of refuge, and in request of ayde and comfort against his enemyes and euill willers: But other (whose opinion tooke place) affirmed him to be a prisoner, and so to be ordered, forasmuche as he was taken, the warre beyng open, and that his father did not onely maintein the Erle of Northumberland and other rebelles within his Countrie, and gaue them great honoures, but also sent a great number of his Nobilitie agaynst the king at the battail of Shrewsbury: Wherfore it was agreed that he should be deteyned as a prisoner lawfully taken, and duely apprehended.

Iames prince of scotland by tempest is forced to land in England.

Iames prince of Scotland is taken as a prisoner.

When newes of this definitiue sentence was shewed to his father, he tooke suche an inward conceipt, that it cost him his life within a fewe Monethes after. And although the takyng of this Prince was at the first tyme displeasant vnto the realme of Scotland: yet surely, after, he and all his region had great cause to reioyce, and thanke God of that fortunate chaunce. For where before that tyme the people of Scotland were rude and without good maners, and hauyng little learnyng, and lesse good qualities, thys Prince beyng. xviij. yeres prisoner within this realme, was so trayned and taught by his Schoolemaisters, which were appoynted to him onely by the kinges clemencie, that he not onely flourished in good learnyng and knoweledge, but also excelled in Martiall feates, Musicall instrumentes, Poeticall Artes, and liberall sciences. Insomuch that at his returne from Captiuitie, he furnished his realme both with good learnyng, and Ciuile pollicie, which before was barbarous, rude, and without all good maner.

This yere a worthie Citizen of London named Rychard Whittyngton Mercer and Alderman, was elected Maior of the sayde Citie, and bare that office three tymes: This worshipfull man so bestowed his goodes and substaunce to the honor of God, to the reliefe of the pore, and to the benefite of the cõmon weale, that he hath right well deserued to be regestred in the boke of fame. First he erected one house or Church in London, to be a house of prayer, and he named the same after his awne name Whittyngtons Colledge, and so it remayneth to this day. And in the same Church, besyde certeine Priestes and Clerkes, he placed a number of poore aged men and women, and buylded for them houses and lodgynges, and allowed vnto them Wood, Cole, Cloth, and weekly money, to their great reliefe and comfort. This man also at his awne costes, builded the Gate of London called Newgate, in the yere of our Lord. 1422. which before was a most vgly & lothsome prison. Also he buylded more then the halfe of saint Bartholomewes Hospitall in west Smithfielde in London. Also he buylded of hard stone, the bewtifull Librarie in the gray Friers in London, now called Christes Hospitall, standyng in the North part of the Cloyster thereof, where in the wall his armes is grauen in stone. He also buylded for the ease of the Maior of London and his brethren, & of the worshipfull Citizens, at the solempne dayes of their assemblie, a Chapell adioinyng to the Guyldhall, to the entent they should euer before they entred into any of theyr affayres, first to go into the Chapell, and by prayer to call vpon God for his assistaunce. And in the ende ioynyng on the South part of the sayde Chapell, he buylded for the Citie a Library of stone, for the custodie of

Richarde Whittington Maior of London.

Whittingtons Colledge.

Newgate.

Saint Bartholomewes.

Guyldehall Chapell.

Guildehall.

their recordes and other bookes. He also buylded a great part of the East ende of the Guyldhall, besyde many other good workes that I knowe not. But among all other, I wil shewe vnto you one very notable, which I receyued credibly, by a writyng of his awne hande, which also he willed to be fixed as a Scedule to his last will and testament, the contentes whereof was, that he willed and commaunded his Executors as they would aunswere before God at the day of the Resurrection of all fleshe, that if they found any debtor of his, that ought to him any money, that if he were not in their consciences well woorth three tymes asmuch, and also out of the debt of other men, and well able to pay, that then they shoulde neuer demaund it, for he cleerely forgaue it, and that they should put no man in sute for any debt due to hym. Looke vpon thys ye Aldermen, for it is a glorious Glasse.

A glorious glasse for rich men to looke in.

1407

But nowe to returne to the story where we left. The Erle of Northumberland, which had bene in Fraunce and other Countries, to haue gotten ayde agaynst king Henry, and missed of his purpose, did nowe put his whole confidence in the Scottes, and in especially in his olde friend George Erle of Marche, and so assembled a great power of the Scottishe Nation to inuade Northumberland, and recouered diuerse of his awne Castelles and Seigniories to whome people without number dayly resorted. And he entending to be reuenged of his olde griefes accompanied with the Lord Bardolfe, and dyuerse other Scottes, and Englishe men, entred into Yorkeshire, and there began to destroy and spoyle the Countrie.

9

The Erle of Northumberland with a great power of the Scots returneth into England.

Whereof the king beyng aduertised, caused foorthwith a great army to be assembled and marched toward his enemyes, but before the king came to Nottyngham, Raufe Rokesby Shirife of Yorkeshire, in the middest of February, with the power of the Country, sodeinly set on the Erle and his companie, at a place called Bramham Moore, where after long fight, the Erle, and the Lorde Bardolfe, and many other were taken and brought to Yorke, and there executed, and their heddes sent to London.

The Erle of Northūberland taken & executed.

Pirates.

After this, the king hauyng knowledge that dyuerse Pirates were about the coast of England, prepared certeine Shippes well furnished wyth men, victuall, and municion, and in the beginnyng of Marche sent to the sea, Lord Edmond Holland Erle of Kent, as Chefetaine of that Crewe. And when the Erle had searched all the coast of Fraunce, and had not founde one Pirate or Sea robber, he was aduertised by his espialles, that they heryng of his army were gone back into the partes of Briteyne. Wherfore the sayd Erle entendyng to be reuenged on them, made his course thether, and before his arriuall they had conueyed theyr shippes into the Hauens, so that he could not fight with them on the sea, wherfore he launched out his Boates, & with his lustie & hardie Souldiours toke land, and fiercely assaulted the towne of Briake standyng vpon the Sea syde. The Citizens threwe out Dartes, cast stones, shot quarelles, and manfully defended their Walles. In the which conflict, the Erle receyued such a wounde in his head, that he departed out of this worlde the fift day after. The assaylantes nothyng dismayde, but rather kindeled and set on fire with the death of their Capteyn, like men desperate, still continued and folowed the assault of the towne, and by fine force entered into the same and set it on fyre, and slue all that made any resistance: And for lacke of a Capteyne, the men of warre laden with prayes and prisoners, returned againe into England.

The Erle of Kent slain at the siege of Briake.

Briake take and brent.

Edmond Erle of Kent was well beloued of king Henry.

This Edmond Erle of Kent was in such fauour with King Henry, that he not alonely aduaunced and promoted him to highe offices and dignities: But also by his meane, and no small cost, obteyned for him Lucie the eldest daughter, and one of the heyres of the Lorde Barnaby of Milleyn (brother to Lorde Galeace, whose sonne also called Galeace, murdering his Vncle Barnaby made himselfe first Duke of Milleyn:) For which mariage the Lorde Barnaby payde to the sayde Erle of Kent, an hundred thousand Duccates in the Church of saint Mary Ouereyes in Southwarke, at the day of the solemnitie of the sayde mariage, by Done Alphons of Caniola.

This Lucye, after the death of her husbande, by whome she had none issue, was moued by the king to mary hys bastard brother the Erle of Dorcet, a man very aged and euill visaged, whose person neyther satisfied her phantasie, nor whose face pleased her appetite,

wherfore she preferring her awne minde more then the kinges desyre, delyghting in him which shoulde more satisfie her wanton desire, then gayne her any profite, for verye loue tooke to husbande Henry Mortimer a goodly yong Esquire, and bewtifull Bacheler. For which cause the king was not onely with her displeased, but also for maryeng without his licence, he seassed and fined her at a great some of mony, which fine king Henry the fift both released and pardoned, and also made him knight and promoted him to great offices both in England and in Normandy, which Sir Henry had issue by this Ladye, Anne maryed to Sir Iohn Awbemond, mother to Elizabeth Candos, mother to Phillis maried to Sir Dauy Hall Captayne of Cane: She had also issue, Mary maried to Iohn Cheddur, and Lucy espoused to syr Iohn Cressy.

This yere happened a long and great frost, which continued. xv. wekes, and by reason thereof dyed great numbers of sheepe and birdes. A great frost.

About this time Iohn Duke of Burgoyn, a man of a quick wit, and of a haute courage, and desyrous of rule, beyng of great auctboritie among the French nation, to whome ciuile discorde was more pleasant, then brotherly loue and friendship, beganne sore to murmour and grudge against Lewes Duke of Orleaunce, because that he was chiefe of the kings counsayle, and ordred all things by his discretion for that the king his brother was (as you haue heard) fallen into a Frensie, and therefore meddled in nothing. The Duke of Orleaunce on the other side, being highly set vp in pride, beganne to disdeyne and froune at the Duke of Burgoyn, because he perceaued that he aspired and gaped to haue the supreme regiment in the publique affaires and weighty causes, thus the one would haue no superiour, and the other would haue no peere. This cankard disdeyne in short space grewe to suche a hate, that all the Realme of Fraunce was deuyded into Factions, the one parte fauouring the Duke of Orleaunce, & the other enclyning to the Duke of Burgoyn, which diuision had almost brought the realme of Fraunce to vtter ruine and confusion. 1408 10 Variaunce betweene Iohn Duke of Burgoyn and Lewes Duke of Orleaunce.

The French king being somewhat amended of his disease, heryng of the controuersie betweene these two princes, sent for them both to Paris, where he openly and largely rebuked their pride and malice, in so much that the Nobilitie there present iudged the displeasure betwene them was clerely forgeuen and forgotten. But high courages are not so sone abated, nor rooted malice will not so sone be plucked vp. For the Duke of Burgoyn still compassing the destruction of the Duke of Orleaunce, appointed a secrete friend called Raufe Actouile to bring his purpose to passe. This Raufe forgetting not his enterprise, assembled together a companye of suche persons as he most trusted, and as a Wolfe greedy of his praye, when the Duke of Orleaunce was comming from the courte, in the night season, he fiercely set vpon him, and shamefully slue him. Lewes duke of Orleaunce is murdered.

When this murder was published, all people cryed vnto God for vengeaunce. The Duke of Burgoyn iustified this acte, by the mouth of Iohn Petit Doctour in diuinitie, who wrested Scriptures and Doctors so farre out of course, that his iustification within fewe yeres after was by the whole Vniuersitie of Paris adiudged Heresie.

The French king least greater mischiefe might ensue, was inforced to cloake his inward affection, and to dissemble the matter, doubtyng least the Duke of Burgoyn, whose heart and haute courage he had good experience of before (if he should proceede agaynst him for his euill acte) woulde ioyne and take part with the English nation against the realme of Fraunce. Wherefore after long consultation had by the entreatie of the king, and other Princes of the blood Royall, Charles Duke of Orleaunce, sonne to Duke Lewes lately murdered, and Iohn Duke of Burgoyn were reconciled, and brought to a feyned concorde and a faynt agreement, eche of them taking a corporall othe vpon the holy Euangelists, neuer after to disagree or renewe any displeasure for any thing before passed, but all this preuayled nothing.

For nowe the Duke of Orleaunce perceauing the king his Vncle to beare with the Duke of Burgoyn, and to let the detestable murther of hys father so lightly passe ouer without payne or punishment, allyed and confederated himselfe with the Duke of Berry and

and Burbon, and the Erles of Alaunson and Arminack, who reysed a great puyssaunce of people, & defyed the Duke of Burgoyn & his complices, as their mortal foe, & deadly enemy.

The Duke of Burgoyne sendeth to the king of England for ayde.

The Duke of Burgoyn fearing the ende hereof (because there was a mocion of a mariage to be had betwene the prince of Wales and his daughter) was somewhat the bolder to sende to the king of England for ayde and succours against his enimies. King Henry no lesse foreseyng then that which after ensued, which was that the discorde of these two great princes might turne his realme to great profite and honour, sent to the Duke of Burgoyn Thomas Erle of Arundell, Sir Gilbert Vmfreuyle Lorde of Kyne, Sir Robert Vmfreuyle, and syr Iohn Grey, with fiue hundreth Archers, which toke shipping at Douer and landed at Sluce. When the Englishmen were arryued in Flaundyrs, the Duke of Burgoyn with the Englishmen and all his power roade daye and night vntill he came neere to Paris, and there the next daye after with harde fighting and courageous shooting, the Englishe men gate the bridge of Saint Clow, and so passed ouer the riuer of Sayne, and tooke and slue all the Souldyours, which the Duke of Orleaunce had there left in garrison to defend the bridge. Amongest whome Sir Mausard de Boyes a valyaunt Captayne was taken prisoner by the Englishmen, and highly raunsomed. But the Duke of Orleaunce and his companie, which were lyke to haue bene compassed with their enimies, so that almost all their wayes of refuge were stopped and enclosed, in the night time made a bridge ouer the ryuer on the parte of saint Denyce streete, and so escaped and fled into the high Countries. And after this conflict the Duke of Burgoyn being nowe in his ruffe, and thinking no man eyther in auctoritie or bloud equyualent to himselfe, and blynded with a Kall before his eyes, tooke vpon him the whole rule and gouernaunce of the realme, and ordered the king as pleased him, and not to the kings wyll, and thinking also that in so troublous a time he had vnknyt the knot of all ambiguities and doubtes, and therefore dismyssed the Englishmen geuyng to them both heartie thanks and great rewardes, which doing king Henry much disalowed, consydering that he had sent awaye his defence before the great brunt of the warre were ouer passed and should haue taken heede before what pollecie his enimies practised.

The Englishmen returne agayne into England.

A great Iustes in Smithfield.

Thys yere sayth Reynulph, the King kept, and helde a great Iustes in Smithfielde in London, which contynued eyght dayes, and vnto the same came certayne Henowayes Gentlemen, and ranne with the Gentlemen of Englande, but the honor of that pastyme was geuen to the Englishmen, although some of the straungers did very well.

1409

11

King Henrie being nowe at quiet, and not troubled with ciuile dissension, nor warres in his realme, called his high Courte of Parliament, in the which after he had concluded dyuers actes meete and expedient for the publique wealth of his realme and people, he exalted and promoted his three younger sonnes to high honors, as Lorde Thomas to the Duchye of Clarence, Lorde Iohn to the Duchy of Bedfoord, and Lorde Homffrey to the Duchy of Gloucester, and Lorde Thomas his halfe brother Erle of Dorcet, he made Duke of Exceter: Howbeit some wryters saye that he was erected to that estate and dignitie by king Henry the fift, in the first yere of his reigne, which thing is not greatly materiall, considering he had none issue.

A parliamēt at Westminster. Thomas Duke of Clarence. Iohn Duke of Bedford. Homffrey Duke of Gloucester. Thomas Duke of Exceter.

A bill preferred vnto the Parliament agaynst the possessions of the Clergie.

And this yere the commons of the realme put vp a Byll into the parliament house vnto the Lordes agaynst the clergie for the taking away of their temporalties, of the which Bill more shall be sayde in the seconde yere of King Henry the fift.

And thys yere the market house in the neyther ende of the poultrie in London, now called the Stockes, was buylded for the free sale of the foreyn Boocher, and of the foreyn Fishmonger.

1410

12

In this meane while Iohn Duke of Burgoyn, which ruled the roste, and gouerned both king Charles the French king, and the whole realme, so much stomacked and enuyed the Duke of Orleaunce and his helpers, that he caused the Frenche king in person to arme himselfe against them and theyr adherentes, as traytors to him, and apparant enemies to the

the common weale, and sente dyuerse Capteynes to inuade theyr landes and territories in the Countryes of Poyters, and Angulesme, and other Seigniories apperteynyng and belongyng to the homage and obeysaunce of the Duchie of Acquiteyn and Guyan: Wherefore the Dukes of Orliaunce, and Berry, & Burbon, with theyr friendes and alyes, seyng that now theyr hope consisted in the king of Englande, sent to him Albert Awbemond, a man of no lesse learnyng than audacitie, who in the name of the Confederates offered certeyne conditions, as ye shall heere.

The Duke of Orleaunce seketh ayde of the king of England.

1 First, the sayd Lordes offered that from thencefoorth they should expose and set forth their awne persons, finaunces and landes, to serue the king of England, his heyres and successors, whensoeuer they were requyred or called, in all iust quarelles: which iust quarelles, the king of England shal take to appertayne to the Duchie of Guyan with the appurtenaunces, affyrmyng howe the sayd Duchie perteyneth, and ought to apperteyne, to him of right by lyneall heritage, and lawfull succession, manifestyng from thenceforth, that they should not blemish nor spot their truth nor fidelitie to assist and ayde him, in the recoueryng the same Duchie.

2 Also the sayd Lordes offered theyr sonnes, daughters, nephewes, and neces, parentes and all their subiectes, to contract mariage accordyng to the discretion of the king of England.

3 And they offered townes, Castelles, treasures, and generally all theyr goodes to ayde the king, his heyres and successours for the defence of theyr rightes and quarelles, so that the bond of their allegiance might be saued, the which in an other secret appoyntment, they before had declared.

4 Also they offered to the king of England generally, all theyr friends, allyes, and well willers, to serue him in his quarell for the recouery of hys whole Duchie of Guyan.

5 Also to ceasse all fraude, the sayde Lordes recognised that they were redie to affirme the sayd Duchie of Guyan to belong to the king of England, in like and semblable wise, in libertie, and fraunchises, as euer any of the sayde kings predecessors helde or possessed the same.

6 Also the sayde Lordes knowledged, that all the townes, Castelles, and fortresses, that they had within the Duchie of Guyan, to holde them of the king of England, as of the very true Duke of Guyan, promisyng all seruice and homages after the best maner, that in such case might be.

7 Also they promised to deliuer vnto the king as muche as lay in them, all townes and Castelles apperteinyng to the royaltie and Seigniorie of England, which are in number. xx. townes and Castelles, and as to the regarde of other townes and fortresses which were not in their puyssaunce and seigniorie, they would helpe the king of England, his heyres and deputies to win them, with men in sufficient number at their proper expences and charges.

8 Also the king of England was agreed, that the Duke of Berry his true Vncle and Vassall, and the Duke of Orliaunce his subiect and Vassall, and the Erle of Arminacke should holde of him by homage and fealtie, the landes and Seigniories hereafter folowyng: that is to say, the Duke of Berry to holde onely the Countie of Pontiew, duryng his lyfe, and the Duke of Orliaunce to holde the Countie of Angulesme, duryng his life, and the Countie of Perigot for euer, and the Erle of Arminake to holde foure Castelles vpon certeine sureties and conditions, as by Indenture should be appoynted.

9 For the which offers, couenauntes, and agreementes, they affirmed that the king of England as Duke of Guyan, ought to defende and succour them agaynst all men, as their very Lorde and souereigne, and not to conclude any treatie of league with the Duke of Burgoyn, his brethren, children, friendes or allyes.

10 Furthermore, the king of England ought to ayde the Lordes, as his true Vassals in all theyr iust quarelles for recoueryng of dammages, for iniuryes to them wrongfully done.

11 Also

11 Also they required the king of England to send vnto them. viij. thousand men to ayde them agaynst the Duke of Burgoyn, which dayly prouoked the French king to make open warre on them, theyr landes and seigniories, promisyng further to disbursse and pay all the costes and charges which the sayde armie of Englishe men should expend duryng their warre, which letter was written the. viij. day of May, in the yere of our Lorde afore mencioned.

The king graunteth to ayde ye Duke of Orleaunce.

¶ King Henrie louingly receyued, and gently entertayned this Messenger Albert, and when he had well debated and considered the case, he first detestiug the abhominable murder of the late Duke of Orleaunce, and seing no iustice ministered, nor no punishment done for so shamefull an act, hauyng also an approued experience ỳ the Duke of Burgoyn would kepe no lenger promise then he himselfe lusted. And secondarily, consideryng what large promises and offers these Princes had made vnto him, both greatly to his honour, and to the high profite and commoditie of his realme and subiectes, thought that he was bound by the office of a king to ayde and succour them, which cryed for iustice and could haue none, and in especiall because they in that poynt beyng his subiectes and vassalles, ought to be defended in maintenaunce of his superioritie and seigniorie: Wherefore he louyngly promised them ayde and reliefe.

The returne of the Messenger with this message was to them as pleasant, as is the deliueraunce of a Captiue from his sore imprisonment, or of a Marchant passing by the way, & beset with theues, when he is rescued by his friendes or companions. And not without cause, for the french king, not of his awne courage animated, but maliciously incensed by the Duke of Burgoyn, persecuted the faction of the Orliaunces from Citie to Citie, and from towne to towne, wich such power and extremitie, that they were both of force and necessitie compelled to repayre to the Citie of Bourges in Berry, and there to appoynt themselues eyther to render or defend.

Ye must vnderstand that Princes haue sometyme *Argus* eyes, and *Midas* eares, for this feate was not so secretly wrought in Englande, but it was as apparantly spyed in Fraunce: Wherefore the Frenche kinges Counsaile sent the Erle of saint Paule, the olde cankard enemy to the English men, into the partes of Picardie, with. xv. hundreth horsemen, and a great number of footemen, and he ordeyned certeyne of his men to geue assault to the towne of Guynes, while he lay in stale to waite for the reliefe that might come from Calice. The furious Frenche men brake a fewe olde Pales aboute poore mens Gardeynes of Guisnes: But the men of warre in the Castell shotte so fiercely, and cast out wildefyre in such aboundaunce, that the assaylants were faine to retyre. And so the Erle of Saint Paule which neuer wonne gaine, but lost honour at the Englishe mens handes, returned, not onely with the losse of his people, but defrauded of his desyred pray, and went to the towne of Saint Quintines.

The French men assault Guines.

Guyld hall buylded.

Thys yere, of an euill fauoured olde house or cottage was the Guyldhall in London buylded and finished at the charges of the Citizens, but chiefly at the charges of Richard Whytington Alderman.

1411

13

But to returne to the former historie, the French king in this meane while besieged the Citie of Bourges in Berry, wherein the Duke of Orleaunce and his company had fortefyed themselues. When the king of Englande was thereof aduertised, he sent foorth his sonne Thomas Duke of Clarence, and Edward Duke of Yorke, with eyght hundred horsemen, and nine thousand footemen, which landed in the Bay of Hogges in Normandy by saint Wast, in the territorie of Constantyne. The Englishmen swarmed lyke Bees rounde about the countrie, robbyng Marchaunts, spoyling husbandmen, and brennyng townes, and were ioyously receyued of the Erles of Alaunson and Richemond ayders of the Orlienciall parte.

The Englishmen lande in Fraunce.

The counsayle of Fraunce not wylling that the Englishmen shoulde ioyne with the Dukes of Orleaunce and Berry or their complices, caused a common fame (although it were not true) to be spreade abroade, that there was a final peace concluded betwene the

A French practise.

French

French king and his Lords, which late were to him aduersaries. When this fable was noted to the Englishmen, which were by hastie iourneyes passed the ryuer of Leyre, they spoyled the towne and Monasterie of Beauliew, and wasted with fyre & sword the Countries of Tourayn and Mayne. Agaynst whom the Duke of Burgoyn sent the Lorde Rambures, with a great armie, which in shorte tyme was vanquished. The Dolphyn of Fraunce fearyng the doings of the Englishmen, concluded a feyned peace betwene the Duke of Orleaunce and Burgoyn, and their adherents, so that the Duke of Orleaunce should without delaye dispatche out of the dominions of Fraunce all the Englishe armie. The Duke was not riche to pay, and the Englishmen were greedy to haue, insomuch as they marching toward Guyan in good order, what by sacking of townes, and what with raunsomming of riche persons gate great treasure and many good prayes. Besides this, to the ayde of the Duke of Orleaunce king Henry sent to Calice the Erles of Kent and Warwike with two thousand fighting men, which spoyled and defaced the Countie of Bullenoys, and brent the towne of Samer de boys, and tooke with assault the Fortresse of Russalt with dyuers other.

A feyned peace concluded.

The Duke of Orleaunce, which was daylie called vpon to dispatche the Englishmen out of Fraunce, came to the Duke of Clarence and his armie, rendring to them a thousande Gramercyes, and disburssed to them as much money as eyther he or his friendes might easely spare, and for nine thousand Frankes, which remayned vnpayde, he delyuered in gage his second brother Iohn Erle of Angulesme, which was Graundfather to Fraūces, afterward Frenche king, and Sir Marcell of Bourgh, Sir Iohn of Samours, Sir Archibald of Villiers and dyuers other, which Erle long contynued in Englande as after ye shall here.

When this agreement was taken, the Dukes of Clarence and Yorke with great praye (riche prisoners and welthy hostages) came to Burdeaux, making warre on the Frontiers of Fraunce to their great gaine and profit. So by the onely commyng in of the Englishmen into Fraunce, the Duke of Orleaunce was restored, not onely vnto peace and quietnesse with all persons, sauyng the Duke of Burgoyn: But also fell into suche fauour with the king and the realme, that he was of all men welbeloued, much honored and highly esteemed, and so continued, vntill wauering fortune turned her variable wheele. For after this, he being enemie to the Englishe nation, was vanquished and taken prisoner, and so remayned in Englande aboue. xxiiij. yeres, vntill the flowre of his age was passed or sore blemished.

The Englishmen returne out of Fraunce with riche prayes.

And thys yere the king abaced the coynes of Golde and Syluer, and caused the same to be currauntin his realme at such value as before they had gone, where in deede the Noble was worse by foure pence, then the other was, and lykewise was the coynes of Siluer currauntafter the same rate.

The coyne abated.

And here I finde noted by certaine wryters, that thys yere the Thamys did flowe three times in one daye, as though the same were matter worthye of a note, for the straungenesse thereof: But if you consider the causes therof, then is it worthy of no note at all, for the causes thereof are naturall, as great windes and tempestes that rise on the sea costes, which by violence driue the sea into the freshe Ryuers, more aboundauntly then the common course would, or else by lyke violence keepeth out the sea from the freshe ryuers, that it can not flowe at one houre so high and abundantly as the common course thereof is accustomed to doe, and it happeneth also many times by reason of abundaunce of rayne, which falleth of the lande, and filleth the ryuers, and so encreaseth the freshe waters, that the same meeting with the sea water entering into the ryuer, causeth the same to swell, and rise farre aboue the common course, and altereth the houres both of flowyng and ebbyng. In lyke maner the tydes alter by reason of great and long frostes and Snowe that freeseth the ryuers and dyches in the land, which causeth short and mo tydes in fewer houres then hath bene accustomed, by reason the water is turned to Ise. And in lyke maner vpon a sodaine thawe, the floodes agayne encrease farre aboue the accustomed course,

Ebbyng and flowyng why they alter at sometimes.

course, & of these naturall causes commeth the alteration of the houres of ebbyng and flowyng.

1412 — 14 Now after that these great and fortunate chaunces had happened to King Henry, he thinking that there could not a greater prayse be giuen to a king, then for the execution of his office, and the administration of iustice, and entendyng to lyue in quietnesse, being nowe delyuered of all ciuile diuision, with the which almost all christendome was troubled, not onely to the decaye of Christes religion, and christian creatures, but to the greater aduauncement of Paynym princes, by the publishing and setting foorth of that counterfeat and false prophet Mahomet. And that the king would shew himselfe mindefull hereof, he called a great counsayle of the three estates of his Realme, in the which he deliberately consulted and concluded, as well for the politique gouernaunce of his realme, as also for the warre to be made agaynst the Infidels, and specially for the recouery of the Citie of Ierusalem, in the which warres he entended to ende his transitory life, and for that cause he prepared a great armie, and gathered much treasure, entendyng to set forwarde in the same spring time. But see the chaunce, whatsoeuer man intendeth, God sodainely reuerseth, what princes will, God will not, what we thinke stable, God maketh mutable, whereby Salomons sayeng is found true: *That the wisedome of men is but foolishnesse before God.* When this prince was thus furnished with treasure sufficient, with valiaunt Captaines and hardie Souldiours, with tall shippes furnished with victualles, munitions and all things necessary for such a iourney royall, he was taken with a sore and sodaine disease called an Apoplexie, of the which he languished vntill his appoynted houre. During which sicknesse, as some aucthors wryte, he caused the crowne to be set on the pillowe at his beddes head, and sodaynly his pangue so sore troubled hym, that he lay as though his breth and soule were departed from him, wherefore hys Chamberleynes couered his face with a lynnen cloth.

King Henry purposed a voyage to Ierusalem.

The king is taken with a greeuous sicknesse.

The Prince his sonne being thereof aduertised, entered into the chamber, and tooke away the crowne and departed: The father being sodainely reuyued out of his traunce, quickly perceaued the lacke of his crowne, and hauing knowledge that the prince his sonne had possessed it, caused him to repayre to his presence, requyring of him to shew for what cause he had so misused himselfe. The prince with a good audacitie aunswered: syr, to mine and all mens iudgements you seemed dead in this worlde, wherefore I as your next and apparaunt heyre tooke that as mine awne, and not as yours: Well fayre sonne sayde the king (with a great sigh) what right I had to it, & how I enioyed it God knoweth. Well quod the prince, if you die king, I will haue the Garlande, and trust to keepe it with the sworde against all mine enimies as you haue done, well sayde the king, I commit all to God, and remember you to doe well, and with that turned himselfe in his bed, and shortly after departed vnto God in a Chamber of the Abbotes of Westminster called Ierusalem, the twentie daye of Marche. 1413. and in the yere of his age. xlvj. when he had reigned. xiij. yeres. v. moneths and odde dayes, in much trouble and little pleasure, whose body with all funerall pompe was conueyed to Cauntorbury and there solemply buryed, leauyng behinde him by the Lady Mary daughter to Lorde Homffrey Erle of Hereford and Northampton, Henry prince of Wales, Thomas Duke of Clarence, Iohn Duke of Bedford, Homffrey Duke of Gloucester, Blanche Duchesse of Barre, and Phylip Queene of Denmarke, for by hys last wyfe, Queene Iane, he had no children.

A corageous yong prince.

The death of king Henry the fourth.

The issue of king Henrie the fourth.

The king was of a meane stature, well proporcioned and formally compact, quick and delyuer, and of a stoute courage. After that he had appeased all ciuill dissentions, he shewed himselfe so gently to all men that he gat him more loue of the nobles in his later dayes, then he had euill will of them in the beginning.

The description of king Henry the fourth.

When tydings of hys death was brought vnto the Duke of Clarence, being then in Aquitayne, he then with all diligence toke ship with the Erle of Angulesme, and other his hostages and returned into England, to the great comfort of hys brethren.

HENRYE

HENRYE THE FIFT.

HEnry Prince of Wales, sonne and heyre vnto king Henrie the fourth, borne at Monmouth on the Riuer of Wye, after the death and buriall of his Noble father king Henry aforesayde, tooke vpon him the highe power and regiment of this realme of England the. xx. day of Marche. 1412. and was proclaymed king, by the name of king Henry the fift, and crowned at Westminster the. ix. day of Aprill next ensuyng. And before the possession of the Crowne, dyuerse honorable and noble personages did to him homage, & fealtie (which before that time had not beene vsed) as vnto him of whom they had conceyued great hope and worthynesse of Gouernment. 1413 1

This king, this man was he (which accordyng to the olde prouerbe) declared and shewed that honoures ought to chaunge maners, for incontinent after that he was placed in the siege royall, and had receyued the crowne and Scepter of this Noble Realme, he determined with himselfe to put on the shape of a newe man, and to vse a nother sort of liuyng, turnyng insolencie and wildenesse into grauitie and sobernesse. And because he would so continue, and not be allured to the contrary by his olde familiars, who in the lyfe of his father, by their wantonnesse and entisyng caused him at one tyme to strike the Lorde chiefe Iustice in the face, for the which he was imprisoned, and also had the displeasure of his father, who remoued him from being president of his counsaile, & placed therein his brother Thomas, Duke of Clarence, to his great griefe: he therefore, I say, detestyng a wanton and disorderly life, first banished from him all his olde wanton familiars & flatterers, (not vnrewarded, nor yet vnpreferred) forbiddyng them vpon a great paine, not once to approch nor come neere his speche or presence, by the space of ten myles. And in their places he elected and chose men of grauitie, of wisedom, and of high pollicie, by whose wisedome, and prudent counsaile he might at all tymes rule to his honour, and gouerne to the profite both of himselfe and of his common weale. This prince among all other, did very well remember and consider, that a king ought to be a ruler with wisedome and grauity, and to be both diligent and constant: Wherefore callyng his counsaylors together, first of all (as Hall sayth) he commaunded the Clergie sincerely and truely to preach the worde of God, and to liue after the same. The laye men he willed to serue God, and obey their Prince, forbiddyng them aboue all thinges the brech of Matrimonie, the vse of swearyng and wilfull periurie. Besyde this he elected the best learned men in the lawes of the Realme, to the offices of iustice, and men of good liuyng he preferred to high degrees and auctoritie. And callyng to remembraunce the madnesse of the Welshe men, and the falsehood and inconstancie of the Scottes (whose often incursions and robberyes he well had in his fathers dayes experimented and assayed) he studied to asswage and represse, to the entent that he beyng quyet in his awne regions, might eyther make outwarde warre without doubt or daunger, or else for the common weale of his realme studie howe to encrease the glorie of his seigniorie, and so to kepe and conserue it. A Godly and wise Prince.

When all thinges were thus setled and framed to his purpose, he caused the bodie of king Richard the seconde to be remoued, with all funerall pompes conuenient for his estate, from Langley to Westminster, where he was honourably enterred with Queene Anne his King Rychard is remoued from Langley to Westminster.

his first wife, in a solempne Tombe, erected and set vp at the costes and charges of this Noble Prince King Henrie.

And although this noble prince had set and established all thinges beyng in difference and variaunce within his awne peculiar realmes and dominions: Yet the same tyme, beyng called to the counsaile of Constance, which is a Citie situate vpon the goodly ryuer of Rhyne, he sent thether Richard Erle of Warwike, and three Bishops, with other famous Prelates and Doctors besydes Knightes and Esquiers to the number of. viij. hundreth horse. At this Synode were assembled (as Hall saith) three hundreth. xlvj. Bishoppes, Abbottes, and Doctors. And of noble men fiue hundreth. lxiiij. And of Knightes and Esquiers. xvj. thousand, besydes seruauntes, which (not accomptyng the townes men) were accompted. lxv. thousand persons.

The counsayle of Constance.

These persons were highly receyued of the Emperour Sigismond, and of the Bishop of Rome called Iohn the. xxiij. which in the same counsaile as the sayde auchor affirmeth, for great and abhominable crymes, and detestable offences by him committed (of the which he could not pourge himselfe, nor make any defence) was by the same Synode deposed, and of his estate depriued. Gregorie the. xij. beyng one of the Schismatical number, fearyng shame more than regardyng his worldly affection, deposed himselfe both from his name and Papall dignitie. But Benedict the. xiij. still and stifly affirmyng himselfe to be the Vicar of God, so much desyred honour, and somuche was wrapped in his awne lewde opinion, that neyther friend nor good counsaile could do any good with him, wherefore at the last, he was also deposed, and lost both his name and honestie. And within three yere after, Otho Columbe a noble Romaine borne, was elected Bishop of Rome, and named Martyn the fifth. And in this counsaile, Iohn Wicliffe English man, and Iohn Husse, and Iherom of Prage Bohemians, were condempned of heresie, of whome ye may read more in the booke of Monuments of the Church.

Pope Iohn is deposed.

Iohn Wycliffe. Iohn Husse. Iherom of Prage.

And in this first yere, Sir Iohn Oldecastell, which by his wife was called Lorde Cobham, a valiaunt Captaine and an hardie Gentelman, was accused vnto the Archebishop of Cauntorbury of certeine poyntes of heresie: But for that I haue not purposed in this Historie to write of any matter that specially concerneth religion, I will therefore referre you to the booke of Monumentes of the Church, where the whole Historie of this Gentelman and many others is at large described and setfoorth. And in lyke maner foloweth in the sayde booke, the whole historie of Sir Robert Actone, Browne, Beuerley, and dyuerse other.

Sir Iohn Oldcastell.

Sir Robert Actō. Browne. Beuerley.

414

2

The King, for the honour of himselfe, and the aduauncement of hys people, called this yere and the last day of Aprill, in the towne of Leycester his high Court of Parliament, in the which many good and profitable lawes were concluded, and many peticions moued, were for that tyme deferred. Among which petitions one was, that a bill exhibited in the. xj. yere of King Henry (as is mencioned before) which by reason that the King was then troubled with Ciuill dissention, came to none effect, might nowe be considered and regarded: the effect of which petition was, that the temporall lands deuoutly geuen, & disordinately spent by the religious, and other of the clergie, might suffice to mainteyne to the honour of the king, and defence of the realme, xv. Erles, xv. C. Knightes, vj. thousande, two hundreth Esquiers, and one hundreth almose houses, for the reliefe of the impotent and nedy persons, and the King to haue cleerely into his Coffers, xx. thousand poundes, with many other prouisions and values of sundrie religious houses.

A bill moued in the Parliamēt house against the Clergie.

This before remembred bill (sayth Hall) much feared the religious, insomuch that fat Abbottes swet, the proude Priors frowned, the poore Friers cursed, the siely Nonnes wept, and all together were nothyng pleased nor yet content: But to finde a remedie for a mischiefe, and a tent to stop a wounde, the Clergie practised to put into the kinges heade, the title that he had to the Crowne and Kingdome of Fraunce, and howe honourable it should be for him to trauaile for the recouerie thereof, and howe willyng all the good people of the realme woulde be to ayde him in that honourable enterprice. And the next

day

day after in most solempne and learned maner, the Archebishop of Cantorbury, whose name then was Henry Chichley, made such an excellent Oration to moue, encourage, and perswade the king to take that voyage in hand, that nothing could be eyther more or better spoken. And when the Bishop had done, then the Nobilitie in like maner sayd to and fro their mindes, so that nowe there was vsed none other talke in euery mannes mouth in the Parliament house, but for the conqueryng of Fraunce, and the bill against the Clergie was lulled a sleepe, and nothing came thereof. And so soone as this voyage was agreed vpon, the parliament brake vp.

An Ambassade sent frō the king of Englande to the frenche king.

The aforesayde parliament being nowe ended, the king sendeth a solempne Ambassade vnto the French king, to make his clayme vnto the crowne and kingdome of Fraunce, as his right and inheritaunce, or else to bid hym battayle, and to declare vnto him, that if he would not delyuer the same vnto him, that then he would trie his right by dent of sworde: The Ambassadors were these, the Duke of Excester and Erle of Dorcet the kings Vncle. The Lorde Grey Admirall of England, the Archebishop of Deuelyn, the Bishop of Norwiche, and they had attending vpon them aboue fiue hundreth Horsse.

The French king receaued them very honorably, and sumpteously banqueted them, shewing to them goodly iustes, and martiall pastimes, by the space of three dayes together, in the which Iustes the king himselfe to shew hys courage and actiuitie to the Englishe men, brake Speares, and lustelye turneyed.

The king of Englande claymeth the crowne and realme of Fraunce.

After this great triumph, the Englishe Ambassadours had accesse vnto the Frenche king and declared their commission, which was to require of him to deliuer vnto the king of England the realme and crowne of Fraunce with the entier Duchies of Aquitaine, Normandy and Aniowe, with the Countries of Poyteu and Mayne, and dyuerse other requestes, and offering also that if the French king would without warre or effusion of Christian bloud, render to the king their master his verye right and lawfull inheritaunce, that then he would be content to take in mariage the Lady Katheryn daughter vnto the French king, and to endue her with all the Duchye and countryes before rehersed. And if he entended not so to doe, then the king of Englande did expresse and signifie vnto him, that with the ayde of God, and helpe of his people he would recouer his right and inheritaunce wrongfully withholden with mortall warre and dent of sworde.

The French king and his counsayle much amased at these demaundes, thinking them very vnreasonable, and yet not wylling to make any hastye aunswere in so great and weightie a matter, prayed the Englishe Ambassadours to say to the King their Master, ẏ they hauing nowe no oportunitie to conclude in so highe a matter, would shortly sende Ambassadors into England, which should certifie and declare to the king their whole minde, purpose and answere.

The Englishe Ambassadours receyuing this for aunswere, tooke their leaue of the French king, and returned into Englande, declaryng vnto the king in order all that had bene done.

The pride and disdainefulnesse of the Dolphyn of Fraunce.

And at this time, as some writers reporte, the Dolphyn, who heering this message sent to the French king his father, and disdeyning the youth of King Henry, and thinking it was an enterprise farre vnmete for him to take in hande, did therefore in mockage sende to him a Tonne of Tennys balles to play with all, meaning that he had better skill in a Tennys courte, and handling of a Ball, then in the martiall affayres of warre. But the King after he had receyued from the Dolphyn his former present, aunswered: that before he had ended with him and his father, he purposed by Gods ayde to tosse as many Balles of Yron with him, which ẏ best racket he had should not be hable to resist nor returne. And forthwith, for that many French men were promoted within this realme to Ecclesiasticall dignities, and by reason thereof conueighed dyuers sommes of money ouer into Fraunce, for the reliefe of their friends and Countrie men, the king therefore for the common weale of his realme and subiectes, ordeyned that no straunger hereafter should be promoted to any spirituall degree or dignitie within this realme, without his speciall ly-

cence

cence and royall consent, and that all they that should so be admitted, should finde sufficient suretie not to disclose the secretes of this realme to any foreyn or straunge person, nor also to minister vnto them any ayde or succour with money, or by any other meane.

The king maketh a great prouision agaynst Fraunce.

And nowe with all speede he assembled a great puyssaunce and armie thorough all his dominions: And for the better furniture of his Nauie, he sent into Holand, Zelande, and Friselande to procure and hire Shippes for the conductyng and transportyng ouer of his men and munitions of warre: And finally, prouyded for armour, victuall, money, Artillery, cariages, Tentes, and other things necessarie for so high an enterprice, the which prouisions were soone blowen ouer and knowne in Fraunce. Wherefore the Dolphin, who had taken on him the gouernaunce of the realme, because his father was fallen again into his olde infirmitie, sent for the Dukes of Berry and Alaunson, and all the counsayle of Fraunce, to determine what should be done in so weightie a cause. And after long consultation it was agreed to assemble people thorough the whole realme of Fraunce to resist and repulse the king of England and his power whensouer he would arryue or set foote in Fraunce.

An Ambassade sent out of Fraunce to the king of England.

But to the entent to haue steyed the king of Englande at home, they sent vnto him a solempne Ambassade, to make vnto him some offers accordyng to the demaunds afore rehersed. The charge of this Ambassade was committed vnto the Erle of Vandosme, to Mayster Wylliam Bouratier Archbyshop of Bourgues, and to the Bishop of Lyseux, to the Lorde of Yury and Braquemount, and to Master Gualtier Cole the kings Secretary and dyuers other. These Ambassadors accompanied with. CCCl. horse passed the sea at Calice, and landed at Douer, before whose arryuall the king was departed from Wyndsore to Winchester, entending to haue gone to Southhampton, and there to haue vewed his Nauie, but heering of the Ambassadors comming, taryed still at Wynchester, where the sayde Frenche Lordes shewed themselues very honorably before the king and the Nobilitie. And the king sitting vnder his cloth of estate in the Bishops hall, the sayde Ambassadours had accesse vnto him, where the Archebishop of Bourges made vnto him an eloquent Oration dissuading warre and praysing peace, offeryng to the king of Englande a great some of money, with dyuers base and pore Coūtries with the Lady Katheryn in mariage, so that he would dissolue his army, & dismisse his Souldiours which he had gathered and made ready.

The oration being ended, the king caused the Ambassadors to be highly feasted, and set them at his awne table. And at a daye appoynted in the aforesayde hall, the Archebishop of Cauntorbury made to their oration a notable and learned aunswere: the effect whereof was, that if the French king would not geue with his daughter in mariage, the Duchies of Aquiteyn, Normandy, Aniowe and all other seigniories and dominions, sometime apperteynyng to the Noble progenitors of the king of England, he would in no wise retire his armie nor breake his iourney, but would with all diligence enter into the realme of Fraunce, with sworde and fyre, and not leaue vntill he had recouered his auncient right and lawfull patrimony. The king auowed the Archebyshops saiyng, and in the worde of a prince promised to performe it to the vttermost.

A stowte and prowd bishop.

The Byshop of Bourges beyng in a chafe that his purpose tooke no better effect, prayed lycence and pardon of the king that he might speake, which being graunted vnto him, he very rudely and vnreuerently sayde vnto the king as followeth. Thinkest thou to put downe and destroy wrongfully the most christian king our most redoubted souereigne Lorde, and the most excellentest prince of all Christianitie, of bloud and preheminence? O king, sauyng thine honor, thinkest thou that he hath offered or caused to be offered to thee lands, goodes, or other possessions with his awne daughter for feare of thee or thy English Nation, or of thy friendes or well willers? No, no, but of truth, he moued with pittie, as a louer of peace, to the intent that innocent bloud should not be dispersed abroade, hath made to thee these reasonable offers, putting his whole affiaunce in God most puyssaunt, according to right and reason, trustyng in hys quarell to be ayded and supported

supported by his faythfull and good subiects and his well wyllers. And syth we be subiectes and seruaunts, we require thee to cause vs safely and surely without dammage to passe out of thy realme and dominions, and that thou wilte write thine aunswere wholy as thou hast geuen it, and to seale the same wyth thy Seale.

The king of England nothing vexed nor vnquieted with the sayengs and proude bragges of the vnnurtered Archebishop, but well remembering the prouerbe of Salomon, that warres are to be taken in hande with discretion, and where many can geue counsayle there is victorie, therefore coldely and soberly he aunswered the Byshop, sayeng: My Lorde, I little esteeme your French bragges, and lesse set by your power and strength, I knowe perfitely my right to your region, and except you will denie the apparaunt truth, so doe you, and if you neyther doe nor will knowe, yet God and the worlde knoweth it. The power of your Master, you see daylie, but of my power ye haue not yet tasted, if your Master haue louing friends and faythfull subiectes, God I thanke him I am not vnprouyded of the same: But this I saye vnto you, that before one yere passe, I trust to make the highest crowne in your Country to stoope, and the proudest Myter to knele downe: And saye this to the vsurper your Master, that within three Moneths I will enter into Fraunce, not as into his lande, but as into mine awne true and lawfull patrimonie, entendyng to conquer it, not with bragging words, nor flattering Orations, but by power and dent of sword by the ayde of God in whome is my whole confidence, and I assure you I will not speake that worde, the which I would not both write and subscribe, neyther would I subscribe to that which I would not wyllingly set to my seale, therefore your safe conduyt shall be to you delyuered with mine answere, and then you may departe surely and safely into your Countrie, where I trust sooner to visite you then that you shall haue cause to bid me welcome. With this aunswere the Ambassadors not a little greeued did shortly after departe, but not vnrewarded, and that very bountifully and liberally.

The kinges discrete aunswere made to the bishop.

Nowe after the Frenche Ambassadors were departed, the king, as I sayde before, hauyng a great foresight and disposing all thinges in order, did not forget the olde condicions of the variable and inconstant Scottishe Nation, and therefore appoynted the Erle of Westmerland, the Lorde Scrope, the Baron of Greystroke, and Sir Robert Vmfreuile, with dyuerse other valiant Capteynes, to kepe the Marches ioynyng to Scotland. The which sir Robert Vmfreuile, on the day of Saint Mary Magdalene, entered vpon the Scottes at the towne of Gederyng, hauyng in his companie onely foure hundreth Englishe men, where after a long conflict and skirmishe, he slue of his enemies. lx. and odde, and tooke prisoners. CCClx. and discomfited and put to flight a thousand and mo, whome he folowed in chase. xij. myles, and so laden with prayes and prisoners, returned to the Castel of Rokesborough vnhurt, of the which Castell he was then Capteyne.

A skirmishe wyth the Scottes.

When the king had prepared all thinges mete for his iourney, he then for the safegarde of the realme, leauyng behinde him the Queene his mother as Gouernour of the realme, departed to the towne of Southampton, and there purposed to take his shippyng. And because he would not steale on the French king, but that he should haue knowledge of his commyng, he therefore dispatched with speede Antelop his pursuyuant at armes, with letters of defyance: The which letters, when the French king and his counsaile had read, and well considered, he made aunswere to the officer of armes, that he woulde prouide for his defence, and so lycenced the Messenger to departe at his pleasure.

1415

3

Letters of defiance sent to the french king.

Shortly after, the king beyng in a readinesse to aduaunce forwarde, sodeinly, he was credibly informed, that Richard Erle of Cambridge, brother to Edward Duke of Yorke, and Henry Lorde Scrope, and Sir Thomas Gray had conspired his death and vtter destruction, wherfore he caused them forthwith to be apprehended. And after these prisoners were examined, they not onely confessed the conspiracie, but also declared that for a great somme of money which they had receyued of the French king, they entended eyther to delyuer the king aliue into the handes of his enemyes, or else to murther him before that he should arriue in Normandie. When king Henry had all the truth opened vnto

Certaine Lordes apprehended for treason.

vnto him, of the which he was not onely very desyrous, but also was most hartely sorie, and inwardly grieued that he should lose such valiaunt Capteynes, by whose ayde he might haue bene made the more dreadfull to his enemies: but nowe the matter beyng thus fallen out, the king assembled together all his nobilitie, and before them caused to be brought forth the aforesayd three great offenders, and vnto them sayde as foloweth. I can not a little meruayle what should moue you to deuise or conspire my death, who hath loued you most derely, and to say truly vnto you, ye could not conspyre my death which am your heade and gouernour, but ye must also purpose the destruction of al that be here, and of all the people in this realme. And although some priuate Scorpion possessed your heartes, and heades to this great wickednesse, yet ye should nowe haue forborne to haue practised the same, so long as I was with mine armie, whome ye knowe can not continue without a Captein. But forasmuch as ye haue purposed so great a mischiefe, and so abhominable a fact, and confessed the same, and also to the entent that your ayders beyng in the armie may abhorre so horrible an offence, ye shall receyue the punishement and paine that the lawe hath appoynted for your demerites.

And the next day folowyng, when these noble men were executed, the king sayde to his Lordes, se you not the mad imagination of men, which persecute me that dayly studie & vse my great trauayle to do good to them and to all men, and hurt to none, which I knowe is my duetie, and therevnto was I borne. I pray God that there remaine none among you that is infected with so much vntruth, as had liefer to see mee destroyed and brought to confusion, then to see his natiue Countrie flourish and encreased with honour, and Empire. But I assure you, I haue conceyued a right good opinion of you, and therefore by Goddes sufferaunce we will set forward, and for my selfe I will forget all paine & perill, and be your Lodesman and guyde. Now when the king had thus sayde, all the Noble men kneled downe, and promised faythfully to serue, and duly to obey him, and rather to die then suffer him to fall into the handes of his enemies.

This done, the King thought surely that all conspiracie and sedition had bene quenched: But he was deceyued, for he sawe not a fyre that was newly kindeled, which afterward drue to so great a flame, that it burned and consumed the Walles of his awne house and family, which fyre at that tyme if he had espyed, he might peraduenture easilie haue quenched and put out: For certeine write that Richarde Erle of Cambridge did not conspyre with the Lorde Scrope, and Sir Thomas Gray, to murther king Henry, to please the Frenche king withall, but onely to the entent to exalt to the Crowne his brother in lawe Edmond Erle of Marche, as heyre to Duke Lyonell the thirde begotten sonne of king Edward the third. After whose death, consideryng that the Erle of Marche for dyuerse secrete impedimentes, was not able to haue generation, he was sure that the Crowne should come to hym, or to his children. And therefore it is to be thought, that he rather confessed himselfe for neede of money to bee corrupted by the Frenche king, then hee would declare his inwarde minde, and open his very entent: For surely he sawe that if his purpose were espyed, the Erle of Marche should haue dronken of the same Cuppe that he did, and what should haue come to his awne children he much doubted, therfore beyng destitute of comfort, and in dispaire of lyfe, to saue his children he feyned that tale, desyryng rather to saue his succession, then himselfe, which he did in deede. For Richard Duke of Yorke his sonne, not priuily, but openly claymed the Crowne, and Edward his son both claymed it, and gayned it, as hereafter ye shall here, which thing at this time if king Henry had foreseene, I doubt (sayth Hall) whether euer that lyne should haue claymed the garland, or gotten the game.

The king setteth forward into Fraunce.

Harflewe besieged.

Nowe assoone as the winde came about, the king set forward with hys Nauie, beyng in number an. Cxl. shippes, and shortly after landed at Caux in Normandie without resistance. And the next day after, the king marched toward the towne of Harflew, standyng vpon the Riuer of Seyne, betwene two hilles, and besieged it on euery part. The Capteyne of the towne was the Lord Escouteuyle, accompanyed with the Lorde Blaynuyle of

Hacqueuile, the Lordes of Harmanuyle, of Galard Boyes, of Clere de Barton, of Adsanches, of Brian, of Gaucort, of Lisleadam, and many other.

The Frenche king beyng aduertised of the Kinges arryuall, sent in all the hast the Lord Delabreth Constable of Fraunce, and the Lord Bonciqualt Marshall of Fraunce, the Senescall of Henawde, the Lorde Ligny, and dyuerse other Capteynes, which fortefyed townes with men, victuall and artillery, vpon all the Sea coast. And heeryng that the king of England had besieged Harflew at his first landyng, came to the Castel of Cawdebeck beyng not farre from Harflewe, to the entent to succour their friendes whiche were besieged, if they might by any pollicie: And if not, then they imagined howe to sley and hurt the Englishe men, when they went into the Countrie of foragyng for beastes and victual, and so to trap and destroy them. But they were deceyued, for notwithstandyng the prouision and pollicie of the French men, the Englishe men forrayed the Countrie and spoyled the Villages and returned againe to the Campe with many a riche pray. The Englishe men dayly assaulted the towne, and the Duke of Gloucester to whome the order of the assault was committed, made three mynes vnder the ground, and approched the Walles with ordinaunce and engines, and would not suffer them within to rest at any time. The king liyng on the hill side with his battail, did not onely keepe the Frenche men from succoryng of the towne, but also toke away from the townes men all the hope and trust of their succour, ayde, and reliefe, and also all the Goonpowder that was sent by the Frenche king vnto them that were besieged, was taken by the English men. The Captaines of the French men within the towne, perceyued that they were not able to endure the fierce assaultes of the Englishe men, and fearyng to be ouercome and taken by force, desired of the king of England only truce for three dayes, promisyng that if they were not rescued within ỳ tyme, that then they would yeelde themselues and the towne, theyr liues beyng saued. And for performance hereof, they deliuered vnto the king. xxx. of the best Marchauntes and Capteynes that were within the towne.

The king of England accepted this offer. And so soone as this composition was agreed vpon, foorthwith the Lorde Hacqueuyle was sent vnto the French king to declare the necessitie of the towne, and the short tyme of the truce. To whome the Dolphyn aunswerd, that the kinges power was not yet assembled in such a nũber, as was conuenient to raise so great a siege.

When this aunswere was reported to the Capteynes, they seyng no hope of comfort or reliefe, after the thirde day rendered to the king of England the towne, beyng the. xxxvij. day after it was besieged, and the. xxij. day of the moneth of September, to the great abashement of all Normandie, for it was the chiefest port of all that Countrie. The Souldiours were raunsomed, and the towne was sacked, to the great gaine of the Englishe men. The king of Englande made Capteyne of that towne his Vncle Thomas Duke of Exceter, which established his Lieutenant there Iohn Fastolffe, with. xv. hundreth men, and. xxxv. good knightes, whereof the Baron of Carew, and Sir Hugh Lutterell were two counsaylors. And because dyuerse of his Nobles liyng before Harflew were sicke of the Fluxe, and many were dead, amongest whome the Erle of Stafforde, the Bishop of Norwiche, the Lordes, Molyns, and Burnell, were foure besyde other. The king licenced the Duke of Clarence, his brother, Iohn Erle Marshall, and Iohn Erle of Arondell beyng infected with that disease, to returne into England.

Harflew is yelded to the king of England.

King Henry not a little reioysing of this victory at his beginning determined with all diligence to set forward, and to performe his entended purpose and warlye enterprise, but by reason that the sharpnesse of Winter weather approched more sooner at that time, then before it had beene accustomed he was therewithall sore troubled and vexed. Wherfore he callyng together all his Cheuetaynes, and conferryng with them what was best to be done: After long consultation, in the ende it was agreed on all sides, that it was a thing both necessarie and conuenient to set forward with all diligence before the dead time of Wynter approched, toward the towne of Calyce. And because their going forward

might be called of slaunderous tongs a running or fleyng awaye, it was therefore agreed, that the whole armie should passe the next way by lande thorough the middest of their enimies: And yet that iourney was iudged perillous, by reason that the number was much minished by the Fluxe and other Feuers which sore vexed, and brought to death aboue fiftene hundred persons, which was the very cause that the returne was the soner concluded and agreed vpon: But yet before his departing he entred into the towne of Harflew. And all the men of warre that had not paide their raunsome, he sware them on the holy Euangelistes to yeeld them selues prisoners at Calice, by the feast of saint Martyn in Nouember next folowyng: Dyuers of the Burgesses he highly raunsomed, and a great part of the women and children he put out of the towne, geuyng to euery poore creature. v. Sowse. The priestes had lycence to departe, leauing behinde them their substaunce. The goodes in the towne were innumerable, which were all praye to the Englishmen, which sent the best into England as a token of good luck. There were two strong Towers standyng on the Hauen syde, which looking for ayde did not yeelde tenne dayes after the towne was rendered.

When the king had repayred the towne, and fortefied and furnished the same with men, municion, and victuall, he remoued from Harflew to Pounthoyse, entending to passe the ryuer of Some with his army, before the bridges were eyther withdrawen or broken.

The French king heering that the towne of Harflew was taken by the king of Englande, and that he was marchyng forward into the Bowelles of the realme, sent out his proclamations, and assembled his people in euery quarter, committing the whole charge of his armie to his sonne the Dolphin and the Duke of Aquiteyn, which incontinent caused the Bridges to be broken, and all the passages to be defended: besyde that, they caused all corne and other victuall to be destroyed in all places, where they coniectured that the Englishmen would repayre or passe thorough, to the intent that they might eyther keepe them in a place certayne without any passage or departure, and so to destroye them at their pleasures, or else to keepe them in a strayte without victualles or comfort, and so by famine eyther cause them to dye or yeelde.

The king of Englande afflicted with all these incommodities at one tyme was neyther dismayed nor discouraged, but keeping foorth his iourney approched to the ryuer of Some, where he perceaued that all the Bridges were by his enimies broken and vnframed: wherefore he came to the passage called Blanchetaque, where king Edwards great graundfather passed the Ryuer of Some before the battayle of Cressy: But the passage was so kept that he could not passe without great daunger, consydering that his enimies were both before his face, and hard behinde his backe: But yet he passed forward burnyng Villages and taking great booties, and euery day he sent his light horsemen abroad to spie and seke what perilles there were at hande, and what embushments were layde on the one syde or the other, and where he might most safely passe the riuer. The Espialles returned and declared for a truth that the countrie swarmed with men of warre, whereof he being aduertised, set foorth in good order, keeping still his way forward, and so ordered his armie and placed his cariage, that hauing his enimies on both sides of him, he passed so terribly that his enimies were afrayde once to offer him battayle: And yet the Lorde Delabreth Constable of Fraunce, the Marshall Boncequalt, the Erle of Vandosme great Master of Fraunce and the Lorde Dampier Admirall of Fraunce, the Duke of Alanson, and the Erle of Richmond with all the puyssaunce of the Dolphyn lay at Abuyle, and durst not once touche his battayles, but euer kept the passages, and coasted aloofe lyke a Hawke that lyketh not her praye.

Blanchetaque a passage ouer the ryuer of Some.

The king of Englande still kept on his iourney vntill he came to the Bridge of saint Maxence, where he found aboue. xxx. thousand Frenchmen, and there pitched his fielde, looking surely to be set on and foughten withall: wherefore to encourage his Captaynes the more, he dubbed certaine of his valyaunt and hardy gentlemen knightes, as:

Iohn

Iohn Lorde Ferres of Groby.
Reignold of Greystock.
Piers Tempest.
Christopher Morisby.
Thomas Pickering.
Wylliam Huddleston.
Iohn Hosbalton.
Henry Mortimer.
Phylip Hall.
Wylliam Hall.
Iaques of Ormond,
wyth dyuers other.

But after the king sawe that the Frenchmen made no semblaunce to fight, he departed in good order of battayle by the towne of Amyence, to a towne neere to a Castell called Bowes, and there laye two dayes, looking euery houre for battayle. And from thence he came neere to Corby, where he was steyed that night by reason that the common people and Pesaunts of the country assembled in great number, and the men of armes of the Garrison of Corby skirmished with his armie in the morning, which taryeng was to him both ioyous and profitable, for there he discomfited the crewe of horsemen, and draue the rusticall people euen to their gates, and found there the same day a shalow foorde betwene Corby and Peron, which neuer was espied before. At the which he, his armie and cariages the night ensuyng passed the ryuer of Some without let or daũger, and then determined with all diligence to passe forward to Calice, and not to seeke for battayle, except he were therevnto constreyned, for his armie by sicknesse was sore minished, for he had onely two thousand horsemen, and. xiij. thousand Archers, bill men and of all sortes: The Englishmen were afflicted in this iourney with an hundred discommodities, for their victuall was in maner all spent, and newe they coulde get none, for the enemies had destroyed all before their comming: Rest they could take none, for their enemies were euer at hand: daylie it rayned, and nightly it freesed, of Fuell was scarcenesse, and of Fluxes was plenty, money they had ynough, but comfort they had none.

The Englishmen were sore afflicted.

The French king being at Roan, and hering that the king of Englande was passed the water of Some, was not a little discontent (and as Hall sayth) assembled his counsayle to the number of. xxxv. to consult what should be done, the chiefe wherof, were the Dolphyn his sonne, whose name was Lewes, callyng himselfe king of Cicile. the Dukes of Berry and Briteyn, the Erle of Pontieu the kings youngest sonne, and dyuers other, whereof. xxx. agreed that the Englishmen should not departe vnfoughten withall, and fyue were of the contrary opiniõ, but the greater number ruled the matter. And so Mountioy king at Armes was sent to the king of Englande to defye him as the enemye of Fraunce, and to tell him that he should shortly haue battayle. King Henry soberly aunswered: Sir my entent and desyre is none other, but to do as pleaseth almightie God, and as it becommeth me, for surely I will not seeke your mayster at this time: But if he or his seeke me, I will willingly fight with hym. And if any of your nation attempt once to stop me in my iourney toward Caleys, at their ieopardie be it, and yet my desyre is that none of you be so vnaduised or harebreyned, as to be the occasion that I in mine awne defence should be the effusion of Christian bloud, and thus he rewarded the Herault, and lycenced him to depart.

The French king sendeth a defiaunce to the king of England.

When the Lordes of Fraunce heard the king of Englandes aunswere, it was incontinent proclaymed, that all men of warre should resorte to the Conestable of Fraunce, to fight with the king of Englande, and his puyssaunce: wherevpon all men accustomed to beare armour, and desyrous to wynne honour thorough the realme of Fraunce, drewe toward the field. The Dolphyn sore desyred to be at that battayle, but he was prohibited by the king his father: Lykewise Philip Erle of Charolous sonne to the Duke of Burgoyn would gladly haue beene at that noble assembly, if the Duke his father would haue suffred him, but many of his men stale awaye, and went to the Frenchmen.

The king of England being informed by his Espialles that the daye of battayle was neerer then he looked for, dislodged from Bomyers, and went in good aray thorough the fayre playne, beside the towne of Blangy, where to the intent that his armie should not be included in a streight, or driuen to a corner, he chose a place meete and conuenient

for two armies to darrayne battayle betweene the townes of Blangy and Agincourte, where he pight hys fielde.

The Conestable of Fraunce, the Admirall, the Lorde Rambures master of the Crosbowes, and dyuers Lordes and knightes pitched their Banners neere to the Banner royall of the Constable, in the Countie of Saint Paule within the territorie of Agincourt, by the which waye the Englishe men must needes passe towarde Caleys. The frenchmen made great fyres about their Banners, and they were in number. lx. thousand horsemen as their awne historians and writers affirme, besyde footemen, pages and Wagoners, and all that night they made great cheere and were mery. The Englishmen also that night sounded their trumpets, and dyuers Instruments musicall with great melodie, and yet they were both hungrie, werie, sore trauayled and muche vexed with colde diseases: Howbeit they made peace with God and their consciences, euery man encouraging other rather manfully to dye, then eyther to yeelde or flie.

The courage of the Englishmen.

The battayle of Agincourt.

Nowe approched the fortunate and fayre day to the English men, and a blacke and vnluckie day to the French men, which was the. xxv. day of October. 1415. beyng then Friday. On the which day in the mornyng, the French men made three battayles. In the Vaward were. viij. thousande healmes of knightes & Esquiers, and foure thousand Archers, and. xv. C. Crosbowes, which were guyded by the Lorde Delabreth Constable of Fraunce, hauyng with him the Dukes of Orleaunce, and Burbon, the Erles of Ewe, & Richemond, the Marshal Bonciqualt, and the maister of the Crosbowes, the Lord Dampier Admirall of Fraunce, and other Captеynes, and the Erle of Vandosme, and other the kinges officers, with. xvj. hundreth men of Armes, and they were ordered for a wing to that battaile. And the other wing was guyded by Sir Guyshard Dolphin, and sir Clugnet of Brabant, and sir Lewes of Burbon, with. viij. hundreth men of Armes of chosen persons. And to breake the shot of the Englishe men, were appoynted sir Guylliam de Sauensens, with Hector and Philip his brethren, Ferrey of Maylley, and Alein of Gaspanes, with other. viij. C. men of Armes. In the middle ward were assigned as many persons and mo as were assigned in the Vaward, and therof was the charge committed to the Dukes of Barre, and Alenson, the Erles of Neuers, Vawdemount Blamount, Salings, Graunt pree, & of Russy. And in the rerewarde were all the other men of armes, guyded by the Erles of Marle, Dampmartyne, Fauconberge, and the Lorde Lurrey, Capteyne of Arde, who had with him men of the Frontiers of Bolynoys.

When these Battayles were thus ordered, it was a glorious sight to beholde them, and surely they were esteemed to be in number six tymes as many or more then was the whole companie of Englishe men with Wagones, Pages and all. And now both the Armies beyng in a redinesse, the Constable of Fraunce with an eloquent and carnest Oration, encouraged hys souldiours manfully that day to stande to it for the honour of Fraunce: The King of England did no lesse prudently and valiauntly styrre vp the heartes of his people. And these exhortations ended, the king of England had placed priuely two hundreth Archers in a lowe medowe nere to the forwarde of his enemies, but yet separate with a great diche, and they were commaunded to kepe themselues close vntill they had a token geuen them to shote. Besyde this he appoynted a Vawarde, of the which he made Capteyne Edwarde Duke of Yorke, which of a haute courage obteyned of the king by peticion that office, and with him were the Lordes Beamond, Willoughby and Fanhope, and this battaile was all Archers. The middle ward was guyded by the king himselfe, with his brother the Duke of Gloucester, and the Erles Marshall, Oxford, and Suffolke, in the which were all the strong bill men. The Duke of Exceter, Vncle vnto the king, had the rereward which was myxed both with Archares and Bill men. The horsemen like winges went on euery side of the battaile. When the king had thus ordered his battaile, yet fearyng least the French men would compasse and beset him about, lyke a wise and politike prince, he caused stakes bound with yron sharpe at both the endes, of the length of v. or. vj. foote, to be pitched before the Archers, to the entent that if the barde horses ranne rashely vpon them, they might

might shortly be gored and destroyed, and appoynted certeine personnes to remoue the stakes when the Archers moued, as tyme requyred: so that the footemen were hedged about with the stakes, & the horsemen stoode lyke a Bulwarke betwene them and their enemyes, without the stakes. This deuice of fortefiyng of an armie with stakes, was at this tyme first deuised and practised, but since that tyme they haue deuysed, Caltroppes, Harrowes, and other newe trickes. All thinges beyng thus set in order, nowe approched the battaile. But here Hall sheweth at large, howe that the French men the night before had made themselues assured of the victorie, and had diuided the prisoners and spoyles among them, and had cast lottes for them, but it is an olde prouerbe that he that maketh his reconyng without his hoste, must be faine to recon twise, and also it is a true saiyng, that man purposeth, but God disposeth, for victory is the gift of God, as may appere by the sequele of this battaile, which happened to the Englishe men rather miraculously then otherwise. Therefore to God the king very well gaue the praise thereof, as in the ende of the same ye shall heere. A good inuention.

Nowe the armies approchyng somewhat nere, an olde knight called Sir Thomas Harpyngton, a man of great experience in warre, with a Warder in his hande. And when he cast vp the Warder, all the armie showted, at the which the Frenchmen much marueyled: But that was a signe to the Archers in the Medowe, which knowyng the token shot wholy altogether at the Vaward of the French men. When they perceyued the Archers in the Medowe, whome they sawe not before, and sawe they could not come to them for a ditche, they with al hast set on king Henries Foreward: But ere they ioyned, theArchers in the forefront, and the Archers on the syde, which stoode in the Medowe, so wounded the fotemen, so galled the horsses, and so combred the men of Armes, that the footemen durst not go forward, the horsemen ranne in plompes without order, some ouerthrewe his felowe, and horses ouerthrewe their maisters: So at the first ioynyng, as the Frenche men were clerely discouraged, so the Englishe men were muche chered and comforted. When the Frenche Vaward was thus discomfited, the Englishe Archers cast away theyr Bowes, and toke into their handes, Axes, Malles, Swordes and Billes, and therewith slue the French men, vntill they came to the middle warde. Then the king approched, and so encouraged his souldiours, that shortly the seconde battaile was ouerthrowne, and dispersed, but not without great slaughter of men, for the French men strongly withstood the fiercenesse of the English men, when they came to handie strokes, so that the fight was very doubtfull and perillous. And when one part of the french horsemen thought to haue entered into the kinges battaile, they were wyth the stakes ouerthrowne and slaine, or taken.

Thus the battaile continued three long houres. The king ý day shewed himselfe a valiaunt Prince, for notwithstandyng that he was almost felled by the Duke of Alanson, yet with plain strength he slue two of the Dukes companie, and felled the Duke: But when the Duke woulde haue yelded vnto him, the kinges garde, contrary to the kinges minde, outragiously slue him. And in conclusion, minding to make an ende of that dayes iourney, caused his horsemen to fetch a compasse about, and to ioyne with him against the rerewarde of Fraunce, in the which battaile were the greatest number of people. When the French men perceyued his entent, they were sodeinly amased, and ranne away lyke sheepe, without array or order. When the king perceyued the Banners cast downe, and the array cleerely broken, he encouraged hys Souldiors, and folowed so quickly, that the French men turnyng to flight, ran hether and thether, not knowyng which way to take, castyng away their armour, and on their knees desyred to haue their liues saued. A valyaunt Prince.

In this meane tyme, while the battaile continued, and that the Englishe men had taken a great number of prisoners, certeine Frenche men on horsebacke, whereof were Capteynes, Robinet of Borneuile, Rifflarde of Clamas, and Isambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of. vj. hundreth horsemen, which fled first from the field at their first commyng, and heeryng that the Englishe Tentes and Pauillions were farre from the armie, and without any great number of keepers or persons mete and conuenient for defence, partly moued with couetousnesse of spoyle and pray, and partly entendyng

by

by some notable act to reuenge the dammage and displeasure done to them and theirs in the battaile the same day, entered into the kinges Campe, beyng voyde of men, and fortefyed with Verlettes and Lackeyes, and there spoyled Hales, robbed Tentes, brake vp Chestes, and caried away Caskettes, and slue suche seruauntes, as they there found: For the which act they were long imprisoned and sore punished, and lyke to haue lost their lyues if the Dolphyn had lenger lyued.

But when the king of Englande by a fearefull messenger was sodenly aduertised of thys newe onset, and also heard the outcrie of the Lackeyes, he fearing least his enemies were gathered together agayne, and doubtyng that the great number of prisoners that were taken, would rather take parte with the enemies then with him, did therefore by proclamation commaund throughout the armie that euery man should kyll his prisoner, vpon paine of death. When this dolorous commaundement was pronounced, pittie it was to see, and more lothsome to beholde how some frenche men were sodainely sticked with daggers, some brayned with Polaxes, some beaten downe with Malles, some their throtes cut, and some their bellies cut, and their paunches hanged out, so that in effect, hauing respect to the great number of prisoners, fewe or none was saued.

When this lamentable manslaughter was fynished, the Englishe men forgetting their woundes, and not remembring what paine they had susteyned all that daye in fighting with their enimies, as men that were freshe and lustie, raunged themselues agayne in araye, both prest and ready to abide a newe fielde, and also to inuade a fresh their enemies, and there withall courageously set vpon the Erle of Marle and Fawconbridge, and the Lords of Lonray and of Thyne, which with. vj. C. men of armes had all daye kept together, and slue them out of hande.

After this last conflict, the king of Englande passed thorough the fielde, and sawe neyther resistaunce nor the apparaunce of any frenche men sauing the dead Corsses, wherefore he caused a retrayte to be blowen, and brought all his armie together, about foure of the clock at after noone, and first (as Hall sayth) callyng his prelates together, caused them to geue thankes to God, by whose almightie power he had receaued that victorie, and to sing the Psalme of *In exitu Israel. &c.* Commaunding euery man to kneele downe, when they came at this verse, *Non nobis domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.* Which is in Englishe, Not vnto vs O Lorde, not vnto vs, but vnto thy name be geuen the prayse and glory, & then caused the psalme of *Te deum* to be song, so that it might euidently appere that this noble prince had a perfite fayth and trust in the ayde of God, which heard his prayer, and regarded his fayth, and therefore gaue him the victorie.

That night he was refreshed with suche as he founde in the Frenche campe, and in the morning Mountioy king at Armes, and foure Heraultes came vnto him to knowe the number of prisoners, and to desyre buriall for them which were slayne. But before he aunswered the Herault, he calling to remembraunce, that it was more honorable to be praysed of his enemies then extolled of his friendes, did therefore demaunde of them why they made to him that request, for that he was not certaine whether the prayse of that victorie ought to be attributed to him or to their Nation? O Lorde quod Mountioy, thinke you vs officers of Armes to be rude and bestiall? If we for the affection that we beare to our naturall Countrie, would eyther for fauour or meede hyde or denie your glorious victorie: The Foules of the ayre and wormes of the ground will beare witnesse agaynst vs, and so wyll the Captiues that are yet in your possession. Wherefore according to the dutie of our office, which is or should be alwayes indifferently to write, and truly to iudge, and therefore we saye and affirme, that the victorie is youres, the honor is youres, and youres is the glorie, aduising you as you haue manfully gotten it, so polletiquely to vse it. Well sayde the king, seing this is your determination, I wyllingly accept it, desyring you to shewe me the name of the Castell neere adioyning, and they aunswered it was called Agincourt: Then sayde the king, this conflict shall be called the battaile of Agincourt, which victorie hath not bene obteyned by vs nor our power, but by the ayde and sufferaunce of

The battaile of Agincourt.

almightie God, for the iniurie and vntruth that we haue receyued at the handes of your prince and his nation. And that daye he feasted the French officers of armes, and graunted to them their request, which busily sought thorough the fielde for such as were slayne: But the Englishmen suffred them not to go alone, for they searched with them, and found manye hurte, but not in ieopardy of their lyfe, whome they tooke prisoners, and brought them into their tẽts.

When the king of Englande had well refreshed himselfe and hys souldyours, and had taken the spoyle of such as were slayne, he with his prisoners in good order returned toward his towne of Calice.

When tydings of this notable victorie was perfitely knowne in Englande, there was no small ioye and reioysing with praysing of God, and making of Bonefyres with all the triumph that might be made.

On the Sundaye, after the king was departed toward Caleys, diuers Frenchmen repayred to the playne where the battayle was, and remoued agayne the dead bodyes, some to finde out their Masters, and to bury them, and some to take the reliques which the Englishmen had left. For the Englishe men tooke nothing but Golde, Siluer, Iewelles, riche apparell, and costly armour: But the ploughmen and Peysaunts spoyled the deade Carcasses, leauing them neyther shyrte nor clowte, and so they laye starke naked vntill Wednesday. On the which day diuers of the noble men were conueyed into their countries, and the remnaunt were by Philip Erle of Charoloys (sore lamenting the chaunce, and moued with pittie) at his coste and charge buried in a square plot of fiftene hundred yardes, in the which he caused to be made three pittes, wherin was buried by accompt fiue thousand and. viij. hundred persons beside them which were caryed away, and other that were wounded to the death, and were caryed to Hospitalles and there dyed.

In this battayle were taken and slayne the flowre of all the nobilitie of Fraunce, for there were taken prisoners: Prisoners taken.

Charles Duke of Orleaunce.
Iohn Duke of Burbone.
Iohn of Craon Lord of Donuart.
The Lorde of Fosseux.
The Lorde of Humyers.
The Lorde of Roy.
The Lorde of Cawny.
The Lorde of Hamcourt.
The Lorde of Noell.
The Lorde Bonciqualt, Marshall of Fraunce.
The Lorde of Dynchy.
Sir Iohn of Vawcourt.
Sir Arthur Bremyer.
Sir Ienet of Poys.
The sonne and heyre of the Lorde Ligny.
Sir Gilbert de Lawney.
The Lorde Dancombe, and dyuers other, to the number of. xv. hundred knightes and Esquires, besyde the common people.

There were slayne of the Nobles and Gentlemen at this battaile, Noble men slaine.

Charles Lorde Delabreth, high Conestable of Fraunce.
Iaques of Chastilon Lorde of Dampier, Admirall of Fraunce.
The Lorde Rambures, master of the Crossebowes.
Sir Guyshard Dolphyn, great Mayster of Fraunce.
Iohn Duke of Alaunson.
Anthony Duke of Brabant.
Edward Duke of Barre.
The Erle Neuers.
Sir Robert Barre Erle of Marle.
The Erle of Vawdemount.
The Erle of Blawmount.
The Erle of Graund pree.
The Erle of Roussy.
The Erle of Fawconbridge.
The Erle of Foys.
The Erle of Lestrake.
The Lorde Boys of Burbon.
The Vidame of Amias.
The Lorde of Croy.
The Lorde Belly.
The Lorde Dauxcy.
The Lorde Brenew.
The Lorde of Paix.
The Lorde Crequi.

The

The Lorde of Lowraye.
The Baylye of Amyence.
The Lorde of Raynuale.
The Lorde of Longuale.
The Lorde of Mawlaye.
The Lorde of Diurye.
The Lorde of Newffile.
The Lorde of Galigny.
The Lorde of Rocheguyshe.
The Vicedane of Lamoys.
The Lorde Delaligier.
The Lorde of Baffremount.
The Lorde Saint Bris.
The Lord of Contes and his sonne.
The Lord of Nannes & his brother.
The Lorde of Ront.
The Lorde of Applyncourt,
The lord Delariuer, & diuers other which I leaue out for tediousnesse.

And certainely by the relation of Heraultes, and declaration of other noble persons worthy of credite, as Enguerrant wryteth, there were slaine at this battayle on the French parte, aboue ten thousand persons, whereof were princes and nobles bearing banners. Cxxvj. and all the remnaunt sauing. xvj.C. were knightes, Esquires and Gentlemen: So of noble men and Gentlemen were slayne eyght thousand, and foure hundred, of the which fiue hundred were dubbed knightes, the night before the battayle. From the fielde escaped alyue the Erle Dampmartyn, Clunet of Brabant, Sir Lewes of Burbon, Sir Galliot of Gaulles, Sir Iohn Dengearmes, and fewe other men of name.

English men slaine.

Of Englishemen were slaine at this battaile, Edward Duke of Yorke, The Erle of Suffolke, Sir Richard Kikeley, and Dauigam Esquier, and of all other not aboue fiue or sixe hundreth persons.

After that the king had refreshed himselfe in the Towne of Calice, and that such prisoners as he had left at Harflew, as you haue heard, were come vnto him to Calice: Then he the sixt day of Nouember with all his prisoners tooke shippyng at Calice, and the same day landed at Douer, hauyng with him the deade bodyes of the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Suffolke, and caused the Duke to be buryed at his Colledge of Foderynghey, and the Erle at Ewhelme. And by soft iourneyes he came to London, and was met and receyued at Blackheth by the Maior and Aldermen of London, clothed in scarlet, and three hundreth Commoners clothed in murrey, with all ioy and solemnitie, praisyng God for the high honour & victorie that he had obteyned.

Heauy newes to the french king.

But now to returne to the french king, when ỹ heauy newes of the losse of the aforesayde battaile came vnto him, he then liyng at Roan, and wyth him the Dolphyn, the Dukes of Berrey, and Briteyn, and his second sonne the Erle of Pouthewe, though the same were most grieuous vnto him, no man ought to merueyle. Wherefore the Frenche king perceyuyng that the warre was nowe but newely begon, determined to prouide for chaunces to come before they should sodeinly happen. And first he elected his chiefe officer for the warres called the Constable, which was the Erle of Arminacke, a wise and pollitique Capteine, and an auncient enemie to the Englishmen, and Sir Iohn of Corsey was made maister of the Crosbowes, and then they fortefyed townes, and furnished garisons. While these thinges were thus in working, eyther for Melancholy that he had for the losse susteyned at Agyncourt aforesayde, or else by some sodeine disease, Iohn Dolphyn of Vyennoys, heyre apparant to Charles the French king, departed out of this naturall lyfe without issue, which was an happie chaunce for Robynet of Borneuile and his companions, as you haue hearde before, for his death was theyr lyfe, and his lyfe woulde haue bene their death.

The death of the Dolphyn of Fraunce.

1416

After this notable victorie obteyned by the Englishe men, and that king Henry was departed into England, and the French king had made his new officers, as aforesayd. Thomas Duke of Exceter Captein of Harflew, accõpanied with three thousand Englishmen, made a great road into Normandy, almost to the Citie of Roan: In which iourney he gate great aboundaunce both of riches and prisoners. But in his returne the Erle of Arminack newly made Constable of Fraunce, entendyng in this his first iourney to winne his spurres, and in his companie aboue fiue thousand horsemen, encountered with him. The skirmishe was sore, and the fight fierce, but because the Englishe men were not able to

resist the force of the French horsemen, the Duke to saue his men, was compelled to retyre as politikely as he could deuyse: But for all that he could do, he lost three hundreth of his men. The Frenche men not content with this good lucke, folowed them almost to the Barryers of Harflew. When the Englishe men within the towne espied the chase, they issued out in good order, and met with their enemies, and not onely slue and tooke a great number of them, but also chased them aboue. viij. Myles towarde the Citie of Roan. A sore skirmishe.

And about this season, Sigismond Emperour of Almaine, which had maryed Barbara daughter to the Erle of Zilie, Cossyn Germain remoued to king Henry, a man of great vertue, & fidelitie, which had not only long labored to set an vnitie and concorde in Christes Church, and Christian religion, but also he sent dyuerse Ambassadors, aswell to the Frenche king as to the king of England, because he was farre distant from their countries and regions to encrease perfect peace and vnitie. Wherefore he perceyuyng that his Ambassade brought nothing to such conclusion as he wished, did therefore in his awne person come from the furthermost part of Hungary into Fraunce, and after into England, entendyng to knit together all Christian Princes in one amitie and friendship, and so beyng friendes together, to make warre and reuenge their quarelles agaynst the Turke, the persecutor of Christes fayth, and enemy to all Christendom. And with this noble Prince came the Archebishop of Reynes, and dyuerse other noble men, as Ambassadors from the French king, into England. The king of England for olde amitie betwene the house of England and Beame, accompanied with all his Nobilitie, him receyued vpon Blacke heth the vij. day of May, and brought him through London to Westminster with great triumph, where Iustes, Tourneyes, and other martiall feates were to him with all ioy and pleasure shewed, and set forth. Sigismond Emperour.

Duryng which tyme, there came into Englande Albert Duke of Holland, who also was friendly enterteyned. And these two Princes were by the king conueyed to Windsore to saint Georges feast, and there were elected companions of the noble order of the Garter, and had the Coler and Habite of the same to them deliuered, and sate in their stalles all the solemnitie of the feast, by the which order they knowledged themselues to be highly honoured, and much exalted. After this solempne feast finished, the Duke of Holland well feasted, and greatly rewarded, returned into his Country. But the Emperour taryed styll neuer ceasyng to declare and perswade, what vtilitie, what goodnesse, and what ioy might ensue, if both the realmes of England and Fraunce were brought to a finall concord, and perfect vnitie. But the euill chaunce of the French Nation was to his purpose a barre, and a let, because they were predestinate to suffer yet mo plagues and detrimentes at the handes of the English men. For when concorde was at hande, and peace was enteryng into the Gates, a new cause of more discorde and dissension sodeinly brake out, and came to the kinges knowledge: For he beyng informed of the losse of his men in the territorie of Roan (as you haue heard) was so sore displeased, that he would heere of no treatie, nor haue once this worde (peace) named. Albert duke of Holland.

The Emperour like a wise prince, perceiuyng that the tyme would not serue to bring to passe that he came for, ceassed any further to trauaile therein. And leauyng all treatie and perswasion for Fraunce, he entered into a league and amitie himselfe with the king of England. Which confederacye least it should be broken, they studyed and deuised all wayes and meanes possible, for the preseruation and obseruation of the same: Which plaine meanyng, and true dealyng was afterwarde to them both, not onely much honour, but great commoditie. Nowe when the Emperour had thus concluded a league with the king of England, he tooke his iourney homeward into Germanie: and the king of England, partly to shewe him pleasure, and partly because of his awne affayres, associated him to his towne of Calice: during which time the Duke of Burgoyn offered to come to Calice to speake with the Emperour and the king, because he hearde talke of the league and confederacie that was concluded betwene them. The king sent to the water of Granelyng, the Duke of Gloucester his brother, and the The Emperour entereth into a league with the king of England.

Erle of Marche, to be hostages for the Duke of Burgoyn, and sent also the Erle of Warwike with a noble companie to conduct him to his presence. At Grauelyng foorde the Dukes met, and after salutations done, the duke of Burgoyn was conueyed to Calice, where of the Emperor, and of the King he was highly welcomed and feasted: Duryng which tyme, a peace was concluded betweene the king of England, and the Duke of Burgon, for a certein space, concernyng onely the Counties of Flaundyrs, and Arthoys, for the which cause the French king and his sonne was highly displeased. The Duke of Gloucester was receyued at Grauelyng by the Erle of Caroloys, sonne to the Duke of Burgoyn, and by him honourably conueyed to Saint Omers and there lodged that night. The next day the Erle Caroloys came with diuers noble men to visite the Duke of Gloucester in his lodgyng. And when he entered into his Chamber, the Dukes backe was toward him, talkyng with some of his seruantes, and did not see nor welcome the Erle Charoloys at the first entrie: But after he sayde shortly, without any great reuerence or comming towardes him: ye are welcome fayre Cossyn, and so passed forth his tale with his seruauntes. The Erle Charoloys for all his youth was not well content, but suffered for that tyme.

A peace concluded betwene the king of England and the Duke of Burgoyn.

When the Duke of Burgoyn had done all thinges at Calice that he came for, he after the. ix. day returned to Grauelyng, where the Duke of Gloucester and he met againe, and louyngly departed, the one to Calice, and the other to Saint Omers: For the which voyage the Duke of Burgoyn was suspected to be enemie to the Crowne of Fraunce. After the Dukes departure, the Emperour was highly feasted and rewarded, and at his pleasure sayled into Holland, and so road into Beame. The king likewise tooke Ship and returned into England, on Saint Lukes euen, the yere of our Lorde. 1417.

In this meane tyme, the Erle of Arminack puffed vp with his last victorie, although the honour were small, and the gaine lesse, determined clerely to get againe the towne of Harflew. Wherefore as closely as he could, he gathered together men in euery place, and appoynted them all to mete him at Harflew at a day assigned. The appoyntment was kept, and the towne was besieged both by water and land, before the Capteynes of the towne knewe perfectlye the first motion. For Iohn Vicont Narbon, Viceadmirall of Fraunce had brought the whole nauie to the ryuage and shore adioinyng to the towne, entendyng priuily to haue entered the towne before he had beene perceyued. But this subtile imagination tooke no place, for they which kept the watche tower, sodeinly perceyuyng their enemies to approche, rang the Larom Bell: And the Duke of Exceter incontinently caused all men to repayre to the walles, and fortefyed the Gates, and dispatched a swift Barke to the king of England with letters, requiryng him of ayde and succour. And although the French men perceyued that their wily enterprise was knowne, and that the towne could not so sodeinly be stolen and taken as they had deuised, yet they continued their siege both by water and by land, and made dyuerse assaultes, at the which if they nothyng gayned, yet euer somewhat they lost.

Harflew besieged by the Frenchmen.

When these newes were come to the eares of king Henrie, and that he knewe that his people were in great ieopardie, except that great diligence were vsed for their reliefe and deliueraunce, he without delay apparelled a great nauie, and made Chiefteine thereof the Duke of Bedford, who beyng accompanied with the Erles of Marche, Oxenford, Huntyngdon, Warwike, Arondell, Sarisbury, Deuonshire, and dyuerse Barons, wyth two hundreth sayle of good Shippes, well furnished with men, municion, and victualles, did with all spede set forwarde, and beyng shipped at Rye, they with good expedition came to the mouth of the Riuer of Seyne. And when the Vicont of Narbon, who with his nauie kept the mouth of the Riuer of Seyn, perceyued the Englishe nauie to approche, he geuyng a token to all his companie, couragiously set foorth towarde his enemies. The Duke in likewise valiauntly encountered with them, the fight was long, but not so long as perillous, for battailes of the sea be euer desperate. But after long fight the victorie fell to the Englishe men, and they tooke and sonke almost all the whole nauie of Fraunce, in the which

The Frenchmen ouerthrowne vpon the Sea.

were many Ships, Hulkes, and Carickes, to the number of fiue hundreth. Of the which three great Careckes were sent into England. And in the same conflict were slaine of the Frenche men no small number, as it appeared by their dead bodyes, which swarmed euery day about the Englishe shippes.

After this victorie fortunately obteyned, the Duke of Bedford sayled by water vp to the very towne of Harflew, and without let or impediment landed and refreshed it both with victuall and money: which succours if they were welcome to the Duke of Excester his Vncle, I report me to them that haue bene in necessitie, and would haue gladly bene refreshed.

Harflewe is rescued by the Englishe men.

When the Erle of Arminacke heard that the puyssaunt Nauie of Fraunce was vanquyshed and taken, he reysed his siege before the towne, and returned with small ioye vnto Paris, as he that had no hope, nor sawe no lykelyhood or meane to recouer agayne the towne of Harflewe, for the which he so sore thirsted.

The Erle of Arminack departeth frō the siege of Harflewe.

After thys discomfiture and great losse, the fortitude and strength of the Frenchmen beganne to decaye, and their bragging bewtie beganne to fade. For nowe the Princes and Nobles of the realme fell into diuision and discorde among themselues, as who say, that the Nobility studyeng how to reuenge their olde iniuries and displeasures, refused to take payne for the aduauncement of the publique wealth, and sauegarde of their awne countrie. And for priuie displeasure, couert malice or hatred, their power began to waxe so slender, and their libertie was brought into suche a malicious diuersitie and doubtfull difference, that, as here after shall be shewed, it was merueyle ẏ their countrie was not brought to a perpetuall bondage: Which thing no doubt had followed, if this king Henry of Englande had lenger lyued in this transitorie worlde. For notwithstanding that the Duke of Orleaunce, the Captaine and head of the one faction, was at that tyme captiue and prisoner in England, yet there grew so much priuie displeasure and cancard hatered betwene Charles the Dolphyn and Iohn Duke of Burgoyn, that whyle the one studied and compassed howe to ouercome the other, with armour or with pollicie, with dissimulation or craftie conueyaunce, euerye Iourneyman of their faction, and euery noble man partaker with the one or the other, put all their whole studie and diligence to aduaunce forward their sect and parte, and not one of them would take heede how to resist or refell the present ieopardie which was comming out of Englande. And as one inconuenience suffereth many to follow, so was it in Fraunce at this time: For the french king was not of good memorie: The warre that was towarde seemed both doubtfull and perillous: The princes were vntrusty, and at discord, and an hundreth mo things, which might bring the realme to extreme miserie and vtter destruction, as after you shall here.

Discorde among the noble in Fraūce.

When the Duke of Bedford had atchieued his enterprice, and performed his commission both in raysing the siege of Harflewe, and victualling of the towne, he with no small number of prisoners, and great abundaunce of praye, as well in shippes and in prouision for the sea, returned into England with great triumph and glorie.

Shortly after this, the king assembled his high courte of Parliament, and there in open audience made to them a shorte and pithie Oration, declaring to them the iniuries lately done and committed by the French Nation, and shewed also the iust and lawfull occasion of his warres, and signified also what discorde and ciuile dissention reigned amongst the Nobilitie of Fraunce, and rehearsed many things for the which it were now very necessarie and needefull for his grace and the realme, to represse and ouercome them with all their power and puyssaunce, and that without deferring or prolonging of time, and therefore in all gentle maner desyred them to prouide for money and treasure out of hande for the conduct and wages of souldiours, to the intent that nothing should lacke when they should be ready to set on their enimies.

1417

5 A parliamēt.

The whole parliament hearing his causes so iust, and his request so reasonable, did immediately geue their generall assent to ayde him, and caused such somes as they agreed vpon to be foorthwith collected and payed, so glad was all men of these warres, and as

all they conceaued good opinion thereof, so it happened in the ende most honorable to the king, and profitable to the subiectes.

Iohn Duke of Bedford made gouernour of the Realme of England.

In this parliament also Iohn Duke of Bedford was made Gouernor or Regent of the realme, and head of the publique wealth, which office he should enioye as long as the king was making warre on the French nation. The king before he would take his voyage, sent the Erle of Huntyngdon to serche and scowre the Seas, least any Frenchmen lyeng in wayte for him might attrap him sodeinly, or he had any knowledge of their setting forward. This lustie Erle called Iohn Holland, sonne to the Duke of Excester, which was behedded at Circiter in the time of King Henry the fourth, and Cossyn to the king, with a great number of shippes searched the sea from the one coast to the other. And in conclusion he encoūtred with. ix. Caricks of Ieane (which Lorde Iaques the Bastard of Burbon had reteyned to serue the french king) and set vpon them sharply, the conflict was great, and the fight long: But in conclusion the Frenchmen were ouercome and fled, and three of the greatest Caricks with their patrones, and Monsire Iaques de Burbon their Admirall were taken with asmuch money as should haue payd the Souldiours of the whole fleete for halfe a yere: And three other Carickes were bowged and sent to the bottome of the sea.

Iohn Holland Erle of Huntyngdon.

Iaques Bastard of Burbon.

The king of Englande sayleth with a power into Fraunce.

The king heering of this good chaunce, about the ende of Iulij tooke his Ship at Portesmouth, accompanyed with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, brethren to the sayde king, the Erles of Huntyngdon, Mershall, Warwike, Deuonshire, Salsburie, Suffolke and Somerset, the Lords Rosse, Willoughby, Fitz Hugh, Clynton, Scrope, Matriuers, Bourchier, Ferrers of Groby & Ferrers of Chartley, Fanhope and Gray of Codnore, Sir Gilbert Vmfreuyle, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and dyuers other: And so hauing winde and wether to his desyre, he landed in Normandie neere vnto a Castell called Touque, where he consulted with his Captaines what waye was best to be taken concerning their high enterprise.

When the Normans heard of the kings arryuall, they were sodainely striken with a deadly feare, and as men amased, and halfe out of their wittes, and forsoke their houses and bagge and baggage, and ranne into the strong and walled townes. And likewise the men of warre, which were left in euery place to scowre the Country, fled into the walled townes, among the rude Commonaltie.

Touque castell besieged and taken.

When king Henry had taken counsayle, he layed siege to the Castell of Touque, being very well fortefied both with nature and mans arte, and began to assault it: And although that they within valiauntly defended it, yet by fine force the king ouercame it and tooke it, and all the men that were therein, whome also he tooke to mercy, and made Captaine thereof Sir Robert Kirkeley knight.

Cane besieged and assaulted.

From thence he passed foorth to the strong towne of Cane, which standeth in a playne fertile countrey, no stronger walled then depe diched, which was well victualled and replenished with people: For the Citezens fearing the kinges comming, had prouyded for all things necessary for defense. And as sone as the king was come he cast a depe trench with a high mount to prohibite them within the towne to haue any egresse or outward passage: and that done, beganne fiercely to assault the towne: But the men of the towne were nothing abashed, and stood manly to their defence. The fight was fierce and euery man tooke heede to his charge. The Englishmen studied all the wayes possible to dammage their enimies, some shot arrowes, some cast stones, and other shot Gonnes: Some brake the walles with engines, some set scaling ladders to the walles, and other cast in Wildfyre, euery man labored to come to hande strokes, which was their desyre. On the other syde, the Normans threwe downe great stones, Barres of yron, dartes, hot Pitche, and brennyng Brimstone and boyling lead. Dyuers dayes this assault continued to the great losse & hurt of the Englishmen. When king Henry perceyued this, he absteyned from the assault, & determined vnderminyng to ouerthrow the walles & towres of the towne, & the Pioners wrought so fast that within fewe dayes, the walles stood onely vpon

Postes ready to fall, when fyre should be put vnto them. The king caused his people to approche the walles, and to keepe the Citezens occupied, least they should make a countermine, or to be an impediment to his workemen and laborers, wherefore he caused the assault to be cried agayne: Then euery man ran to the walles, some with scaling ladders, some with hookes, and some with coardes and plommets, euery man desyring to get vp on the walles, and hande to hande to graple with his enemie, the Citizens manfully defended. While the fight was quick and fierce on both sydes: The Englishmen in diuers places persed and brake thorough the walles, and dyuers ouertures and holes were made vnder the foundation by the Pioners, by the which the Englishmen might easely enter into the towne. The king hauing compassiō of the townes men, desyring rather to haue them saued then destroyed, sent them worde by an Herault, that yet was time of mercie and clemencie, if they would submit themselues to his grace: But they obstinately hoping of succour, aunswered that they would stand at their defense. Then the Englishmen againe skaled the walles, and entred thorow the trenches into the towne: The fight was sore by the space of an houre, but in conclusiō the Englishmen obteyned.

Nowe when the king was possessed of the towne of Cane, he first of all commaunded all harneys and weapons to be brought into one place, which was done with diligence without any resistence. Then the miserable people kneeling on their knees cryed for mercie: To whom the king gaue certaine comfortable wordes and bade them stande vp, and then he resorted to the Church and gaue thanks to God, & after he caused a good and great watch that night to garde the towne. And the next day in the morning he called the Magistrates and gouernours of the towne into the Senate house, where some for their stony stubbernesse, and mad obstinacie were adiudged to die, and other were sore fyned and highly raunsomed. Then he callyng together hys souldyours and men of warre, both gaue to them high laudes and prayses for their manly doings, and also distributed to euery man according to his desert the spoyle and gayne, taken of the towne and townes men, chiefely because he had tried at that assaulte their valiaunt courages, and vnfearefull heartes.

Nowe though the towne were wonne, as aforesayde, yet the Castell which was strong and well fortefied, both with men & al things necessary for defence, was still in the Frenchmens possession, the captayne whereof, to the entent to shew himselfe valiaunt and not wylling to breake his othe, boasted that he would rather dye in defense, then freely to yeelde the Castell. King Henry was not minded to ouerthrow the Castell (without which it was not easie to be won) because it was bewtifull & necessary both to kepe the towne from goyng backe, & also to defend the same when oportunitie should serue: Wherefore he sent worde to the Lorde Mountainy being captaine, that if he would yeelde the Castell by a dave, he should departe without dammage: And if he would be obstinate, he should finde no fauour. When the Captaine and his companions had well considered vpon the condition offered, he rendred the Castell and yelded themselues. And so the king was possessed both of the towne and Castell of Cane. Castell of Cane is rendred to the king.

While the king of England was besiegyng this towne, the French men had neyther a conuenient armie to resist their power, nor were redy or able to relieue their friendes in this miserable necessitie, because they had such diuision & dissension among themselues, and a good cause why: For king Charles was of so small wit by reason of his sicknesse, that he could not rule, and so was spoyled both of his treasure and kingdome, and euery man spent and wasted the common treasure.

Charles the Dolphyn beyng of the age of. xvj. or. xvij. yeres, onely lamented and bewayled the ruyne and decay of hys countrie: He onely studyed the aduauncement of the common welth, and he onely deuysed how to resist his enimies: But hauyng neyther men nor money, was greatly troubled and vnquieted. And in conclusion, by the counsaile of the Erle of Arminack Constable of Fraunce, he founde a meane to get all the treasure and riches which Quene Isabell his mother had gotten and horded vp in dyuerse secret places: and for the common vtilitie of his Countrie, he spent it wisely in wagyng of his Souldiours, Charles the Dolphyn of Fraunce.

Souldiours, in preparyng of thinges necessarie for the warre. The Queene forgettyng the great perill the realme stoode in, but remembryng the displeasure to her by this act done, declared her sonne and the Constable to be her mortall enemies, and promised that they should be persecuted to the vttermost. And euen for very womanly malice, shee set in the highest auctboritie about the king her husband, Iohn Duke of Burgoyn, geuyng him the regiment and direction of the king and his Realme, with all prehemynence and souereignitie.

Iohn Duke of Burgoyn is made Regent of Fraunce.

The Duke of Burgoyn hauyng nowe the sworde of auctboritie, for the which he had so sore longed, and glad to be reuenged of his olde iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphyn. And purposyng that when he had once tamed and framed to his purpose this yong vnbrideled Gentleman, then he determined, as he might to refell and withstand the common enemies of the realme. The same or like reason moued the Dolphyn, for he mindyng first to represse and extinct the Ciuile dissension at home, before he would inuade forein enemies, prepared warre to subdue and destroy Iohn Duke of Burgoyn, as the chiefe heade & leader of that wicked and great mischiefe, whereby the realme was much vnquieted, & more decayed, and in a maner brought to a finall ruyne and vtter destruction. Thus Fraunce was inflamed, and in euery part troubled with warre and diuision, and yet no man would eyther prouide in so great a daunger, nor once put foorth their fynger to remoue the mischiefe.

King Henry not mindyng to lye still in Normandie, nor yet to leaue his enterprise vnperfourmed, sent the Duke of Clarence to the Sea coast, which with great difficultie gate the towne of Bayeux. The Duke of Gloucester also with small assault, and lesse defence tooke the towne of Liseaux. In the meane season, King Henrie taryed still at Cane, fortefiyng the Towne and Castell, and put out of the towne. xv. hundreth women and impotent persons, and replenished the towne with Englishe people. And while the King sojourned at Cane, he kept a solempne feast, and made there many knightes: And besydes that, he shewed there an example of great charitie & mercy. For in searching the Castell, he found there innumerable substance of plate & money, belonging to the Citizens: wherof he would not suffer one penny to be touched or conueyed away, but restored the goodes to the owners, and delyuered to euery man his awne.

A noble and charitable prince.

When the fame of the gettyng of Cane was blowen through Normandie, the Normanes were so sore afrayed, and so much abashed, that you should not onely haue sene men, women, and children ronnyng in euery way by great plompes from towne to towne, not knowyng whether to flie: But also the rurall persons and husband men draue the Beastes out of the Villages into suche places where they hoped of refuge or defence: So that a man would haue thought that Normandy had sodeinly bene left desolate and voyd of people and Cattaile. But when the rumor was spread abroade of his clemencie shewed to Captiues, and of his mercie graunted to suche as submitted themselues to his grace, all the Capteines of the townes adioynyng came willyngly to his presence, offering to him themselues, their townes, and their goodes. Wherevpon he made proclaymation, that all men which had or would become his Subiectes, and sweare to him allegeaunce, should enioy theyr goodes and liberties in as large or more ample maner then they did before, which gentle enterteynyng, and fauourable handelyng of the stubborne Normanes, was the very cause why they were not onely content, but also glad to remoue and turne from the French parte, and become subiects to the Crowne of Englande.

When the king had set Cane in good order, he left there for Capteynes, the one of the towne and the other of the Castell, Sir Gilbert Vmfreuile, and Sir Gilbert Talbot, and made Bailife there Sir Iohn Popham, and so departed from Cane to Argenton, which was shortly rendered vnto him. Then all these townes folowyng, without stroke striken, yelded to him, in whom he placed dyuerse Capteynes.

Townes in Normandie that yeelded to king Henry.

Alanson	Camboy	Essay	
Argenton	Conde	Faloys	
Boyeux	Creuly	Thorigny and Vernoyle	

Also these Townes folowyng yeelded themselues to the Duke of Clarence.

Annilliers	Chambroys	Fangermon	Lisieux
Barney	Cowrton	Freshney	Ragles.
Becheluyn	Creuener	Harecorte	

And likewise dyuers townes in the Country of Constantine yelded to the Duke of Glouecester, which were these.

Auranches	Constance	Pont done	Vire
Briqueuile	Hambery	Saint Saluior	Valoignes.
Cauenton	Hay du Payes	Saint Iames	
Chiergurg	Pontorson	Saint Clow	

And while the king wanne thus in Normandie, his nauie lost nothing on the Sea, for they so scoured the streames, that neyther Frenchman nor Britein durst appere: Howbeit one day there arose so hideous and so terrible a storme, that neyther Cable helde, nor Anker preuayled, so that if the Erles of March and Huntyngdon had not taken the Hauen of Southampton, the whole Nauie had perished, and the people had bene destroyed, and yet the sauegarde was straunge: For in the same Hauen two Balyngers, and two great Carickes laden with marchandice were drowned, and the broken mast of another Caricke was blowen ouer the wall of Hampton (as diuers wryters affirme) such is the power of the winde, and such is the rygour of a tempest. When the fury of the winde was asswaged, and the Sea waxed calme, the Erles of March, and Huntyngton passed ouer the sea with all their companie, and landed in Normandie, marchyng toward the King, before whom the Normanes fled, as fast as the fearefull hare doth before the gredie Greyhound. And so they passed through the Countrie, destroyng of Villages, and takyng of prayes, vntill they came to the king who then was goyng toward Rhoan. A sore tempest.

And duryng this tyme Sir Iohn Oldecastell Lord Cobham, of whome mencion is made before, was taken, and after condemned and hanged, and brent, the whole Historie whereof you may reade in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church. Sir Iohn Oldcastell.

As the king passed to Rhoan, he was skirmished with, in sundry places, but in the ende the victorie still happened vnto him, so that nothing that stood in his way could stop him, for he tooke by force Pountlarch, Louyers and Eureux, and at the last came before the Citie of Rhoan, the which was wonderfully fortefyed, for the while he had lyen at the siege of Cane, and was in other places of Normandy, the inhabitants of Rhoan had walled it round about, and made dyuers Bulwarkes for the defense thereof, they had also great store of victuals, for the whole countrie about had brought thether such as they had: And thether also they had brought their plate, Iewels, and money, so that the towne was filled with great ryches & treasure, which caused the king to be the more desyrous thereof, wherefore the last daye of Iulij he compassed the same rounde about with a strong siege, and gaue therevnto a terrible assault. And to the intent that no ayde should passe by the ryuer toward the Citie, a great chayne of Yron was deuised at Pountlarche, and set on piles from the one side of the water to the other: and beside that chaine he set vp a newe forced bridge, sufficient both for cariage and passage. And at this time the Erle of Warwike was sent to the towne of Cawdebeck standing on the ryuer side betwene the Sea and the Citie of Rhoan, which towne he so hardly assaulted, that the Captaines offered to suffer the English Nauie to passe by their towne without hurte or detriment, to the Citie of Rhoan, and also that of Rhoan yeelded, they promised to render their towne without anye fayle or farther delaye: And this composition they sealed, and for performaunce of the same they deliuered pledges. And immediately after this agreement the Englishe Nauie, to the number of one hundreth Sailes, passed by Cawdebeck and came before Rhoan, and besieged it on the water syde. To this siege came the Duke of Gloucester with the Erle of 1418 Roan is besieged.

of Suffolke and the Lorde of Burgayny, which had taken the towne of Chierburgh, and were lodged before the port of Saint Hilarij, neerer their enemies then any other persons of the armie.

During this siege, arryued at Harflewe the Lorde of Kylmay in Ireland with a band of xvj. hundreth Irishmen, armed in Mayle with Dartes and scaynes, after the maner of their countrey, all talle, quick, and delyuer persons, which came and presented themselues before the king, lyeng still at the siege: Of whome they were not onely gently enterteyned, but also (because the king was informed that the French king and the Duke of Burgoyne would shortly come, and eyther rayse the siege, or victuall the towne at the Northgate) they were appoynted to keepe the Northsyde of the army, and in especiall the way that came from the Forest of Lyons. Which charge the Lord of Kylmayn and his company ioyfully accepted, and did so theyr deuoyre, that no men were more praysed, nor did more dammage to their enimies then they did, for surely their quicknesse and swiftnesse did more preiudice to their enimies, then their great barbed horsses did hurte or dammage to the nymble Irishmen. Irishe men.

Thus the Citie of Rhoan being compassed aboute with enimies, both by water and lande, hauing neyther comfort nor ayde of king nor Dolphyn. And although the armie were strong without, yet within there lacked neyther hardy Captaynes nor manfull Souldiours. And as for people, they had more then ynough: For it was written by him that knewe the number, there were at the time of the siege within the Citie of Christian people. CC. and. x. thousand persons. The king and his people assaulted the towne fiercely: The frenchmen defended it courageously and valiauntly: long was the siege, and terrible were the assaultes, to the losse and no gayne of neyther partie: wherefore after the king of England had well considered with him selfe that by the manifold assaultes many of his people perished, therefore at the last he determined to conquere them by famine. Wherefore he stopped all the passages both by water and lande that no victuall should be conueyed to the Citie, and he cast trenches round about, & set them full of stakes, and defended them with Archers, so that they within could haue no waye out, eyther to inuade their enemies, nor departe out of their fortresse.

And sodainly a fayned tydings was brought, that the french king approched with all his power to rayse the siege and rescue the Citie: wherefore king Henry commaunded all men to lye in their harneys, least they might by some subtile cautele be surprised vnware, and taken vnprouyded. But the French king neyther came nor sent, to the great wonder of the Englishe men.

This siege thus contynuyng from Lammas to Christmas, dyuers enterprises were attempted and diuers pollecies were deuised, how euery part might dammage and hurte his aduersary and enemie, but no parte much reioysed of their gayne. During which time, victuall began sore to fayle with in the towne, so that onely Vinegar and water serued for drinke, yea and at the length dogges, Rattes, and Myse serued for their meat, and the scarcety of victualles was so great, that daylie great numbers of people within the Citie dyed for hunger. And the riche men within the towne put out of the gates great numbers of poore people and children, which were by the Englishmen that kept the trenches, beaten and driuen back agayne to the gates of the towne, which agaynst them were closed and barred. So that this miserable people vncomfortably forsaken, and vnnaturally dispised of their awne nation and houshold felowes, betwene the walles of their Citie, and the trenches of their enimies lay still cryeng for helpe and reliefe, for lacke whereof innumerable soules daylie died and hourely starued. Yet king Henrie moued with pittie and compassion, did in the honour of Christes birth on Christmas day refreshe all the pore people with victuall, to their great comfort, for the which act they not onely thanked him, but also prayed to God for his preseruation and furtheraunce, and for the hinderaunce and euill successe of their vnkinde Citezens and vncharitable countrie men.

This miserable famine daylie more and more encreasing, so daunted the heartes of the bolde

bolde Captaines, and so abated the courages of the riche Burgesses, and so tormented the bodyes of the poore Citezens, that the stowte Souldiour for faintnesse could sease welde his weapon, nor the riche Marchaunt for money coulde not buye a shyuer of bread: So that the commonaltie cryed to the Captaines, and the needie people besought the Lords to haue compassion vpon them, and to inuent some waye for their succour and comfort.

The gouernours of the towne, after long consultation had, consydering the great necessitie that they were in, and seing none apparence of succour or reliefe, determined it both necessary and conuenient to treate with the king of Englande. And vpon newe yeres euen, there came to the walles at the gate of the bridge dyuers commissioners, appoynted by the Captaines, which made a signe to the Englishe men lyeng without, to speake with some gentleman or other person of auctoritie. The Erle of Huntingdon, which kept that part, sent to them Syr Gilbert Vmfreuyle, to whome they declared, that if they might haue a guyde and a safe conduyt, they woulde gladly speake with the king. Syr Gilbert not onely promised to doe their message, but also to certefie them of the kings pleasure and purpose, which communication ended, he repayred to the Duke of Clarence, and other of the kings Counsayle, aduertising them of the request of the Citezens, which incontinent assembled themselues in the kings lodging, where Syr Gilbert Vmfreuyle wisely and discreetely declared to the king, the mindes and entents of the Citezens. The king lyke a graue prince consydering that a thing gotten without effusion of bloude is both honorable and profitable, and sawe that the haute courages of the bragging French men were sore abated and almost tamed, thought it conuenient to here their lowly peticion and humble request, and therefore willed Sir Gilbert to aduertise them that he was content to here twelue of them, which should be safely conueyed to hys presence: And with this aunswere Sir Gilbert departed, and made relation thereof to the Capitaynes standing at the gate: who on the next daye in the morning appoynted foure knightes, foure learned men, and foure Burgesses all clothed in Black, to go to the king of England. These twelue persons were receyued at the porte Saint Hilarij, by Sir Gilbert Vmfreuyle accompanied with diuers gentlemen and yeomen of the kings housholde, commonly called yeomen of the Crowne, and they were conueyed to the Kinges lodging. And shortly after, they were brought into the kings presence, who behelde them with a fierce and princely countenaunce. And one of them beyng of a stowte courage spake vnto the king as foloweth: Right high and mightie prince, if you will consyder wherein the glorie of victorie doth consist, you shall playnely perceaue that the same is in the taming of prowde men and ouercomming of valiaunt souldyours, and subduyng of strong Cities, and not in slayeng of christen people by hunger and famine, wherein resteth neyther manhood, wyt nor pollecie. What glorie shall you obtayne in kylling of wretches by famine, which death of all deathes is to be dispised? If you wyll shew yourselfe charitable before God, or mercifull before men, let all oure poore people which will depart out of our Citie passe thorough your campe to get their lyuing in other places, and then manfully assault our Citie, and by force (if you dare) subdue and conquere it. And in this doyng if your enterprise succeede well, then shall ye not onely obteyne worldly fame and glory, but also merite much of God, in hauing pitie and compassion of the poore and needy people.

A proude and presuptuous French man.

When this bragger had sayde, the king which no request lesse suspected then that which they desyred, began a while to muse. And when he had well considered the subtile & craftie inuention of the Messengers, he with a fierce countenaunce, and a bolde spirite made to them this aunswere. Thinke you O fantasticall Frenchemen, that I am so ignoraunt, that I can not perceyue your double dealyng and craftie conueyaunce? Iudge you me so symple, that I knowe not wherein the glory of a Conquerour consisteth? Esteeme you me so ignoraunt, that I perceyue not what crafts and warlike pollicies by strong enemies are to be subdued and brought to subiection? Yes, I am not so loyteryng a truand as to forget so good a lesson. And if these things be to you blind and obscure, I will declare and open them vnto you. The Goddesse of warre called *Bellona* (which is the Correctrice

Bellona the Goddesse of Warre.

rectrice of Princes for right withholdyng, or iniury doyng, and the plague of God for euill liuyng) hath these three handmaydes, euer of necessitie to attend vpon her, that is, blood, fyre, and famine, which three Damoselles be of that force and strength that euery of them alone is able to torment and afflict a proude Prince: But they all beyng ioyned together, are of puyssaunce able to destroy the most populous Countrie and richest region of the worlde. If I by assaultyng of your towne shoulde seeke your blood, although I gayned (as I doubt not but I should) yet my gaine were not clere without some losse of my people, If I set your Citie on fyre, and so consume it and you also, then haue I lost that precious Iewell which I haue so long laboured for. Therefore to saue mine awne people (which is one poynt of glorie in a Captein) and to preserue the towne, which is my iust and lawfull inheritaunce: And to saue as many of you as will not willyngly be destroyed, I haue appoynted the mekest of the three Damosels to afflict and plague you, vntill you be brideled and brought to reason, which shall be when it shall please me, and not at your appoyntment: And therfore I say and affirme, that the gaine of a Capteine by any of these three handmaides is both honorable and triumphaut: But of all three, the yongest mayd is in all thing most profitable and commodious. And nowe to aunswere to your demaundes, as touchyng the poore people liyng in the ditches, I assure you, I more lament your lacke of charitie toward your Christian brethren, yea, and your awne nacion, your awne blood, and your awne Countrie men, then I reioyce at the vndoyng of so many creatures, and castyng away of so many enemyes. You like Tirauntes put them out of the towne, to the entent that I should slay them, and yet I haue saued their lyues. You woulde giue them neyther meate nor drinke, and yet I beyng their mortall enemie haue succoured and relieued them: So that if any vncharitie be, it is in you: If any shame or reproch be taken, receyue it your selfe, for you be the doers. If I haue done them good, let God reward me, for I look of them to haue no thankes, if you haue done them euill, so shall you be done to. And as to suffer your people to passe out of the Citie through my campe, no, no, I will not so accomplishe your cloked request, but you shall kepe them still to spend your victualles: And as to assault your towne, I will you knowe it, that I am thereto both able and willyng as I see tyme and occasion: But seyng the choyse is in my hande to tame you eyther with blood, fyre, or famin, or wyth all, I will take the choyse at my pleasure and not at yours. And with that the king with a frowning countenaunce departed from them into his Chamber, and commaunded them to dyne with his officers.

When he was departed, the French men meruayled at his excellent wit and mused at the hautinesse of his courage, and after they had dyned and consulted together, they requyred once again to haue accesse vnto his royall presence, which when it was to them graunted, they humbly on their knees besought him to take a truce for. viij. dayes, in the which they might by theyr Commissioners take some ende and good conclusion betwene him and hys counsaile. The king like a piteous Prince, rather couetyng the preseruation of the people, then their destruction, after good deliberation taken, graunted to them their askyng, with the which aunswere they ioyously returned.

After their departure, there were appoynted and set vp three rich tents, the one for the Lordes of Englande to consult together: The seconde for the Commissioners of the Citie, and the thirde for both partes to argue and debate the matter in. The Commissioners for the Englishe part were, the Erles of Warwike, and Sarisburie, the Lorde Fitzhugh, Sir Water Hungerforde, Sir Gilbert Vmfreuile, Sir Iohn Robsert, and Iohn de Vasques de Almada. And for the Frenche part were appoynted Sir Guy de Butteller, and sixe other.

Duryng this truce, euery day the Commissioners met, the Englishmen accused, and the Frenchmen excused. The Englishemen demaunded muche, and the Frenchmen proffered little. Thus with arguyng and reasonyng the. viij. day came, and nothing was done, nor one article concluded. Wherefore the Englishe men toke downe their Tentes, and the

French men toke their leaue: But at their departyng, they remembryng themselues, required the Englishe Lordes for the loue of God that the truce might continue vntill the Sonne settyng the next day, to the which the Lordes assented.

When the Frenchmen were returned to Roan, sodeinly in all the towne sprong a rumor that the truce was expired, and nothing determined. Then the poore people ranne about the streetes lyke Frantike persons, showtyng, criyng, and callyng their Capteynes and Gouernours murderers, and manquellers, saiyng that for their pryde and stiffe stomacke, all this miserie was happened vnto the towne, threatnyng to slay them if they woulde not agree vnto the king of Englandes demaund and request.

The Magistrates beyng amased with the furie of the people, called all the towne together, to knowe their mindes and opinions. The whole voyce of the commons was to yeelde, yelde rather than starue. Then the French men in the Euening came to the Tent of Sir Iohn Robsert, requiryng him of gentlenesse to moue the king that the Truce might be prolonged for foure dayes. The King therevnto agreed, and appoynted the Archbishop of Cantorbury, and the other seuen before named for his partie, and the Citizens appoynted an egall number for them. So the Tentes were againe set vp, and dayly were assemblies, and much treatie on both partes. And on the fourth day the treatie was concluded, to the great reioysyng of the poore Citizens of Roan, and the same treatie was conteyned in. xxij. Articles, which for that they are long, I do omit them: But the somme and effect of them were, that they yeelded the towne of Roan, themselues and their goodes vnto the king of England, the. xix. day of Ianuary, in the yere aforesayde.

The Citie of Roan is yelded vnto the King of England.

When the rendryng of the Citie of Roan was blowen through Normādie, and the Kinges proclamation published through the Countrie, it is in a maner incredible to here what a number of townes yelded vnto the king, not beyng once desyred, which to recite I purpose not, because at this day England possesseth not one of them.

Nowe when the gettyng of Roan, and the deliuery of all the townes aforesayde were blowen through the Realme of Fraunce, the heartes of the Frenchmen were sodeinly heauie, and their courages soone cooled. But who soeuer kicked and winched at this matter, Iohn Duke of Burgoyn raged & swelled, yea, and so muche freated, that he wist not what to say, and lesse to do: And no marueyle, for he was at one time vexed with a double disease. For he ruled both king Charles and his, and did all thinges at his will, whether reason agreed or no, and for that cause he knewe that he was neyther free from disdeyn, nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice. And therefore he imagined ỹ all mischiefes and calamities which chaunced in the common wealth should be imputed and assigned to his vnpolitique doyng, or to hys negligent permission. Wherefore he imagined it profitable to the realme, and to him selfe most auailable, if by any meanes possible he could deuise any way or meane, by the which he might reconcile and ioyne in amitye the two great and mightie kinges of England and of Fraunce. Which thing once obteyned, and beyng deliuered from all feare of exterior hostilitie, he determined first to reuenge his quarell agaynst Charles the Dolphyn, & after to represse all causes of greuge or disdeyne, and to recouer againe both the fauour of the Commonaltie, and also to put away all causes of suspicion or imagined infamie against him and his procedyngs. And intending to buyld vpon this fraile foundation, he sent letters and Ambassadors to the king of England, aduertisyng him that if he would personally come to a communication, to be had betwene him and Charles the French king, he doubted nothing but by hys onely meanes, peace should be induced, and bloodie battaile excluded.

1419.

King Henry heard gently the Ambassadors, and agreed to their request and desyre, and so came to Maunt, where at the feast of Penthecost he kept a liberall house to all commers, and sate himselfe in great estate. On which daye eyther for good seruice before by them done, or for good hope of things to come, he created Gascon de Foyes a valyaunt Gascoyne, Erle of Longeuyle, and Syr Iohn Gray he made Erle of Tankeruyle,

and syr Iohn Bourshier Erle of Ewe. After this solempne feast ended, the place of enterulew and meeting was appointed, to be beside Melaus on the ryuer of Seyne in a fayre playne, euery parte was by the Commissioners appointed to their grounde. The frenchmen diched, trenched and paled their lodgings for feare of after clappes: But the English men had their parte onely barred and ported. The king of Englande had a large Tent of blewe Veluet and greene, richely embrodered with two deuises, the one was an Antlop drawing in an horse Mill: the other was an Antlop sitting in an high stage, with a braunch of Olife in his mouth. And the tent was garnished and decked with this poesy. *After busie labour, commeth victorious rest.* And on the top and height of the same was set a great Egle of Golde, whose eyes were of suche Orient Diamondes, that they glistered and shone ouer the whole field.

The French king likewise had in his Parke a fayre Pauilion of blewe Veluet, richely embrodered with flowre deluces, and on the top of the same was set a Hart flyeng made all of fyne Siluer winges enameled. Betwene these two Campes or enclosures was appointed a Tent of purple Veluet, for the counsaylours to meete in, and euery parte had an egall number to watch on the night, and to see good order on the daye.

A meeting betwene the king of Englande and the Frenche Quene. &c.

When the day of appointment approched, the king of England accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brethren, and the Duke of Excester his Vncle, and Henry Bewford Clerck, his other Vncle, which after was Bishop of Winchester and Cardinall, and the Erles of March and Salsburie, and other to the number of a thousand men of warre entered into his parke, and tooke his lodging. Likewise for the french part, thether came Isabell the French Queene, because the king her husbande was fallen into his old freneticall disease, hauing in her company the Duke of Burgoyn, and the Erle of saint Paule: And she had attending vpon her the fayre Lady Katheryn her daughter, and. xxvj. Ladyes & Damosels, and had also for her furniture a thousand men of warre.

After these estates had reposed themselues one night in their Tents, the next daye all suche as were appointed, repayred toward the pauilion ordeyned for the consultation. Where the king of Englande lyke a prince of great stomack, and no lesse good behauiour, receyued humbly the Frenche Queene and her daughter, and them honorably embraced, and familierly kissed. The Duke of Burgoyn made lowe curtesie, and bowed to the king, whome the king louingly tooke by the hande, and honorably enterteyned him. After salutations and embracings finished, they fell to counsayle within the Pauilion assigned, which was kept with a garde appointed by both the parties, that none but commissioners should once attempt to enter. After the kings request made, and his demaunds declared: The French Queene and her company tooke leaue louingly of the king of England, and returned vnto Ponthoyse, to certefie her husband. And king Henry returned to Maunt. The next day after they assembled agayne, and the French parte brought with them the Lady Katheryn, onely to the entent that the king of England seing and beholding so fayre a Lady, and so minion a Damosell, should so be inflamed and rapt in loue, that he to obteyne so bewtifull an espouse, should the sooner agree to a gentle peace and louing composition. This company met together eyght seuerall times, sometime the one parte was more, and sometime the other. And notwithstanding that the Englishe men and french men were lodged no great distaunce a sunder, yet was their neuer fray nor occasion of tumult or ryot prouoked or stirred of any of both the partes.

In this assemble many wordes were spent and no deedes done, many things required and fewe offered, many arguments made, and nothing concluded. Some write that the Dolphyn to let this treatie, sent to the Duke of Burgoyn Sir Trauagny du Chastell, declaring to him, that if he would let this agreement, he would common with him, and take suche an order, that not onely they but the whole realme of Fraunce should thereof be glad and reioyce: But what was the very cause of the breache, no man certainely declareth. When none effect ensued of this long consultation, both parties after a Princely maner departed, the Englishe men to Nantes, and the french men to Pounthoyse.

The king of Englande was nothing pleased that this communication came to no better ende: wherefore he mistrustyng the Duke of Burgoyn, to be the very let and stop of his desyres and requestes, sayde vnto him before his departing: Fayre Cossyn, we will haue your kinges daughter, and all things that we demaunde with her, or we will driue your king and you out of his realme. Well sayde the Duke of Burgoyn, before you driue the king and mee out of hys Realme, ye shall be well wearied, and thereof we doubt little.

A treaty concluded betweene the Duke of Burgoyn, and the Dolphyn of Fraunce.

After this departure the Duke of Burgoyn being nobly accompanied, roade to the towne of Melune, where the Dolphyn then soiourneyed, and in the playne fieldes they two lyke friendes commoned together, and concluded apparantly an open amitie and sure friendship, which was written by Notaries, and signed with their handes, and sealed with their great seales of armes: But as the sequele sheweth, heart thought not that tongue talked, nor minde meant not, that hande wroate. This treatie was concluded the sixt daye of Iulie. 1419. and was proclaymed in Parys, Amyence and Ponthoyse.

When this new alyaunce was declared vnto the king of England, then lyeng at Maunt, he was therewith sore displeased, and not without cause, for he perceaued that the force of these two princes were much stronger now being vnited in one, then they were before when they were separated and diuyded. Yet for all this great sworne amitie he went forward with his entended enterprise. Wherefore he sent Captaine Bueffe brother to the Erle of Foys newly created the Erle of Longeuyle, with. xv. hundreth men secretly to the towne of Ponthoyse, which on Trinitie Sunday early in the morning came into the towne, and so sodainely and quickly had set vp their scaling ladders to the wall, that they were entred into the towne, or the watch perceaued them, cryeng, Saint George, Saint George.

The Lorde Lisleadam Captaine of the towne perceauing the walles scaled, and the market place gayned, opened the gate towarde Paris, at the which, he with all his retinue and dyuerse of the townes men, to the number of eyght thousand, fled. For the Englishe men durst not, because their number was small, once diuide themselues or fall to pilfring, till about nine of the clock, at which time the Duke of Clarence came to their ayde with fiue thousand men, and by the way he encountred diuers Burgesses of the towne flyeng with all their substaunce toward Beauuoys, whome he tooke prisoners, and brought them to their olde dwellyng place.

When the Duke was come to Ponthoyse, he much praysed the valyauntnesse of the assaylants, and gaue to them the chiefe spoyle of the towne and Merchaunts, of the which they had a great and riche praye. Then the Duke passed forwarde and came before Paris, and lay before the Citie two dayes, and two nightes without any proffer, eyther of issue by his enimies or of defence if he had the same assaulted, which he could not well do because it was long and ample, and his number small, and for so great an enterprise not furnished, wherefore seing that his enimies durst not once looke vpon him, he returned agayne to Ponthoyse: For the taking of which towne the countrie of Fraunce and especially the Parisians were sore dismayed and astonied, for now there was no Fortresse left hable to resist or withstande the Englishmen, but that they might come to Paris whensoeuer they would: In so much that the Irishe men ouercame all the Isle of Fraunce, and did to the french men innumerable dammages (as their awne writers affirme) and brought daylie prayes to the English army. And beside that, they would robbe houses, and lay beddes vpon the backs of the kyne and Oxen, and ride vpon them, and carie yong children before them, and sell them to the English men for slaues: which straunge doyngs so feared the french men within the territorie of Paris, and the countrie about, that the rude persons fled out of the Villages with all their stuffe, to the Citie of Paris.

The French king and the Duke of Burgoyn liuyng at Saint Dionyse, heeryng of all these doynges, departed in all the hast with the Queene & her daughter to Troys in Champaigne, there takyng great deliberation what was best to be done, leauyng at Paris the

the Erle of saint Paule, and the Lord Lisleadam with a great puissaunce to defende the Citie. At the same tyme the Duke of Clarence tooke the strong towne of Gysors, and the towne of Gayllard, and all the townes of Normandie were shortly after eyther taken by force or rendred, except Mount Saint Michell, which because the gaine thereof was very little, and the losse in assaultyng of it semed to be very much, and also it could do small harme or none vnto the Countrie, therfore the same was neyther assaulted nor besieged.

And thus, as you haue heard, was the Duchie of Normandy reduced againe to the right line, which had bene from the tyme of king Edwarde the thirde in the yere of our Lorde. 1255. wrongfully deteyned from the kinges of England.

The wise men of Fraunce sore lamenting the chaunce of their Country, and the miserie of their people, sawe and perceyued that they had puissaunce inough to defende their enemies, if they were at a perfect concorde among themselues. And they sawe also that although there were a peace betweene the Dolphyn and the Duke of Burgoyn, yet they espied no good fruit to come therof: For the Duke eyther for secret displeasure y he bare to the Dolphyn, or for the doubt that he had of the Englishemen, neuer assayled by himselfe the armie of king Henry, nor neuer sent ayde nor succours to the Dolphyn. Wherefore by meanes of Frendes a newe communication was appoynted, to the entent that the corrupt dregges of their olde malice and inwarde grudges might clerely be expulsed and cast out. The place of this metyng was appoynted at the Towne of Monstrell Faultyou, so called because a small brooke called You runneth there to the ryuer of Seyne. Ouer which riuer was made a Bridge with dyuerse Barres ouerthwart, so that the princes openyng the Barres might embrace eche other, and kepyng the barres shut, eche might see and common with other at their pleasure. The day was appoynted when these two great Princes should meete, to the entent that all Ciuile discorde shoulde by this communication be cleere forgotten, or at the least should be suspended vntill the enemies were vanquished and driuen out of their Countries. But this mocion succeded worse then the entreators deuysed: For whilest euery man was fulfilled with hope of peace and concorde, craftie imagination crept out of cankerd displeasure, and had almost confounded altogether.

A meeting appointed betweene the Duke of Burgoyn, and the Dolphyn.

When the day and place of the solempne Enteruiew was agreed and assigned, Tanagny du Chastell, a man prompt and prone to all mischiefe, calling to his remembrance y shamefull murder of Lewes Duke of Orleance, (vnder whome he had long bene a Capteine) done and committed by this Duke of Burgoyn, as before as you haue heard, determined with himselfe to reuenge the death of his olde maister and Lorde. Some wryte that he was therevnto styrred and prouoked by the Dolphyn (and not vnlike) for the Dolphyn which bare a continuall hatred to the Duke of Burgoyne, imagined paraduenture by this meanes to represse and subdue the whole power and high pride of this Duke, without any suspicion of fraude or reproche of vntruth and villanie. The day came, which was the. xij. day of August, and euery Prince with his number appoynted came to this Bridge. The Duke of Burgoyne beyng warned by his friendes to keepe his Closure, and the Barres on his syde shut, little regarding his friendes monition, as a man that could not aduoyde the stroke for him prouided, opened the Barres and Closure, and came to the Dolphyns presence, which was cleane armed, and kneled downe on the one knee, shewyng to him great reuerence and humilitie. The Dolphyn shewed to him no louyng countenance, but reproued him, laiyng to his charge much vntruth, and great dishonour: The Duke againe boldely defended his cause, and kneeled still, and his sworde was at his back, which with often turnyng and mouing was shaken very backwarde, wherefore the Duke chaunced to put his hand backe to plucke his sworde forward. What, quod Sir Robert de Loyr, will you drawe your sworde agaynst my Lorde the Dolphyn? When Tanagny du Chastell apperceyued that an occasion was geuen to performe his enterprice, he incontinent strake him with a Hatchet on the head, so that he coulde not speake, and other

John Duke of Burgoyn slaine.

standyng

standyng by shortly dispatched him of his lyfe. Diuerse of his part not, thinkyng him to be dead, beganne to drawe weapon, amongest whome the Lorde Nouale was slaine, and the other taken. For this murther were condemned (but not apprehended) by Parliament, the President of Prouynce, the Vicont of Narbone, Guilliam Battailier, Tauagny du Chastell, Robert Loyr, and foure other. This was the ende of Iohn called the proude Duke of Burgoyne, which more regarded ciuile warre then his awne life and welfare. And this sodeyn death, as I thinke, came not to him without desert, for shamefullye murtheryng of Lewes Duke of Orleaunce, the French kinges brother: such is the iudgement of God, that blood is recompensed with blood, and vnnaturall murther is requited with shamefull death, or sodeine destruction.

After this heynous murther thus committed, the Dolphyns seruaunts spoyled the Duke of all his garmentes, euen to his shirt, and couered his face with his hosen: But forasmuch as yet this is no part of the Historie of England, I will returne againe where I left.

When Philip Erle of Caroloys, sonne and heyre to this Duke Iohn, and nowe by the murther and death of his father was made Duke of Burgoyne, and Erle of Flaundyrs, was informed of this misfortune, he toke the matter very gricuously and heauily, insomuch that none of his counsail durst once speake vnto him, and inespeciall the Ladie Michell his wife, who was sister to the Dolphin, and daughter vnto the French king, was in great feare to be forsaken, and cast out of his house and fauour: But as all thinges end, so sorrow asswageth. When his gricuous sorowe was somewhat mitigated, he first by the aduice of his counsaile, tooke into his fauour the fayre Duches his wife, and after sent diuerse notable Ambassadors to the king of England, who lay then at Roan, to treat and conclude a peace betweene them both for a certeyn space: To which request, in hope of a better chaunce, king Henry agreed. And after that, he kept a solempne Obsequie for his father at Saint Vaas in Arras. Duryng which tyme the Erle of Saint Paule, and the Parisiens sent to the Duke of Burgoin Ambassadors, to know what they should do, and how they should defende themselues agaynst the Englishe men. He gently aunswered, that he trusted shortly by the ayde of God to conclude a peace betwene England and Fraunce.

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A peace concluded betwene Philip Duke of Burgoyn and the king of England.

When these Ambassadors were departed, the Duke after long consultation had with his counsaile and nobilitie, sent the Bishop of Arras and two notable persons to the king of England, with certeine Articles which the Duke of Burgoyn offered to him of loue, as he sayde. The king of England consideryng with himselfe that the Duke of Burgoyne was a conuenient instrument to bring his purpose to passe, did therefore louyngly receyue and honourably enterteyn his Ambassadors, saiyng vnto them, that very shortly he would send his Ambassadors vnto him, that should declare vnto him hys lawfull and reasonable requestes and desyres.

With this message the Dukes Ambassadors departed toward Arras: and incōtinent after their departure, king Henry sent the Erle of Warwike, & the Bishop of Rochester with many knightes and squiers, to the Duke of Burgoyn, who when they came to the Duke, declared the effect of their Ambassade. He gently heard their requestes, and some he allowed, and some he augmented, and some he altered and disalowed: But in conclusion the Duke of Burgoyn, and the king of England agreed vpon certeyne Articles, so that the French king and his Commons would assent vnto the same. And shortly after it was agreed that the king of Englande shoulde sende in the companie of the Duke of Burgoyn, his Ambassadors to Troy in Champein, sufficiently aucthorised to conclude so great a matter. The king of Englande beyng in good hope that all his affayres should prosperously succeede and go forwarde, sent to the Duke of Burgoyn, his Vncle the Duke of Exceter, the Erle of Sarisbury, the Bishop of Ely, the Lorde Fanhope, & Lord Fitz Hugh sir Iohn Robsart and sir Philip Hall, with diuers Doctors, and they were in number fiue hundreth horse, which in the companie of the Duke of Burgoyn came to the Citie.

tie of Troys the. xxj. day of March. The Frenche king, the Queene, and the Ladie Katheryn, them receyued and hartely welcommed, shewyng great tokens and signes of loue and amitie. And after a fewe dayes they fell to counsaile, in the which it was concluded, that king Henry of England should come to Troys, and marry the Ladie Katheryn, and the king should make him heyre of his Realme, Crowne, and dignitie, after his departure out of this naturall lyfe, with many other articles which hereafter shall be rehersed.

A peace concluded betweene the French king and the king of England.

When all these things were done and concluded, the Ambassadors of England departed toward their king, leauing behind them Sir Iohn Robsart, to geue his attendaunce on the Lady Katheryn. When king Henry had heard his Ambassadors rehearse the articles of the treatie and amity concluded, he condiscended and agreed with all diligence to set forward to Troys, longyng for the sight of the Lady Katheryn his newe spouse. And being admonished by the late mischaunce of Iohn Duke of Burgoyn, he did not rashly presume to aduenture himselfe among his newe reconciled enemies: But when he sawe all things safe and in good order, he being accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence and Glocester his brethren, the Erles of Warwike, Sarisburie, Huntyngdon, Ewe, Tankeruyle and Longuyle, and. xv. thousand men of warre, departed from Rhoan to Ponthoyse, and from thence to Saint Dionyce, which is two leagues from Paris, and from thence to Pontcharenton, where he left a garrison of men to keepe the passage, and from thence by Prouyncе he came to Troys, where the Duke of Burgoyn accompanied with many noble men receaued him two leagues without the towne, and conueyed him to his lodging and his princes with him, and all his armie was lodged in villages there aboutes. And after he had awhyle reposed himselfe, he went to visite the king, the Quene and the Ladye Katheryn, whome he found in Saint Peters Church, where was an honorable meeting and a louing embracing on both sydes, which was the twentie daye of Maye, and there at the same time were the Lady Katheryn and the king of Englande made sure together, and the thirde daye of Iune next following, they were with all solempnitie maried in the same Church. At which mariage the Englishmen made such triumphs & reioysing, as though nothing in the worlde coulde haue chaunced more happie and honorable.

King Henry marieth the Ladie Katherin daughter to the French king.

And when this honourable mariage was solempnized, and the feastes and triumphes of the same finished, then the two kings and their counsayle assembled together dyuers dayes, wherin the former league and treaty was in dyuers pointes altered and brought to a certainetie, by the deuise of the king of England and his brethren, when this great matter was finished, the kings for their parte sware to obserue the same in all pointes. Lykewise sware the Duke of Burgoyn, and a great number of Princes and nobles, which were present, and they were the better perswaded therevnto, for that they maruelled before at the noble actes done by King Henry, of whom they had knowledge onely by reporte, and nowe they more maruayled when they sawe and beheld the honour and wisedome of his person. And immediatly vpon this agreement, King Henry was proclaymed heyre and Regent of Fraunce. And as the french king sent the copie of this treaty to euery towne in Fraunce: So the king of Englande sent the same in Englishe to euery Citie and market towne of Englande, to be published and made knowne, the Copie of which articles here after ensue, worde for worde.

King Henry is proclaimed heyre and Regent of Fraunce.

1 First, it is accorded betwixt our father and vs, that for as much as by the bond of Matrimonie made for the good of the peace betwene vs, and oure most dere beloued Katheryn, daughter of our sayde father, and of our most dere mother, Isabell his wife, the same Charles and Isabell bene made father and mother, therfore them as our father and mother we shall haue and worship, as it sitteth and seemeth so a worthy prince and princesse to be worshipped, principally before all other temporall persons of the worlde.

2 Also, we shall not distrouble, disseason or letten our father aforesayde, but that he holde and possesse as long as he lyueth, as he holdeth and possesseth at this time the crowne and the dignitie royall of Fraunce, and rentes and profites for the same, of the

sustenaunce

sustenaunce of his estate, and charges of the realme. And our foresayde mother also hold as long as shee lyueth the state and dignitie of the Quene, after the maner of the same realme, wyth conuenable conuenience parte of the sayed rents and profites.

3 Also, that the foresayde Ladye Katheryn shall take and haue dower in our Realme of England as Quenes of Englande here afore were wont for to take and haue, that is to say, to the some of. xl.M. Scutes, of the which two algate shall be worth a noble Englishe.

4 Also, that by ỹ waies maners and meanes that we may without transgressiō or offence of other made by vs, for to kepe ỹ lawes, customes, vsages and rights of our said realme of England, shal doen our labor & pursute, that the said Katherin also sone as it may be doen, be made sure to take and for to haue in our sayd realme of England from the tyme of our death ỹ said dower of. xl.M. Scutes yerely, of ỹ which twaine algate be worth a noble English.

5 Also if it hap the sayde Katheryn to ouerliue vs, she shall take and haue the realme of Fraunce immediatly, from the time of our death, dower to the somme of. xx. M. Franks yerely of and vpon the lands, places and Lordshippes that helde, and had Blaunch sometime wyfe of Philip Boseele to our sayde father.

6 Also, that after the death of our father aforesayde, and from thence forwarde, the crowne and the realme of Fraunce with all the rightes and appurtenances shall remaine and abide to vs, and been of vs and of our heires for euermore.

7 Also, for as muche as oure sayde father is witholden with diuers sicknesse, in suche maner as he may not intende in hys owne person, for to dispose for the needes of the foresayde realme of Fraunce: therefore during the life of our sayde father, the faculties and exercise of the gouernaunce and disposition of the publique and common proffite of the sayde realme of Fraunce with counsayle and nobles and wise men of the same realme of Fraunce, shall be and abide to vs: So that from henceforth we may gouerne the same realme by vs. And also to admit to our counsayle and assistence of the sayde nobles, suche as we shall thinke meete, the which faculties and exercise of gouernaunce thus being toward vs, we shall labor and purpose vs speedely, diligently and truely to that that maye be and ought for to be to the worship of God and our sayde father and mother, and also to the common good of the sayde realme, and that realme with the counsayle and helpe of the worthy and great nobles of the same realme for to be defended, peased and gouerned after right and equitie.

8 Also, that we of our owne power shall doe the courte of the parliament of Fraunce to be kept and obserued in his aucthortie and soueraigntie, and in all that is doen to it in all maner of places, that nowe or in time comming is or shall be subiect to our sayed father.

9 Also, we to our power shall defend and help all and euery of the Peres, Nobles, Cities, Townes, commonalties and singuler persons, nowe or in tyme comming, subiects to our father in their rightes, customes, priuileges, fredome and fraunchises longing or due to them in all maner of places, now or in time comming subiect to our father.

10 Also, we diligently and truely shall trauayle to our power, and doe that iustice be administred and done in the same Realme of Fraunce after the lawes, customes and rightes of the same realme, without personalx exception. And that we shall keepe and holde the subiectes of the same realme in tranquillitie and peace, and to our power we shall defende them agaynst all maner of violence and oppression.

11 Also, we to our power shall prouide, and to doe our power that able persons and profitable bene taken to the offices, as well of Iustices and other offices longing to the gouernaunce of the demaynes and of other offices of the sayde realme of Fraunce for the good, right and peaceable Iustice of the same, and for the administration that shall be committed vnto them, and that they be suche persons that after the lawes and rightes of

the same realme, and for the vtilitie and profite of our sayde father shall minister, and that the foresayde Realme shall be taken and deputed to the same offices.

12 Also, that we of our power so soone as it maye commodiously be done, shall trauaile for to put into the obedience of oure sayde father, all maner of Cities, Townes and Castels, places, Countries and persons within the realme of Fraunce, disobedient and rebels to our sayde father, holdyng with them which bene called the Dolphyn or Armiack.

13 Also, that we might the more commodiously, surely and freely doen, exercise and folfill these things aforesayde, It is accorded that all worthy nobles and estates of the same realme of Fraunce, as well spirituals as temporals, and also Cities, notables and commonalties; and citezens, Burgeis of townes of the realme of Fraunce, that bene obeysaunt at this time to our sayde father shall make these othes that followen.

14 First, to vs hauyng the facultie, exercise, disposition and gouernaunce of the foresayde common profite to our hestes and commaundementes they shall meekely and obediently obey and intende in all maner of thing concerning the exercise of gouernaunce of the same realme.

15 Also, that the worthy great Nobles and estates of the sayde realme, as well Spirituals as Temporals, and also Cities and notable commonalties and Citezens and Burgesses of the same realme in all maner of things well and truely shall kepe and to their power shall doe to be kept, of so much as to them belongeth or to any of them all, those things that bene appointed and accorded betwene our aforesayde father and mother and vs, with the counsayle of them whome vs lust to call to vs.

16 Also, that continually from the death and after the death of our sayde father Charles, they shall be our true liege men and our heires, and they shall receyue and admit vs for their liege and souereigne and verie King of Fraunce, and for suche to obey vs without opposition, contradiction or difficultie, as they been to our foresayde father during his lyfe, neuer after this realme of Fraunce shall obey to man as king or Regent of Fraunce, but to vs and our heires. Also they shall not be in counsayle, helpe or assent that we leese life or limme, or be take with euill taking, or that we suffer harme or diminuition in person, estate, worship or goodes, but if they know any suche thing for to be cast or imagined agaynst vs, they shall let it to their power, and they shall doen vs to weten thereof as hastely as they may by them selfe, by message or by letters.

17 Also, that all maner of conquest that should be made by vs in Fraunce, vpon the sayde inobedients out of the Duchie of Normandie, shall be doen to the profite of our sayde father, and that to our power we shall doe that all maner of landes and Lordships that beene in the places so for to be conquered longyng to persons obeyeng to oure sayed father, which shall sweare for to keepe this present accorde, shall be restored to the same persons to whom they long to.

18 Also, that all maner of persons, of holy Church beneficed in the Duchye of Normandie or any other places in the realme of Fraunce subiect to our father and fauoring the partie of the Dukes of Burgoyne which shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall enioy peaceably their benefices of holy church in ỹ Duchy of Normandy, or in any other places next aforesaid:

19 Also likewise all maner persons of holy Church obedient to vs and beneficed in the realme of Fraunce, and places subiect to our father that shall swere to keepe this present accorde, shall inioy peaceably their benefices of holy Church in places next abouesayde.

20 Also that all maner of Churches, Vniuersityes, and studies generall, and all Colleges of studies, and other Colleges of holy Church, beyng in places nowe or in tyme commyng subiect to our father, or in the Duchie of Normandie, or other places in the Realme of Fraunce subiect to vs, shall enioy their rightes and possessions, rentes, prerogatiues, liberties, and franchises, longyng or dewe to them in any maner of wise in the sayde Realme

Realme of Fraunce, sauyng the right of the Crowne of Fraunce, & euery other person.

21 Also by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the Crowne of Fraunce, the Duchie of Normandie, and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of Fraunce, shall bowe vnder the commaundement, obeysaunce and Monarchie of the Crowne of Fraunce.

22 Also that we shall enforce vs, and do to our power that recompence be made by our sayde father, without diminution of the Crowne of Fraunce, to persons obeiyng to him, and fauouryng to that partie that is sayd Burgoyn, to whome longeth landes, Lordshippes, rentes, or possessions in the sayde Duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of Fraunce conquered by vs hethertowarde, geuen by vs in places, and landes gotten, or to be gotten and ouercome, in the name of our sayd father vpon rebelles, and inobedientes to him. And if it so be, that such maner of recompence be not made to the sayd persons by the lyfe of our sayde father, we shall make that recompence, in such maner of places and goodes, when it hapneth by Gods grace to the Crowne of Fraunce. And it so be that the landes, Lordships, rentes, or possessions, the which longeth to such maner of persons in the said Duchie, and places be not geuen by vs, the same personnes shall be restored to them without any delay.

23 Also duryng the life of our sayde father, in all places nowe, or in tyme commyng subiect to him, letters of common iustice, and also grauntes of offices and giftes, pardones or remissions and priuileges shall be written and proceede vnder the name and seale of our sayde father. And forasmuch as some singuler case may fall, that may not be foreseene by mannes witte, in the which it might be necessary and behouefull that we do write our letters, in such maner case if any hap, for the good and suretie of our sayd father, and for the gouernaunce that longeth to vs, as is before said, and for to eschewen perilles that otherwise might fall to the preiudice of our sayde father, to write our letters, by the which we shall commaund, charge, and defende after the nature and qualitie of the neede in our fathers behalfe, and ours as Regent of Fraunce.

24 Also that duryng our fathers lyfe, we shall not call ne write vs king of Fraunce, but vtterlye we shall abstayne vs from that name as long as our father liueth.

25 Also that our sayd father duryng his lyfe shall nempne, call, and write vs in French in this maner. *Nostre trechier filz Henry Roy Dengleterre, heretere de Fraunce,* and in Latin in this maner. *Preclarissimus filius noster Henricus Rex Anglie, & heres Fraucie.*

26 Also that we shall put none impositions or exactions, or do charge the subiectes of our sayd father without cause reasonable and necessary, ne otherwise then for common good of the realme of Fraunce, and after the saiyng & askyng of the lawes and customes reasonable, approued of the same realme.

27 Also that we shall trauaile to our power to the effect and entent, that by the assent of the three estates of eyther of the realmes of Fraunce and England, that all maner of obstacles may be done away, and in this partie that it be ordeyned and prouided, that from the time that we or any of our heyres come to the crowne of Fraunce, both the Crownes, that is to say of Fraunce and England, perpetually be together in one, and in the same person, that is to say, from our fathers lyfe, to vs, and from the terme of our life thenceforwarde, in the persons of our heyres, that shall be one after an other. And that both realmes shall be gouerned, fro that we or any of our heires come to the same, not seuerally vnder diuers kinges in one time, but vnder the same person, which for the tyme shall be king of both the realmes, and soucreigne Lord as aforesaid, kepyng neuerthelesse in all maner of other thinges to eyther of the same realmes their rightes, liberties, customes, vsages, and lawes, not makyng subiect in any maner of wise one of the same realmes to the rightes, lawes, or vsages, of that other.

28 Also that henceforwarde, perpetually shall be still rest, and that in all maner of wise,

dissensions, hates, rancors, enuies, and warres, betwene the same realmes of Fraunce and England, and the people of the same realmes, drawyng to accorde of the same peace, may cease and be broken.

29 Also that there shall be from henceforward for euermore, peace and tranquillitie, and good accorde, and common affection, and stable frendship, betwene the same realmes, and their subiectes beforesaye: the same realmes shall keepe themselues with their Counsaile, helpes, and common assistance, against all maner of men that enforce them for to done, or to imagin wrongs, harmes, displeasures, or grieuaunce to them, or to eyther of them. And they shall be conuersant, and Marchandisen freely and surely together, paiyng the custome due and accustomed. And they shall be conuersaunt also, that all the confederates and alyes of our sayd father, and the realme of Fraunce aforesayde, and also our confederates of the realme of England aforesayde, shall in. viij. Monethes from the tyme of this accorde of peace, as it is notefyed to them, declare by their letters, that they wyll drawe to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accorde of this peace, sauyng neuerthelesse eyther of the same Crownes, & also all maner actions, rightes, and reuenues that longen to our sayd father and his subiectes and to vs, and to our subiectes, again such maner of allies and confederacies.

30 Also neyther our father, neyther our brother the Duke of Burgoyn shall begyn ne make with Charles, clepyng himselfe the Dolphyn of Vyennes any treatie or peace or accorde, but by counsaile and assent of all and eche of vs thre, or of other thre estates of either of the sayd realmes aboue named.

31 Also that we with assent of our sayde brother of Burgoyn and other of the nobles of the realme of Fraunce, the which therto ought to be called, shal ordeyne for the gouernaunce of our sayd father sekerly, louyngly and honestly after the askyng of his royall estate and dignitie by the maner that shall bee to the worship of God and of our father and of the realme of Fraunce.

32 Also all maner of persons that shall be about our father to do him personall seruice, not onely in office but in all other seruices, aswell the nobles and gentles as other shall be suche as hath bene borne in the realme of Fraunce or in places longyng to Fraunce, good, wise, true and able to that foresayde seruice. And our sayde father shall dwell in places notable of his obedience and no where else. Wherefore we charge and commaunde our sayde liege subiectes and other beyng vnder our obedience that they keepe and do to be kept in all that longeth to them this accorde and peace after the forme and maner as it is accorded. And that they attempt in no maner wise any thing that may be preiudice or contrary to the same accord and peace vpon paine of life and lymme, and all that they may forfeyt against vs. Youen at Troys the. xxx. day of May. 1420. and proclaymed in London the. xx. day of Iune.

33 Also that we for the thinges aforesayde and euerye one of them shall geue our assent by our letters patentes, sealed with our seale vnto our said father with all approbation and confirmation of vs and all other of our blood roiall and of all the cities and townes to vs obedient sealed with their seales accustomed. And further our sayde father besyde his letters patentes sealed vnder his great seale shall make or cause to be made letters approbatory and confirmacions of the Peeres of his realme and of the Lords, Citezens, and Burgesses of the same vnder his obedience, all which articles we haue sworne to kepe vpon the holy Euangelistes.

So soone as these articles were made and concluded, as aforesayde, the king of England hauing in his company the French king, and the Duke of Burgoyn came before the towne of Sene in Burgoyn, which toke part with the Dolphyn. And after that he had destroyed the Countrie about it, within. xv. dayes the towne was yeelded. And from thence he remooued to Mounstrell Falt Yowe, where the former Duke of Burgoyn was slayne, as is before mencioned, which towne was taken by assault, and many of the Dolphyns part apprehended before they could get to the Castell. And after the getting of

the towne, the Castell which was newly replenished with men and victuall, denyed to render, and therefore it was strongly besieged.

The king of Englande sent certaine of the prisoners that he had taken in this towne to aduise the captain of the Castell to yeeld the same: But they obstinately denyed the request, geuyng euill speech to the kinges Herault. Wherfore the king of Englande caused a Gibbet to be set vp before the Castell, on the which were hanged. xij. prisoners, all Gentlemen and friends to the Captaine. When the Lorde of Guytry Lieutenant of the Castell perceiued that by no meanes he could be releeued nor succored, and fearing to be taken by force, he began to treate with the king of England, which in eyght dayes would take none of his offers. But in conclusion he and his rendred themselues simply, their lyues onely saued: And after sixe weekes siege, the Castell was delyuered, and the Erle of Warwike was made Capitaine of the towne and Castell, which fortefyed the same with men, ordinaunce and artillarie. From thence the king of Englande departed to Molyn vppon Seyn, and besieged it rounde about, in whose company were the French king, the young king of Scottes, the Dukes of Burgoyn, Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester. Molyn vpon Seyn besieged.

The Duke of Barre.
The prince of Orenge.
The Erle of Niche.
The Erle of Huntyngdon.
The Erle of Stafford.
The Erle of Somerset.
The Erle Marshall.
The Erle of Warwike.
The Erle of Worcester.
The Erle of Suffolk.
The Erle of Iury.
The Lorde Charles of Nauerre.
The Erle of Perche.
The Erle of Mortayn.
The Erle of Ormond.
The Erle of Desmond.
The Erle of Ewe.
The Erle of Tankeruyle.
The Erle of Longuyle.
The Erle of Saint Paule.
The Erle of Brayne.
The Erle of Ligny.
The Erle of Vatedeuontier.
The Erle of Ioiugny.
The Lorde Rosse.
The Lorde Matreuers.
The Lorde Gray of Codnor.
The Lorde Bourchier.
The Lorde Audeley.
The Lorde Willoughby.
The Lorde Clynton.
The Lorde Deyncost.
The Lorde Clifford.
The Lorde Ferrers Groby.
The Lord Ferrers of Chartley.
The Lorde Talbot.
The Lorde Fitzwareyn.
The Baron of Dudley.
The Lorde Momerancy.
The Lorde Awbemond.
The Lorde Beauchamp.
The Lorde Furnyuall.
The Lorde Fitz Hugh.
The Lorde Fanhope.
The Lorde Scrope of Balos.
The Lorde Scrope of Vpsabe.
The Lorde Canneys.
The Lorde Bardolfe.
The Lorde Scales.
The Baron of Carre.
The Lorde Duras.
The Lorde Delalaunde.
The Lorde Mountferaunt.
The Lorde Louell.
The Lorde Botras.
The Lorde of Castelen.
The Lorde Lisladam.
The Lorde Vergeer.
The Lorde of Crony.
The Lorde Saint George.
The Lorde Pesunes.
The Lorde Daugien.
The Lorde Tremoyle.
The Lorde Ienuale.
Sir Iohn de Lawoye.
Sir Iohn Courcelles.
The Lorde of Barenton.
The Lorde of Ialous.
The Lorde of Bonuyle.
Sir Guy de Barre.
Sir Iohn Fastolffe.
Sir Philip Hall.
Sir Philip Leche.
Sir Iohn Rodney.

Sir

Sir Morice Browne.
Sir Piers Tempest.
Sir Guy Moyle.
Sir Iohn Stanley.
Sir Lewes Mohewe,
with many other knightes, Esquiers and Gentlemen, that I can not rehearse by name.

These valyaunt Princes and Noble men besieged the strong towne of Molyn vpon Seyn, as aforesaide, with all their force and army, by the space almost of. vij. Moneths. They without made Mynes, cast trenches and shot Gonnes at the walles. And they within, whereof the Lorde Barbason was chiefe, manfully defended the same, during the which siege, the Frenche Queene, and the Quene of Englande and the Duches of Burgoyn came dyuers times to visite their husbandes, and to see their friends. This siege so long continued, that victualles within the towne beganne to fayle, and pestilence beganne to encrease, so that the Capitayne beganne to treate: And in conclusion the towne was delyuered vpon certaine conditions, whereof one was, that all that were consenting to the death of the Duke of Burgoyn should be deliuered to the king of England, whereof the Lorde Barbason was one, and so they were delyuered to the king, and he sent them vnder the conduyt of the Duke of Clarence vnto Paris, and there they were executed. And foorthwith the sayde Duke of Clarence was by the French king made Captayne of Paris, and had in possession the Bastill of Saint Anthony, the Louure, the house of Neele, and the place of Boys de Vyncens.

After the towne of Molyn was yelded, as aforesayde, the king made Capteyne there the Erle of Huntyngdon. From thence he departed with his armie to Corbell, where the French king and the two Queenes then soiourned. And from thence the two kinges accompanied with the Dukes of Burgoyn, Bedford, Gloucester, and Exceter, and the Erles of Warwike, Sarisbury, and a great number of other noble men, set forth toward Paris, whom the Citizens receyued ioyfully, in most honourable maner. The next day the two Queenes made their entry into Paris, where also they were receyued with all solempnitie, as was the two kings. Duryng the time that these two kinges lay in Paris, there was a great assembly called, aswell of the Clergie as of the Nobility, in ỹ which the two kings sate as iudges, before whom the Duches of Burgoyn by her aduocate appealed the Dolphyn and. vij. other for the death and murder of Iohn Duke of Burgoyn her husbande. To the which apeale, the counsaile on the other part made dyuers offers of amends: But this matter was put of vntill an other day. To the Citie of Paris at this tyme resorted the three estates of the Realme, where euery person seuerally sware vpon the holy Euangelistes, to kepe, support, mainteyn, and defend the treatie & peace final which was cõcluded betwene the two Princes and their counsayles, & thervnto euery noble man spirituall, gouernour, and temporall ruler set to their seales, which instrumentes were sent to the kinges treasury of his Eschequer at Westminster, sauely to be kept, where they yet remayne. These two kinges soiorned in Paris at the feast of Christmasse. The French king liyng at the house of S. Paule, kept no estate nor open court to no man, except to his houshold seruauntes. But the king of England and his Quene, kept such solempne estate, so plentifull a house, so princely pastyme, and gaue so many giftes, that all the noble men of Fraunce spake honourably of him.

The king of England taketh vppon him as Regent of Fraunce.

Sone after this feast of Christmasse, the king of England tooke vpon him as Regent of Fraunce to redresse causes, to remoue officers, to reforme thinges that were amisse, and caused a newe coyne to be made called a Salute, wherein were grauen the Armes of Fraunce, and the Armes of England quartered. And to set all thinges in a quietnesse, he ordeyned sir Gilbert Vmfreuile Capteine of Melun furnished with a good number of valyant souldiours. And the Erle of Huntingdon his Cossin Germain he appointed Capteyne at Boys de Vincens. And the Duke of Excester with fiue hundreth men of armes, was assigned to kepe the Citie and towne of Parys.

When the king had thus ordered his affayres accordyng to his deuise, he with the Quene his wife, his Princes and Nobles, departed from Paris, and came to the Citie of Roan.

But

But before his remouyng, he caused processe to be made agaynst Charles called the Dolphyn, commaundyng him to appere at the Table of Marble in Parys: Where for lacke of appearaunce, he was with all solempnitie in suche a cause requisite, denounced giltie of the murder and homicide of Iohn late Duke of Burgoyn: And by the sentence of the Court of Parliament he was banished the realme and territories of Fraunce, and depriued of all honours, names, dignities and preheminences which he then had or hereafter might haue. Wherefore the Dolphyn went into Languedock, and after to Poyters, gettyng to him such friendes as he could, and especially he obteyned so highly the fauour of the Erle of Arminack, that he not onely tooke his part, but also relieued him with money, ayded him with men, and in his awne person continually serued him agayust his foes and enemies. The Dolphyn of Fraunce condemned for the death of Iohn Duke of Burgoyn.

While king Henry soiourned in the City of Roan, he receiued homage of all the Nobles of Normandie: Amongest whome the Erle of Stafford did homage for the Countie of Perche: And Arthure of Briteyn did homage for the Countrie of Iury, which the king before had geuen vnto them. He also ordeyned his Lieutenant generall both of Fraunce and Normandie, his brother Thomas Duke of Clarence: and his deputie in Normandie was the Erle of Sarisburie. And thus all thinges beyng set in order, the King and Quene of England departed from Roan to Amiens, and so to Calice, where he tooke shippyng, and hauyng a fayre passage landed at Douer, and came to Eltham, and through London to Westminster: But by the way he was receyued most ioyfully and honourably, namely by the Citezens of London. King Henry with the Quene hys wife returneth into England.

And shortly after, great prouision and preparation was made for the coronation of the Queene, who was crowned the. xxiiij. day of February with all solempnitie. The Coronation of Quene Katherine.

Now while the king was thus occupyed in England, the Duke of Clarence brother to the king, and his Lieutenaunt generall in Fraunce & Normandie, as is aforesayd, assembled together all the garrisons of Normandie at the towne of Berney, & from thence departed into the Countrie of Mayn. And at Pount de Gene, he passed the riuer of Youe, and roade through all the Countrie to Lucie, where he passed the ryuer of Loyre, and entred into Aniowe, and came before the Citie of Angiers, where he made many knightes, that is to say, Sir William Rosse, Sir Henry Godard, Sir Rowland Rider, and Sir Thomas Beaufoord called the Bastarde of Clarence and dyuerse other. And shortly after that he had forayed, brent, and spoyled the Countrie, he returned with pray and pillage to the Towne of Beufoorde in the Valley, where he was aduertised that a great number of his enemies were assembled together at a place called Bange, that is to say, the Duke of Alanson callyng him selfe Lieutenaunt generall for the Dolphyn, who was accompanied with a great number of Erles and other the Nobles of Fraunce. 1421

9

At this tyme the Duke of Clarence had a Lombard resortyng vnto him called Andrew Forgusa, which was reteined with the part aduerse, of whom the Duke required the number of his enemies: To whome he reported that theyr number was but small, and of no strength, and farre vnmeete to encounter with halfe the power of his puyssant armie, entisyng and prouokyng him to set on the French men, warrantyng him a famous victorie, and a faire day. The Duke geuyng to much credite to this Traytor, lyke a valyant and courageous Prince, assembled together all the horsemen of his armie, and left the Archers behinde him vnder the order of the Bastard of Clarence, saiyng that he onelye, and the nobles would haue the honour of that iourney. When the Duke was passed a streight and a narrow passage, he espyed his enemies raunged in verye good order of battaile: And the saide aduersaries had layd such Bushementes at the streytes, that the Duke by no wayes without battaile could eyther retyre or flie. The Englishmen seeyng no remedy, valiauntly set on their enemies, which were foure to one: The battaile was fierce, and the fight deadly. The Englishemen that day did valiauntly, yet it anayled not, for they were oppressed with the number of Frenchmen. There were slaine the Duke of Clarence, the Erle of Tankeruyle, the Lord Rosse, Sir Gilbert Vmfreuile, Erle of Kent, Sir Iohn Lum- Andrew Forgus a false and trayterous Lombard. The Duke of Clarence slaine.

ley,

ley, and Sir Robert Venred, and almost two. M. Englishmen. And the Erles of Somerset, Suffolke, and Perch, the Lorde Fitzwater, Sir Iohn Barkley, sir Raufe Neuile, Sir Henry Inglos, Sir William Bowes, Sir William Longton, and Sir Thomas a Borow, and diuers other taken prisoners. And of the Frenchmen there were slaine aboue. xij. hundreth of their best men. The Bastard Clarence which taryed at Beaufoord was informed of the number of the Frenchmen, wherefore he with all the Archers made hast to succor the duke: But they came to late: for the Frenchmen heeryng of the approchyng of the Archers, fled with their prisoners with all the hast they could, leauing behinde them the bodie of the aforesayd Duke, and the dead carions. When the Archers came and sawe their enemies gone, they lamented not a little the euill chaunce of the deceyued Duke: But seyng no remedie, they tooke the dead bodies and buried them all, sauyng the Dukes corps, which with great solempnitie was sent into England, and buryed at Cauntorbury besyde his father. After this, the English men brent & spoyled the Countrie of Maine, and so returned to Alaunson, and there departed euery man to his garrison. This battaile was fought at Bawgy in Aniow on Easter Euen in the yere of our Lorde. 1421.

The battayle of Bawgye.

King Henry beyng aduertised of this infortunate ouerthrowe, and deceiuable doyng of the Lombard, and losse of his brother, sent without delay, Edmond Erle of Mortaigne, & brother to the Erle of Somerset into Normandy, geuyng to him like Aucthoritie and preheminence, as his brother the late deceassed Duke of Clarence had or enioyed. After this, he called hys high Court of Parliament, in the which he declared so wisely the actes that were done in the Realme of Fraunce, the estate of the tyme present and what thinges were necessarye for the tyme to come, (if they would looke to haue that Iewell and high kingdome, for the which they had so long laboured and sought for) that the Commonaltie graunted a fiftene, and the Clergie a double fiftene. And because no delay should be in the kinges affayres for lacke of payment, the Bishop of Winchester his Vncle lent to him. xx. thousande pounde, to be receyued of the same dismes or fiftenes.

Iohn Duke of Bedford arryueth in Fraūce, with a puyssaunt armie.

When all thinges necessarye for this voyage were redie and prepared, he sent his brother Iohn Duke of Bedford with all his armie (which the French men write to be foure thousand men of armes, and. xx. thousand Archers, and other) before him to Calice. And he himselfe shortly after in the middle of May passed the Seas, and arryued there in great triumph, where to him was shewed, that the Dolphyn with. vij.M. men had besieged the towne of Chartiers which was manfully defended by the Bastard of Thyan and other, set and appoynted there by the Duke of Exeester.

King Henry arryueth in Fraunce.

King Henry not minding to lose so fayre a towne, departed in good order with all his armie towarde Paris. And at Mounstrell there receaued him the Duke of Burgoyn, which from that place attended vpon the king to Dowaste in Ponthiewe, and so came to Abbeuyle, and from thence to Boys de Vyncens, where he found the French king and Quene, whome he louingly saluted, and they him agayne honorably receaued. And there the king of England and the Duke of Burgoyn determined without delaye to fight with the Dolphyn and to raise the siege before Chartres. The king of Englād with al his power came to the towne of Naunt, & thether repayred the Duke of Burgoin with foure M. men: of whose cōming the king reioysed not a little. But before they departed from thence, they had knowledge & true instruction that the Dolphyn heryng of the puyssaunt army of the king, was reculed with his people vnto Towres in Towrain. Wherefore the king of England incontynent, not onely sent the Duke of Burgoyn into Picardy to resist the malice of syr Iaques Harcourte, which daylie inferred warre, and caused wast and destruction in the same Countrie: But also appointed Iames king of Scottes to lay siege to the towne of Direx, which so fiersly assaulted the same, that after sixe weekes, they rendred the same to the king of Scottes to the behoofe of king Henry his souereigne Lorde, who appointed Captayne there the Erle of Worcester.

The king himselfe remoued from Naunt, and passed ouer the Ryuer of Leyr, folowyng the Dolphyn toward Towers: But the Dolphyn mistrusting his power fled to Burges

in

in Berry, and there determined to tarie vntill fortune would looke more fauourably vpon him.

The king of England with all his puyssaunce so fast folowed the flyeng Dolphyn, that victuall beganne to fayle: wherfore he consydering the daunger and hurte of his awne people, and sawe none aduantage to followe the Dolphyn, did for the safetie of his people returne ouer the ryuer of Leyr, and gate Gasconeyes vpon Youe, and a towne called the kings new towne, and dyuers other whose names were to tedious here to reherse.

The aforesaide towne was no lesse victualled then manned, and as well fortefyed, so that the king of Englande could neyther haue it delyuered vnto him, nor yet gayne it by assault without great losse and detriment. But yet he determined not to departe vntill he had eyther gayned or ouerthrowne the same: And durying the time of this siege was borne at Wyndsore the kings sonne called Henry, whose Godfathers were Iohn Duke of Bedford, and Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Iaquet Duches of Holland was Godmother, wherof the king was certefyed lyeng at this siege of Meaux, at the which he much reioysed, but when he heard of the place of his natiuity, whether he fantaysed some olde blind prophecie, or else iudged of his sonnes fortune, he sayde to the Lorde Fitz Hugh his Chamberleyn these wordes. My Lorde, I Henry borne at Monmouth shall small time reigne and get much: And Henry borne at Wyndsore shall long reigne and loose all: But as God wyll, so be it. The birth of King Henry the sixt.

After the Quene of England was thus delyuered of her fayre sonne, she returned into Fraunce, first to her husbande, and after to her father and mother, where she was on all partes so honorably receaued and so louingly enterteyned and highly feasted, that she appered to be no lesse beloued nor welcommed vnto her noble husbande, then vnto her naturall parents.

During the time of the siege last aboue mencioned, Sir Olyuer Manny a valiaunt man of warre of the Dolphyns parte, which before was captaine of the Castell of Faloys, and yeelding it by composition, sware neuer to beare armour agaynst the king of Englaude, assembled a great number of men of warre, as well of Britons as French men, that is to saye the Lorde Mountburchier, the Lorde Coyuon, the Lorde of Chastelgiron, the Lorde of Tyntignace, the Lorde de la Howssaye, and dyuers other which entred into the Country, of Constantyne in Normandy and robbed and killed the Englishe men where they might eyther espie or take them at their aduauntage: But the erle of Suffolk keeper of those marches hering of their doyngs, sent for the Lorde Scales, Sir Iohn Aston Bailife of Constantyne, Sir Wylliam Hall, Sir Iohn Banester and manye other out of the Garrisons within that territorie, which encountered with their enimies at a place called *Le Parke de ocuecque*, in English the Bishops Parke. There was a sore and a long fight, and many a proper feate of armes was done that day and many a man was in that place ouerthrowen: The Englishe men onely desyred victorie, and the French men desyred a safe returne: But in conclusion the french men being not hable to resist, began to flie, in the which conflict and fight, there were slayne, the Lorde Coynon, the Lorde of Castell Giron and three hundreth other: And there were taken prisoners, the Lord de la Howssay, and syr Olyuer Manny and. lx. other. The king being aduertised of this good chaunce and happy iourney sent for syr Olyuer Manny to be brought vnto him, he then lyeng at Meaux. And when he sawe him he sayde: Fayre father you haue sworne, & promised vnto vs that you would neuer make warre nor beare armour against vs nor our subiectes: ye are an auncient knight, and ought to haue kept your fayth and promise, which you haue vntruly and also vnhonestly broken, and yet we will not (although by the law of armes we might lawfully so doe) put you to death, but graunt to you your lyfe: But we will send you into England to learne you to speake Englishe. And shortly after he was sent to London, where he dyed, and was buried in the white Fryers. 1422 10 Olyuer Manny taken and sent into England.

The Scottes write (beleue them if ye will) that the king of Englande hering that the Dolphyn had sent for ayde into Scotlande, and that he had reteyned them in wages (for of their awne habilitie, they be neyther able to send an army ouer the sea, nor yet of sub-

staunce to beare a continuall warre, for this all their awne Histories declare, and their Chronicles make mencion, and yet the countrie is not so pore, but the people be as prowde) sent one day for Iames the Scottishe king, and in the presence of his counsayle declared vnto him, what humanitie, what fauour and singuler affection king Henry his Father bare during his naturall lyfe, towarde the sayde king of Scottes: Putting him in remembraunce of the great loue and friendship which he himselfe sith beginning of his reigne had shewed vnto him, and that neyther he nor his father had negligently omitted any thing that might apperteyn to the office of a friend or the duetie of a Tutour, which should loue and cherish his Orphane or Pupile, promising him liberty with a great rewarde if he would cause the Scottes which were adherents to the Dolphyn to returne againe into their countrie and natiue region. To the which request the king of Scottes with a wise and good courage aunswered, sayeng: what your noble father hath done to me, and what fauour or benefite I haue receyued at your handes, I shall not nor will not when I maye (I assure you,) forget: And when my power shall serue, I shall not fayle to recompence your doings with lyke kindnesse. But of your request I meruaile not a little, first considering that I am a prisoner, and haue no possession of my realme: Secondarily that I am as yet neyther sworne to my subiectes, nor they by othe of allegeaunce are bounde to obey my commaundementes. Wherefore I desyre you no more to moue me in this thing, which nowe I cannot doe: And yet if I might, I would first foresee whether it were for me honorable, or to my realme honest, to leaue our olde friend in his extreme neede and necessitie without ayde or comfort. With this aunswere the king of England was not content (as the Scottes say) but after that king Iames was departed from his presence, king Henry sayde, happie shall they be who shall be subiectes to such a king that is indued with suche wit and wisedome at these young yeres.

The king of Englande lyeng still before the towne of Meux in Brye (as you haue heard) and had sore oppressed them within the towne. Wherof hering the Lorde of Offmond with a company of chosen persons, sent by the Dolphyn, came priuely in the night to the walles, and set vp a ladder, and dyuers of his company went vp and entred the towne: But as he himselfe passed ouer a planke to haue come to the walles, he fell into a deepe diche. The Englishe men hering this noyes, ranne to the diche, where they tooke the Lorde of Offmound, and slue dyuers of his company which stood at defence, The Captaine within the towne perceauing that their succours were taken, playnely iudged that the towne could not long continue: wherfore they caused all the goodes of the towne to be brought into the market place, which was strong and well fortefyed, The king of Englande being hereof aduertised, commaunded in all haste to geue an assault to the towne, which was quickly done, so that the towne by fine force was within three houres taken and spoyled. And the same daye the king besieged rounde about the market place, and tooke the Mill adioyning to the same. The Captaynes perceauing in what case they were, fearing to be taken by assault, began to treate with the king of Englande, which appointed the Erle of Warwike and the Lorde Hungerforde to common with them: And in conclusion a treatie was taken, and so the towne and Market place with all the goodes were deliuered into the king of Englandes handes, the tenth daye of Maye, the yere of our Lorde. 1422.

The Lorde Offmond taken.

The towne of Meux & the Market place taken.

When the deliuery of the strong towne of Meux was published through the Countrie, all the townes and fortresses in the Isle of Fraunce, in Launoys, in Brie, and in Campeigne yelded themselues to the king of England, which appoynted in them valiaunt Capteynes and hartie Souldiours.

After that king Henry had thus taken and possessed the towne of Meux and other fortresses at his pleasure, he returned againe to Boys de Vyncennes, where he found the Frenche king, and the Queene, and his wife, who with all ioy receyued him: And so the. xxx. day of May beyng Whitsonetuen, the two kinges and the Queenes returned to Parys, where the king of England lodged in the Castell of Loure, and the French king in the house of Saint Paule. These two kinges kept great estate with their Queenes at this feast of Pentecost: But the

The king of England keepeth his Whitsontide in Paris.

king

king of England (as Enguerant both confesseth, and dyuerse other sayth) kept such glorious an estate, and so costly a Court, that he with his Queene sate at dinner in Parys richely appoynted with most riche vestures, adourned with Diademes of Golde, garnished and beset with precious stones, and decked with Iewelles both bewtifull and pleasaunt. Besydes this his Princes and estates, Barons and chiefe Capteynes were set in solempne estate, plenteously serued and aboundantly feasted, so that the people of Paris which thether resorted to beholde this estate, iudged him to be more lyke an Emperour, then their awne king (which sate solitarily alone) to be like a Duke or a poore Marques: But now againe to returne to our Historye.

The Dolphyn knowyng by his Espyals where the King of Englande and his power lay, came with all his puyssaunce ouer the ryuer of Leyre and besieged the towne of Cosney, or Conny, and sent part of his armie to waste and destroy the confines of the Duchie of Burgoyn. And as he purposed, so it happened, for the Duke of Burgoyne with his power set forwarde to defend his awne lande and dominion, and wrote to the king of England to send ayde to them of Cosney or Conny, which had promised to render their towne to the Dolphyn if they were not reskued by the king of England within ten dayes. King Henry heering these newes, aunswered that he would not send one creature, but he would go before himselfe. And so with all diligence came to the towne of Corbell, and so to Senlys, where, whether it were with the heate of the ayre, or that he with his dayly labour was febled or weakened, he began to waxe sicke, yea and so sicke that he was constrayned to tary and to send his brother the Duke of Bedford to performe his iourney & enterprise.

The king of Englande is sicke.

The Duke lyke a valiaunt Capteyne set forwarde to reskue the towne besieged, whereof heeryng the Dolphyn with all his Captaynes and hardie souldiours departed thence into Barry to his great dishonor and lesse gaine: And so was the Citie of Cosney, or Conny reskued, to the great honour of the Englishe Nation. But in this meane while, king Henry waxed sicker and sicker, and beyng layd on a Horselitter, was conueyed to Boys de Vyncennes, to whome shortly after repayred the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester his Vncles, and the Erles of Sarisbury and Warwike, whome the king most louyngly enterteyned and embraced: But when they behelde him (sayth Polidore) liyng in such an extremitie and daunger, they could not refrayne from mournyng and bewaylyng of him. Howbeit the king with a Princely and courageous heart, without any outward shew either of sad countenaunce or sorow, comforted them, and encouraged them to be mery and ioyous. But when he perceyued his sicknesse so sore to encrease, that there was no hope of health or recouery, he rendred to God his most hartie thankes, and chiefely that he called him out of this miserable life, at such tyme as when he was of most perfite remembraunce, both toward God and the world, and also in the tyme of his flourishyng conquest, in the which he neuer receyued one spot of dishonour. And turnyng himselfe to his brethren and other noble personages there present, he sayde vnto them: My naturall brethren and trustie friendes, I see you lament and bewaile my death approchyng at hand, of the which death I am both glad and reioyce, for this short tyme of any mortall lyfe shall be a testimonie of my strength, a declaration of my iustice, and a settyng forth of all mine actes and trauayles, and finally shall be the cause that I by death shall obteyne fame, glory, and renowne, and escape the reprehension of cowardnesse, and the mote of all infamie, which I might haue chaunced to haue fallen into, if nature had lenger prolonged my lyfe and dayes: for it is commonly sayd, that as tyme chaungeth, so maners and condicions alter, and in long time, all thinges continue not in one state. But as eternitie is the tryumpher vpon tyme, so do I trust that after this short life to haue eternall beyng: And after this miserable pilgrimage, mine hope is to enioy the celestiall Kingdome, and to come to the Palace of rest, & place of quietnesse.

The wordes of the king in his death bed spoken to hys brethren and others.

Nowe as touchyng you (no doubt but this my sodeyne chaunce molesteth you) and not without a cause: You lament the calamitie and mischaunce that is like to fall on your Countrie, because that I in this troubleous time leaue you destitute of a Gouernour and

Ruler, which chaunce is the lesse to be moned and regarded, because in all worldly thinges, somethyng euer lacketh, and nothing long endureth: Wherefore, because the olde saiyng is, that in the time of necessitie, wit and wisedome is to be experimented, therefore I require you to consult, and to studie and take paine to come to the ende of the iourney, which I in my time haue begon and entered in, and chiefely because I haue euer loued and trusted you aboue all other persons: And therefore I desire you nowe to shewe like loue, and to be as trustie to my sonne that shall be your souereigne Lorde: So that whatsoeuer dutie, allegiaunce, or fauor for my liberalitie or kindenesse to you shewed, was to me eyther of honestie or ciuilitie due or owyng: Let the same for my sake, be extended, shewed and recompenced to mine heyre and suceessor little Prince Henry. Some persons haue hated the father, and yet loued the childe, and some haue loued the father, and yet murthered the childe, of which sort I neyther recon nor accompt you: But this I say, if you loue me, ye ought to loue my childe, not for hys desert, but for myne. And sith nowe I shall be taken from you before satisfaction or recompence be made vnto me for my manifolde goodnesse and ample benefites to you shewed in my lyfe: I say and affirme, that after my death (except you will be noted with the blot of ingratitude, I will not say vntruth) you ought to render the same to my childe your Nephewe and kinsman: I pray God that ye do not defraude me of the good expectation that I haue euer had of you. And because I will not charge you, I will therefore friendly exhort you, to bring vp my little infant in vertuous liuyng, morall doctrine, and prudent pollecie, to the entent that by your paine he may proue wise, by your instruction he may proue pollitique, and made able to rule and gouerne a kingdome, and not to be ruled of other: By the which deuoire you shall not onely do your duetie to your Prince and souereigne Lorde, but also deserue thankes of your natiue Countrie, to the which ye are most specially bounde. Besides this, my peticion is not onely to comfort my most deerest and welbeloued wife the Queene, nowe beyng (as I thinke, the most dolorous and sorowfullest woman liuyng) but also to loue her and honour her, as I haue both loued and honoured you.

The order that king Henry left for the gouernement of his realme.

And as touching the estate of my realmes: First I commaund you to loue and ioyne together in one league or concord, and in one vnfayned amitie, keepyng continuall peace and amitie with Philip Duke of Burgoyn. And neuer make treatie with Charles that calleth himselfe Dolphyn of Vien, by the which any part of the crowne of Fraunce, or of the Duchie of Normandie and Guyan may be appayred or diminished. Let the Duke of Orleaunce and the other princes still remaine prisoners, vntill my sonne come to his lawfull age, least they returnyng home againe, may kindle more fire in one day, then may well be quenched in three. If you thinke it necessarie, I would my brother Homfrey should be Protector of England, during the minority of my childe, prohibityng him once to passe out of the realme. And my brother of Bedford with the helpe of the Duke of Burgoyne, I will shall rule and be Regent of the realme of Fraunce, cōmaundyng him with fire & sword to persecute Charles callyng himselfe Dolphin, to the entent either to bryng him to reason & obeysaunce, or to driue and expell him out of the realme of Fraunce, admonishing you to lose no tyme, nor to spare no cost in recoueryng of that which to you now is offered. And finally whatsoeuer I haue gotten or you shall obteyne, I charge you kepe it, I commaund you to defend it, and I desire you to nourishe it: For experience teacheth, that there is no lesse prayse to be geuen to the keper, then to the getter, for verely gettyng is a chaunce, but kepyng is wisedome.

Humfrey Duke of Gloucester protector of England.
Iohn Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce.

The death of king Henry the fift.

The noble men present promised to obserue his precepts, and performe his desyres: But their heartes were so pensiue and so replenished with dolor, that no one without wepyng could behold the other, and the next day folowyng he ended his life in this world beyng the last day of August. 1422.

The description of king Henry the fift.

This Prince was the noblest king that euer reigned ouer the realme of England, his famous prowes and martiall actes were suche, as bewtifyed and glorified all this region: But when his death was knowen to the common people, no estate from the highest to the low-

est, but cryed out and lamented that most infortunate and vntimely death. For he was beloued of all, and disdeyned nor hated of none, no not of his very enemies, who also spake most honourably of him. But nowe as his death put great feare in the heartes of Englishe men for the atchiuyng of the enterprice of the conquest of Fraunce: So the same did encourage the French enemies that they ensured themselues to gaine, and get againe whatsoeuer before they had lost, as in deede in the sequele of this Historie it will to plainly appere. And the decease and sodeine death of this noble Prince is by diuers writers, dyuersly reported: some say he was poysoned, and to say truth, that might be so, for vndoubtedly the French men, namely the Dolphyn, feared the vtter ouerthrow and losse of his inheritance of the realme of Fraunce, as it was most like if God had geuen this Prince longer life, and therefore whatsoeuer the sayde Dolphyn could by any French practise do or attempt for his destruction, it was not left vndone. Some other write it was of a Palsey and a crampe: But other that seemeth herein to write most neere the truth, say that it was of a *Plurisis*, which at that time was so rare a sicknesse and so straunge a disease, that the same to the most part of men was vnknowen, and Phisitians beyng little acquainted therewith, knewe no present remedy for the same. This king reigned. ix. yeres. v. monethes, and. xxiiij. dayes, & liued not, saith Hall, ful. xxxviij. yeres, and Polidore sayth he liued but. xxxvj. yeres. Of stature he was somewhat tall, more than the common sort. Of bodie he was slender, and somewhat leane, well membred, and strongly made, a goodly countenaunce, but somewhat long necked, blacke heared, stoute of stomacke, and eloquent of tongue, and in Martiall affayres so valiaunt, as neuer was there any worthy of more prayse for his traueyles and victories in so short tyme.

His bodie beyng enbawmed was conueighed with all funerall pompe from Boys de Vyncennes to Paris, and so to Rhoan, to Abbeuile, to Calice, to Douer, and so through London to Westminster, where among his noble progenitours he was enterred. The buriall of king Henry the fift.

And shortly after this solempne buriall, his sorrowfull Queene returned into England, and kept her estate with the yong king her sonne.

HENRYE THE SIXT.

WHEN certaine knowledge of the death of king Henry the fift, was brought into Englande, then Thomas Duke of Excester, and Henry Byshop of Wynchester, brethren vnto the king deceassed, and Vncles vnto the young Prince, callyng together the other Lordes of the counsayle, did cause their young Nephewe Prince Henry beyng then about the age of. ix. Moneths with sounde of Trumpets openly to be proclaymed king of England, & of Fraunce, the last daye of August. 1422. by the name of king Henry the sixte, to the great comfort and reioysing of all the Englishe Nation. Henry the Prince proclaymed king Henry the. vj.

Shortly after the Duke of Gloucester returned into Englande, and first of all he called all the Lordes of the counsayle and nobles of the realme, and declared vnto them the last will and Testament of king Henry his brother, and what was his commaundement: By reason whereof he was chosen and named Protectour of the Realme of Englande. Which office when he had taken vpon him, he foorthwith ioyned vnto him as counsaylours the grauest, Humfrey Duke of Gloucester made protector of y realm of England.

grauest, noblest, and wisest in the realme, and first tooke order for the stay of all things within this realme of England, and then with all speede prouyded for all things necessarie for the warre for the conquest of Fraunce, and appointed valiaunt and expert Captaynes that should be in a readynesse when oportunitie of time required. And besides thys, he by all polletique meanes, gathered great sommes of money, and left nothing vndone that should aduaunce his pretended purpose.

Whyle these things were thus deuysed within the realme of England, the Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce, no lesse studied and tooke paine, to keepe and order the countries and regions by king Henry late conquered and gayned, and also determined not to leaue of from daylie warre and continuall trauayle tyll the time that Charles the Dolphyn (which was nowe a flote, because king Charles his father in the Moneth of October this present yere, was departed to God,) were eyther subdued or brought to due obeysaunce. And surely the death of this king Charles caused many alterations and chaunges in the realme of Fraunce, for a great parte of the nobilitie which then eyther for feare of the puissaunce of the Englishe men, or for to please and folowe the minde and appetite of Charles the Frenche king, toke parte with king Henry against the Dolphin: Hering now of the french kings death, returned from the Englishe parte and adioyned themselues to the company of the Dolphyn, and diligently studied howe to vanquishe and driue awaye the Englishe nation out of the territorie of Fraunce.

Charles the French king deceased.

The Duke of Bedford beyng greatly moued with these sodaine chaunges, fortefyed his townes both with Garrisons and municions, and assembled together a great armie both of Englishe men and Normans, to whom he made a long Oration, admonishyng them to obserue and keepe their othe and faith (which they had made to the late king Henry and his heires) inuiolate and vnbroken, wylling them in no wise to be the occasioners or counsaylers that yong king Henry should be depriued from his fathers lawfull inheritaunce, by the hatred of certayne Traytors Frenchmen, which had renued the olde hatred being of late extinct betwene the realmes of England and of Fraunce, and studied to set all things agayne in a broyle: requiring them also to call to their memorie how that the realmes of England & of Fraunce, the two most famous regions of all Europe, by the benefite of almightie God were of late so vnited, connexed & ioyned together in an eternall league and composition, & so strongly established, that no worldly power were able or of puyssaunce sufficient, to resist or withstande the malice of the same: And although sometimes by chaunce of warre the losse might turne on their parte, yet in conclusion the detriment should be recouered, and a surplusage gayned. And if (according to their bounden duties) they would honor, serue and loue young king Henry their souereigne Lorde, and woulde diligently persecute and set on his enimies, they should not onely shew themselues true and faythfull subiects to their true and vndoubted king: But also should for their fidelitie and good seruice receiue of him condigne rewardes, ouer and besydes immortall fame and renowne.

An exhortacion made by the Duke of Bedford vnto the French men that were vnder king Henries obeysaunce.

This exhortation stayed the heartes of many of the french Capitaynes, which wyllingly sware to king Henry feaultie and obedience, by whose example the commonaltie did the same. Thus all the people set in an order in the realme of Fraunce, nothing was minded but warre, and nothing was spoken of but conquest.

The Dolphyn which lay at this time in the Citie of Poytiers heering of the death of his parent, had his heart mixed both with ioye and sorrowe: for notwithstanding that he was sorrowfull, as a naturall childe which lamented the death of his father, yet he was ioyous that power and princely estate was nowe to him happened, by the which he iudged that he should be the more able to defende his enemies and recouer more *friends*: and so callyng together the princes of his faction, caused himselfe to be proclaymed king of Fraunce, by the name of Charles the. vij. And then being in good hope of recoueryng his patrimony and expelling his enemies, with a haute courage prepared warre, and assembled together a great armie, and first the warre beganne by light skirmishes, but after it proceeded into

The Dolphyn proclaimed king of Fraunce by the name of Charles the seuenth.

into mayne battayles. The Dolphyn thinking not to make long delayes in so great a cause, lest the power of his enimies might daylie be augmented, sent the Lorde Granuile to the towne of Pount Melance standing on the riuer of Seyne, which so sodainely came to the same, that he was on the walles or the souldiours within heard of his approche, and so he tooke the towne, and slue a great number of the Englishe souldiours. Pount Melance taken by the french.

When the Regent of Fraunce was aduertised of thys sodayne enterprise, he appointed the Lorde Thomas Montacute Erle of Salisburie, a man both for his great pollicie and haute courage, more to be compared to the olde valyaunt Romaynes, then to men of his dayes, accompanied with the Erle of Suffolke, the Lorde Scales, the young Lorde Pounynges, Sir Iohn Fastolffe Mayster of the houshold with the sayde Lorde Regent, and dyuers other to besiege the towne of Pont Melance, which after two Moneths was rendred to the sayde Erle: and the Lorde of Granuile sware to be true to the king of Englande euer after that day, but shortly after he forgetting his othe, returned to his olde Mayster agayne. The Erle of Salisburie appointed Sir Henry Mortimer, and syr Richard Vernon to be Capitaines of that towne. And from thence departed into Champaigne, and there besieged the towne of Sens, and tooke syr Guillam Maryn the Captayne and slue all the Souldiours within the towne, and made there Capitaynes Sir Hugh Geddyng, and Sir Richard Awbemond. Thomas Montacute Erle of Salsburie. Pount Melance recouered agayne by the Englishe men.

The Parisians, which euer like the Wethercocke be variable and inconstant, perceyuing that the Dolphyn daylie beganne to haue more ayde and power, then he was before accustomed, trustyng to returne againe vnder his obeysance and subiection (which they both wished and desired) to the entent that it should not appere to come of their desire, and that their fayth and fidelitie should not be put in the Balaunce of diffidence with the English nation, sent diuers Senators of their Citie as Ambassadors to the king of England, desyring him of aide and succour, to whom not onely great thanks were rendred for doyng their duetie of subiection, but also high feastes were made, and promises declared, that if they still continued in due obeysaunce, and were not adherent to the kings enimies, that that neyther succour shoulde want, nor cost should be spared for their common comfort, and publike vtilitie. With which aunswere the company outwardly pleased (whatsoeuer they inwardly imagined) departed to Paris. In this season Homfrey Duke of Gloucester eyther blynded with ambicion or doting for loue, maried the Lady Iaquet or Iacomin daughter and sole heire to Wylliam of Bauier Duke of Holland, which was lawfull wyfe to Iohn Duke of Brabant then lyuing, which mariage chaunced much to his dishonor. For surely the sweete tast of this pleasaunt mariage, brought after a sower sauce, both to the amorous husbande, and to the wanton wyfe. For Iohn Duke of Brabant, what with force, and what with spirituall compulsaries, neuer left of, till he had recouered his Lady out of the Duke of Gloucesters possession, as after you shall here. Humffrey Duke of Gloucester marieth Iaquet the wyfe of Iohn Duke of Brabant.

And in this present yere the West gate of London, nowe called Newgate, which before was an vgly and filthy Dongeon, was now newly builded at the charges and expences of Richard Whytingdon, late Alderman and Maiour of London, by the handes of his Executors.

These chaunces thus happenyng as you haue heard, Iohn Duke of Bedford, Philip Duke of Burgoyn, and Iohn Duke of Britaine, made an assemble and friendly enteruiewe in the Citie of Amias, where they renued the old league and auncient amitie made betwene the noble prince king Henry the fift, and them before concluded: addyng thereto these condicions and agreements, eche of them to be to other both friend and ayder, and the enemie of the one to be enemie to the other, and all they to be both friendes and ayders to the king of England, and well wylling to hys well wyllers, and auengers of his aduersaries. And because that affinitie is an embracer of amitie, there was concluded a mariage betweene the Duke of Bedford, and the Ladie Anne sister to the Duke of Burgoyn. When these agrements were finished, the Duke of Bedford departed to Troys in Champain, whether with high pompe was conueyed the Lady Anne of Burgoyn, which in the presence 1423 a

John Duke of Bedford marieth Anne the Syster of the Duke of Burgoyn.

presence of her brother and her Vncle Duke of Brabant, and of the Erles of Salisburie and Suffolke, and of nine hundred Lordes, knightes and Esquires, she was maried to Iohn Duke of Bedford, with such solempnitie, feast and triumph, as before that time had not bene sene of the Burgonions.

During this triumph, the Parisians thinking to blinde the eyes of the Duke of Bedford wrote to hym, howe diuers Castelles and fortresses lyeng round about their territorie, were replenished with his enemies dayly stoppyng their passages, and robbing their marchantes, to their vtter vndoyng, if they by his helpe were not relieued: fraudulently meaning, and falsely entising him to absent himselfe from them, till their craftie conueyed purpose were compassed and atchiued. For diuers of them stubbernly bearing the yoke and subiection of the Englishe nation, perceyuing the Duke of Bedford and the principall Capitaines of the Englishe men to be farre from Paris, employeng themselues to ioy and solace, for the honor of this high mariage, conspired to bring into the Citie, Charles the Dolphyn, callyng himselfe French king. And to the entent that their inuented purpose should succeede, they thereof aduertised the Dolphyn and his counsayle, appoynting the day of his comming, and the time of his entrie. But the Duke of Bedford was informed of all their secret confederacie and sedicious faction, wherefore he meaning not to lose in short time that which in no small space was gayned, put spurres to the horsse, and with a great power entered into Paris one day before the fayre was appointed, and two nightes before the looking for of his enimies, who being vnprouided, he sodainely caused to be apprehended and taken, and openly put to execution. After this ieopardie thus escaped, he put diffidence in all the Parisians, trusting litle the Nobles, and geuing lesse credite to the cōmons, determined to fortefie the garrisons of his awne nation, and all the Castels neere and adioyning to the Citie, which within small time were abundauntly furnished. And to auoyde all night watchers adioyning to Paris, and the confines of the same, he first tooke into his possession, eyther by assaulte or composition the towne of Trayneil and Bray vpon Seyne, and because two Castels the one called Pacy, and the other called Cursay were also euill neighbors to the Parisians, he sent Sir Iohn Fastolffe great master of his housholde, with a notable armie to besiege the Castell of Pacy, which takyng vpon him that enterprise, so handeled his enimies, that the Capitayne named Guyllam Reymon Esquire, and all the garrison yeelded them simply to his mercy and discretion, whome he sent as prisoners to the City of Paris, and after besieged the Castell of Coursay, which to him was shortly rendered vpon like appointment, and so with praye and prisoners he returned to the Lorde of Bedford his Master. In this verie season the Dolphyn sent Lorde Wylliam Stuard, Constable of Scotland, and the Erle of Ventadore in Auergne, and many other nobles of his parte, to lay siege to the towne of Crauant, in the Countie of Auxerre within the partes of Burgoyn, whereof hering the Lorde Regent, and the Duke of Burgoyn, they assembled a great armie, to the number of. xv. thousand, whereof the Erle of Salisburie was ordeyned Captaine, which came in good array to geue battayle to the besiegers of the towne of Crauant, and because the ryuer of Youne which runneth by the sayde towne, was betwene the Englishe armie and their aduersaries, they coulde not well assaile their enemies, which defended the bankes and passages very strongly, yet notwithstanding both horsemen and footemen of the Englishe parte, courageously put themselues into the ryuer, and wyth fyne force recouered the banke, whome the Burgonions incontinent folowed. When they were all gotten into the playne, the Archers shot, and the Bilmen strake, and long was the fight in indifferent iudgement, but in conclusion the French men not able to resist the force nor puyssaunce of the Englishe Nation, were taken, eyther slayne or discomfited, for in that mortall battayle were slayne and taken to the number of eyght thousand men, whereof was slayne of English men. xxj. C.

The battaile of Crauant.

After this fortunate victorie obteyned, the English men entered into the towne of Crauant, much praysing the doynges of the Capteynes, and the fidelitie of the Citizens, and when they had set all thinges in an order, they returned to Paris, where of the Regent they

they were ioyously receyued, which there constituted the Erle of Sarisbury (as he was wel worthy) Vicegerent and Lieutenant for the king and him in the Countries of Fraunce, Bry, and Champaine, and Sir Iohn Fastolfe he substituted Deputie vnder him in the Duchie of Normandie on this side the riuer of Seyne, and with that he deputed him gouernor of the Countries of Aniow and Mayne, and assigned able Capteines in euery holde and fortresse. The Erle of Sarisbury which could not sleepe in his great office of trust, layde siege to the towne and Castell of Mountaguilon in Brie, whereof were Capteynes, Pregent of Cotyny, and Guille Bourgoys Britons, which valiauntly defended the Castell by the space of fiue monethes, but in conclusion the assaylantes were so fierce that they within for sauegarde of their lyues rendred the holde, and the Capteynes sware neuer to bere armure agaynst the Englishe men on this syde the riuer of Leyre: duryng which siege, the Erle of Suffolke toke by force the Castell of Coucy: and the strong Castell de la Roche he gat by appoyntment in Mosconoys.

Iames king of Scots beyng prisoner was released & sent home.

Nowe must I go backe to put you in memorie howe Iames king of Scottes, beyng both prisouer in the time of king Henry the fourth, and also as subiect to king Henrye the fift his sonne, seruyng him in his warres in Fraunce till he departed out of this transitorie life at Boys de Vincens, and so as chiefe Mourner attended on the Corps of the sayd deceassed king, vnto his buriall, and after at Westminster was released of his Captiuitie, and restored to his realme and possession. For the true knowlege thereof, you shall vnderstand that England demaunded a smal raunsome for so great a prince, as the Scottes accompt their king (and the Scottes were neither able, nor offered no somme conuenient) wherefore the counsaile of the realme of England grauously pondered, and wisely considered, that if by coniunction of mariage, England and Scotland were perfectly knit in one, that the indissoluble bande of amitie betweene the Frenche and Scottishe Nations should be shortly broken and dissolued. Wherefore the protector of the realme of England by the consent of the whole Baronage of the same, gaue to him in mariage the Ladie Iane, daughter to Iohn Erle of Sommerset deceassed, not onely sister to Iohn then Duke of Sommerset, but also Cossin Germain remoued to the King, and Nece to the Cardinall of Winchester, and the Duke of Exceter.

Iames king of Scottes maried Iane the daughter of Iohn Erle of Somerset.

The King of Scottes hauyng a great affection to this fayre Ladie, but much more desiryng his deliueraunce and libertie, put in hostages for the residue of his raunsome, because a great part thereof was diminished and abated for the money allowed to him for his mariage, and so was deliuered to depart at his pleasure. Alack, the olde prouerbes be to true: an Ape although she be clothed in purple, will be but an Ape, and a Scot neuer so gently enterteyned of an Englishe prince, will be but a dissemblyng Scot. What kindnesse could be more shewed to a prisoner then to bring him vp in good literature? what loue may be more declared to a captiue, then to instruct him in martiall feates, and warlike affayres? what fauour can be more ascribed to a highe and renoumed prince, then to geue in mariage to his vnderlyng and vassall, his Cossyn and kinswoman of his royall parentage lawfully discended. All these kindnesses sufficed not, nor all these gratuities auayled not to make this king Iames friendly to the realme of Englande. For he notwithstandyng his homage done to the yong Henry king of England, and of Fraunce, at his Castell of Windsore this present yere, before three Dukes, two Archbishops. xij. Erles. x. Bishops. xx. Barons, and two. C. knightes and Esquiers and mo, accordyng to the tenor hereafter folowyng.

The homage of the king of Scottes.

¶ I Iames Stuart king of Scottes, shall be true and faythfull vnto you Lorde Henry, by the grace of God king of England and Fraunce, the noble and superior Lorde of the Kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome of Scotland, which I hold and claime to hold of you, and I shall beare you my fayth and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldly honour agaynst all men, and faithfully I shall knowlege, and

shall do to you seruice due to the kingdome of Scotland aforesayde. So God helpe me and these holy Euangelistes.

Neither regardyng his othe, nor esteemyng the great abundaunce of plate and riches, to him by the mother and vncles of his wife liberally geuen, and friendly deliuered (of which sort of richesse fewe or none before that day were euer seene in the Countrie of Scotlande) like a dogge which hath cast vp his stomacke and returneth to his vomyt, or like a snake which after hys engendring with a Lampray, taketh againe his olde poyson: After he had once taken the ayre, and smelled the sent of the Scottishe soyle, became like his fraudulent forefathers, an vntrue Prince, and like his proude progenitors toke the vmage of a braggyng and boastyng Scot, newly alied himselfe with the French Nacion. And yet whatsoeuer he did, his Nation both write and testifie, that by the learnyng which he by the great benefite of the kinges of England durying his Captiuitie in this realme had obteyned, replenished his Countrie with good litterature, and by the nurture the which he was brought vp in Englande, he brought his people to ciuilitie: So that his captiuitie was to his Nacion the greatest libertie that euer they could haue, deliuerying them from blinde ignoraunce, to excellent knowledge, reducing them from bestiall maners, to honest behauiour, and in conclusion causyng them to knowe vertue from vice, pollicie from rudenesse, and humane honestie from wilde and beastly liuyng. This was the deliueraunce and the doynges of Iames the first of that name king of Scottes, which neither reigned verye quietly, nor yet euer fauoured Englishe men before the French people: sauyng that he hauyng with him into his countrie a yong Gentleman of Northumberland called Andrew Gray (which durying his captiuitie was his cõpanion) promoted him to the mariage of the heyre of the Lorde of Foules in Anguis, of the which the Lord Grayes of Scotland at this day do discende.

1424 3 Nowe to returne to the affayres of England. The Duke of Gloucester beyng Protector and Gouernour of the realme, called to him the peeres and nobility of the realme, and by their agreementes & deuises sent into Fraunce to the Regent his brother ten thousãd men of warre, which were of the same Regent in the Countrie of Paris louyngly receyued, and accordyng to their degrees honestly enterteyned. During their liyng in Paris, diuers chaunces happened in Fraunce, for euen as Englishmen valiauntly wonne, and victoriously conquered townes and Castels with open warre and apparant conquest: so the Frenchemen fraudulently stale, and couertly obteyned diuerse fortresses and holdes, apperteinyng to the Englishe faction, and in especiall the fayre towne of Champaigne, and the pretie towne of Crotoy.

When the Duke of Bedford was aduertised of these craftie trickes and sodeine inuented traynes, he sent foorth an armie, first to Compaigne, wherof was Capteine the Erle of Suffolk, accompanied with the Erle of Liguy, and diuerse other Capteines of the English men, which lay on the one side of the riuer of Somme, and on the othersyde lay the Lord Lisleadam, Sir Thomas Raupstone, and the prouost of Paris. The Frenchmen beyng strongly furnished and well victualed, couragiously defended the towne agaynst the assailantes. The Englishemen perceiuyng that Guillam Remond otherwise called Mariolayn, had beene the leader of the Souldiours within the towne, which before at Paris was taken prisoner by sir Iohn Fastolfe, caused him to be sent for to Paris, and so brought him to the siege, and set him in a Chariot with a Halter about his necke, and conueyed him to the Gibbet without the towne, sendyng worde to the garrison within the towne, that if they would not without delay render the towne and fortresse, they would incontinent strangle their olde Capteine and chiefe conductor. The Souldiours within the towne perceyuyng that if Guillam Raymond the onely trust of their reliefe, and the auncient friend in their necessitie should suffer death, that then their hope of all ayde were extinguished: and therefore for deliueraunce of him and sauegarde of themselues, they yelded the towne: so that both he and they might depart with horse and harnesse onely, in sure conduite and safetie: yet long or the towne of Compaigne was deliuered, Sir Philip Hall, which was

sent

sent to Crotoy by the Lord Regent, with. viij. hundreth men to besiege the towne, gat it by assault sodeinly, or the Frenchmen had eyther disposed their garrison, or appoynted their lodgynges, and tooke all the men of warre, & put them to raunsom. And so these two townes cowardly stolen, were mãfully recouered, but yet the writers of French fables that do deface the glory of the Englishmẽ, write & say that these townes were yelded to the Burgonians, which neither had the kepyng of them, nor were souldiours to any other person but to the king of England. While these thinges were thus doyng in Fraunce, Sir Iohn de la Pole, brother to the Erle of Suffolke, Capteine of Auranches in Normandie, assembled all the garrisons of the base Marches of the Countrie of Aniow, and came before the Citie of Angiers, and brent the suburbes, spoyled and destroyed the whole Countrie, and hauing as many prayes and prisoners as his men might carye, he was encountred by the Erle of Aubmerle, the Vicont Nerbone, and sixe thousand Frenchmen: which findyng the Englishemen out of array because of the cariage of their great spoyle, sodeinly set on them, and slue three hundreth persons, and tooke prisoners the saide Sir Iohn delapoole, Sir Iohn Basset, Iohn Auford Lieutenant of Faloys, Iohn Clifton, Henry Mortimer, and sixe hundreth other. Although the Frenche men gate this day in one place, yet they went not victors away in another, for the Bastard de la Baulme, and the Lorde Craignar Capteines of Courrallon with a great band, made a roade into Masconnoys, with whome by chaunce met Mathew Gough, and other Englishmen which were scouryng the Countrie, to see and here newes of their enemies, there was a sore conflict, and an hard encounter, the partes in maner beyng of courage and number egal, but after long fight, the French men almost all were slaine and taken, and the Bastard beyng well horsed fled, after whome folowed with the fiercenesse of his spurres Mathewe Gough, and chased him to his Castell gate, and there tooke him as he would haue hid him in the ditch, and presented him to the Erle of Sarisbury, returnyng from Compaigne to Paris, which not only gaue to him the rightes belongyng to the prisoner, but also rewarded him with a goodly Courser, and highly exalted his name and manhoode.

About this season, Arthur brother to Iohn Duke of Briteyn commonly called the Erle of Richemond, hauyng neither profite of the name nor of the Countrie, notwithstandyng that king Henry the fift had created him Erle of Yury in Normandie, and gaue him not onely a great pension, but the same towne of Yury: yet because his brother the Duke of Briteyne fearyng the Englishemen nowe hauyng Normandie, would smell and desyre to taste the sweete soyle of Briteyn, was late (contrary to his league and othe) returned to the part of Charles the Dolphyn, he likewise returned and craftely without cause fled into Flaũdyrs, and so came to the Dolphyn to Poytiers, which was more glad of his commyng then if he had gayned a C.M. crownes, for the Britons which kept the towne and Castell of Yury, hearyng that their maister was ioyned with the Dolphyn, both kept the Castell agaynst the Duke of Bedford, furnisbyng it dayly with newe people and munitions, and also vexed, spoyled, and robbed the Countrie adioynyng, doyng to the Englishemen the most hurt and Dammage that could be deuised or imagined.

The Lorde Regent being aduertised of all these troubles and calamities, assembled a great armie both of Englishe men and Normans, entendyng to serch the Dolphin in euery part, to the entent to geue him battaile in a pitched field, and so to make a finall ende of his intended conquest. So hauing in his company of Erles, knightes and Esquiers to the number (as the Frenche writers testifie) of. xviij. hundred men of armes, and eyght thousand Archers and other, came before the towne of Yury, which was well defended: but the Englishe men beganne to vndermine the walles, so that they within were glad to render the towne vpon condition, which was taken. Howbeit the Capitaynes of the Castell promised to yeelde, if their fortresse were not rescued at a daye assigned by the Dolphyn, with a number sufficient to rayse the siege, and vpon this promise hostages were deliuered into the possession of the Lorde Regent. By his lycence an Herault was sent to the Dolphyn, to aduertise him of the time determined, the which heryng of the distresse that

his people and friendes were in, sent incontinent Iohn Duke of Alanson his Lieutenant generall, the Erle Douglas whome at that setting forth he made Duke of Torayne, and the Erle Boughan, whom then in hope of good speede, he made Constable of Fraunce (which office he enioyed not fully an hundred houres,) and the Erles of Aumarle, Vantadoure, Tonnerre, Maulieurier, Forest, the Vicountes of Narbon and Thouars, the Lordes of Granuyle, Gaules, Malycorne, Manny, Ballay, Fountaynes, Mountfort, and many other noble knightes and Esquiers, to the number of xv.M. French men and Britons, and v.M. Scottes, whom the Erles of Douglas had transported late out of Scotland, more for meede then for loue.

Thys armie royall approched within two Miles of Yury, and sent xl. light horsemen to view and espie both the number and conduit of the English men. These spies came very nere to the siege, and were espied and chased to their companions agayne, and declared all what they had seene and perceyued. The Duke of Alanson seing that he could not get any auantage of the English men, (although the Dolphyn had geuen him in straight commaundement to fight with the Regent) whether his heart fayled or he thought to wayte a more fortunate season for his purpose and enterprise, retired back with his whole army to the towne of Vernoyle in Perche, which belonged to the king of Englande, and sent worde to the garrison of that towne, that they had discomfited and slayne all the Englishe armie, and that the Regent with a small number, by swiftnesse of his horse had saued himselfe. The inhabitaunts of Vernoyle geuing to light credence to the Frenche fablers, receyued the Duke of Alanson with all his armie into the towne, and submitted themselues to him, which towne he desyred to haue of the gift of the Dolphyn as his owne inheritaunce and lawfull patrimony. Now approched the day of rescous of Yury, which was the day of our Lady the Assumption, at which day, no rescous appered to syr Gerrard de la Pallier Captaine of the Castell, which beyng in dispayre of all ayde and comfort, presented the keyes to the Duke of Bedford, and shewed him a letter signed and sealed with the handes of xviij. great Lordes, which the daye before promised to geue the Duke battayle, and to dissolue the siege and raise the assaulte: well sayde the Duke, if their hartes woulde haue serued, their puyssaunce was sufficient once to haue profered, or to haue performed thys faythfull promise. But sithe they disdaine to seeke me, God and saint George wylling I shall not desist to folowe the tractes of their horses tyll one parte of vs be by battayle ouerthrowne: and so he gaue a safeconduyt to the Capitayne and other which would departe, but many of the Britons within the Castell of Yury, seing the faint hartes, and the false promises of the flattering French men, submitted themselues to the Lorde Regent, and sware to be true to the king and him, whome he gently accepted, and put them in wages.

Then he furnished the Castell and towne with a newe garrison, and incontinent he sent the Erle of Suffolke with sixe hundred horses, to espie where the French men were lodged, which passed by Dampeuile, and came to Bretnel, where he heard newes that the French men had taken Vernoile in Perche, and were there yet abyding, whereof with all diligent celeritie, he sent worde to the Duke of Bedford, which not minding to leese his long desired pray, set forward in great haste toward their enimies. The French men hering of his comming, set their people in array, & made all one maine battayle wythout forward or rereward, and appointed certayne Lumbards and horsemen to breake the array of the Englishe men eyther behinde, or at the sides, whereof was Capitayne Syr Stephyn Venoyles, called the hier. The Duke of Bedford, not ignoraunt howe to order his men, made likewise an entier battayle, and suffered no man to be on horseback, and set the archers (euery one hauyng a sharpe stake) both in the front of the battayle, and on the sides lyke wings, and behinde the battayle were the pages with the Chariottes and cariages, and all the horses were tyed together eyther with the reines of their bridles or by the tayles, to the entent that their enimies should not sodainely surprise or disturbe them on the back behinde: and for to defend the cariages were appointed two thousand archers.

The battaile of Vernoyle.

ers. The french men at the first sight remembring howe often times in pitched fieldes they had bene ouercome and vanquished of the Englishe nation, beganne somewhat to feare, but when they sawe no remedy but to fight, they tooke good courage to them, and set softely forward. In which marchyng the Duke of Alaunson, sytting on horseback, did with many good wordes encourage his Capitaynes and Souldiours to the battayle.

And in lyke maner the Duke of Bedford encouraged his people, and foorthwith they gaue the onset vpon their enimies, cryeng, Saint George, Bedford. And the French men likewise cryed, Mount ioy, saint Denise. Then the arrowes flewe out of the long bowes on the one parte, the quarrels out of the Crosse bowes on the other parte. After they came to hande strokes: great was the fight, and terrible was the battayle, with so indifferent iudgement of victorie, that no Herauld could determine to which parte Fortune most shewed her louing countenaunce. For on both sides men were slayne and wounded, and on both partes some were felled and recouered, thus stil in a doubtfull iudgement the battaile continued about three houres. The Duke of Alaunson in the meane season neuer ceased to exhort and pray his people manly to fight, and not to suffer their enimies, (which were at the verie point to be ouercome) by their faint hartes to be victors, and ouercommers. Lykewise the Duke of Bedford rode about his armie, refreshing the weake with freshe men, and encoraging hys people with most pleasaunt wordes: But at the laste, when he perceiued the Frenchmen, what with heate, and with trauayle, to waxe wearie and faint, and not to be so freshe as they were before (for surely the nature of the Frenchmen is not to labor long in fightyng, and much more braggeth then fighteth) he with all hys strength set incontinent on them with suche a violence, that they bare them downe to the grounde by fine force. The french horsemen that daye did litle seruice: for the archers so galled their horses, that they desyred not muche to approch their presence. This battayle was fought the. xxvij. day of August, in the yere of our Lorde. 1425. in the which battayle were slaine.

Of French men.

The Erle of Aumerle.
The Erle of Ventadore.
The Erle of Forestes.
The Erle of Mary.
The Lorde Granuile.
The Lorde Gaules.
The Lorde Fountaines.
The Lorde of Amboys.
The Vicount Thouars.
The Lorde Mounteny.
The Lorde of Combreste.
The Lorde of Brunell.
The Lorde Tumblet.
The Lorde of Poysy, and three hundred knights beside.
The Vicount Nerbon whose bodye was hanged on a Gibbet, because he was one of the murtherers of the Duke of Burgoyne.

Of Scottes also were slaine.

Archibald Erle Douglas made Duke of Toroyne.
Iames Douglas hys Sonne Erle of Nigton.
Iohn the Erle of Boughem newly made Constable of Fraunce.
Sir Alexandre Meldrine.
Sir Henry Balglauie.
Sir Iohn Sterlyng.
Sir Wylliam of Homelsdone.
Sir Iames Gray.
Sir Robert Kanden.
Sir Alexander Lynsaie.
Sir Robert Stewarde.
Sir Robert Swinton.
And. xxvij. hundred Scottes of name and armes, besides other.

In this battayle were slayne by reporte of Monioy king at armes in Fraunce, and the Englishe Heraulds there present, of Frenche men and Scottes. ix. thousand and seauen hundred, and of the Englishe men. xxj.C. but no man of name, sauyng fiue yong Esquiers. And there were taken prisoners, Iohn Duke of Alaunson, the Bastarde of Alaunson, the Lorde of Fayect, the Lorde of Hormit, Sir Piers Harrison, Sir Loys de Vancorte, Sir Robert Brusset, Sir Iohn Turnebull a Scot, and two hundred Gentlemen, besides common Souldiours. A great victorie.

After

After that the Duke of Bedford had thus obtayned the vpper hande of his enemies, and discomfited the onely strength of the Dolphyn. Then he commaunded all the Frenchmen within the towne of Vernoyle, to go out and depart, or else to abide their aduenture. They perceyuing the euill successe of their bosting enterprise, and seing no meane, whereby in so lowe an ebbe they might be ayded, delyuered vp the towne, and went forth out of the same, their lyues saued. Of which towne the Lord Regent constituted Captayne syr Philip Hall, and so departed from thence to the Citie of Roan, where with triumph (and not vnworthy) he was ioyously receyued and honourably feasted. And after all thinges there set in an order, he remooued to Parys.

When this victorie was published through Fraunce: The Dolphyn was driuen out of all ỹ Countries apperteynyng to the crowne of Fraunce, and might resort to no Countries except to Burbonoys, Aluerne, Berry, Poyctou, Towrain, a part of Aniow, and Barrain, and Languedoc. And because diuerse of his friendes, which were aduocates in Paris, exiled themselues from the Parliament of Paris, which was with all rightes, and iurisdictions therevnto belongyng, kept, and holden in the name of king Henry the sixt, as lawfull heyre, and very king of the realme of Fraunce: he therefore to shewe himselfe as a king, erected his court of parliament, his Chauncery, and all other Courts in the Citie of Poytiers, and there established his great seale, with all due circumstaunces thervnto apperteinyng, which were continued by the space of xiiij. yeres, as you shall after here declared. The Duke of Bedford liyng at Paris, entendyng there to bring to obeysaunce Charles the Dolphin, or else to driue him out of his little Conie holes, and small countries, sent the Lorde Scales, Sir Iohn Montgomery, Sir Iohn Fastolf, with two thousand men, to conquere the Countries of Aniow and Mayne, which without assault had rendred to them the strong Castelles of Beamoūt le Vicont, Teune, Silly, Osle, Courceriers, Roussy, Vasse, Couetemenant and twentie other, which for prolixitie of time, I thinke necessary to be omitted. For surely the Englishe puyssaunce was so tryed, proued, assayed, and spred abroad throughout all Fraunce, that the Frenchemen thought that in conclusion the Englishemen would haue, or should haue all thinges, whiche they either wished or enterprised. The Duke of Bedford yet thirstyng after more good fortune, sent the Erle of Sarisbury, with a great armie accompanied with the Lord Scales, and other approued Capteynes, (whose names you haue heard before) into the Countrie of Aniow and Mayne, which were euill neighbours to the Duchie of Normandie: In which armie were ten thousand men of warre, or there about. These lustie Capteynes entered first into the Countrie of Maine, and besieged the riche and strong Citie of Mauns, the chiefe towne and empery of all that Countrie and region. And although the Citezens, aswell for the sodaine accesse of their enemies, as for the feare of the name of the Erle of Sarisbury (which was both dread of his enemies, and honoured of his friends) were somewhat amased and astonied: Yet their Capteynes named sir Baldwyn of Champaigne Lorde of Toisse, Sir Guilliam de Marignie, and Sir Hughe de Goos, studied and inuented all wayes possible howe to defende themselues, and to do damage and harme to their enemies: and surely, they had within the towne a crewe and a companie of warlike and practised souldiours. The Englishemen approched as nighe to the walles as they might without their losse and detriment, and shot agaynst their walles great stones out of great Goonnes (whiche kinde of enginnes before that tyme, was very little seene or hearde of in Fraunce,) the strokes whereof so shaked, crushed and riued the walles, that within fewe dayes, the Citie was dispoyled of all her towres and outward defences. The Citizens of Mauns much marueilyng at these newe orgaynes, both seeyng their destruction imminent, and desperate of all ayde and succour, offered the towne vpon this condicion: that all persons which would tary within the towne might abyde, and all that would depart with horse and harnesse onely, should be permitted: which offers were accepted, and the towne rendred, whereof the Erle made Capteyne the Erle of Suffolke, and his Lieutenant Sir Iohn Fastolfe. After this the sayd Erle of Sarisbury besieged the faire towne of Saint Susan, whereof was Capteyne, Ambrose de Lore, a man

Mauns besieged.

Saint Susā besieged and taken.

a man of no lesse audacitie then pollecie, accompanied with a great number of hardy men of warre. When the Erle of Sarisburie had both viewed and seene the situation and nature of the place, he determined to assault it in that place which was most weake and worne: and so the trumpets blewe to the assault and scalyng Ladders were raysed to the Walles, and the Englishe men with great noyse began to clime and ascende. The Souldiours which durst not come out of the towne to encounter with the Englishe armie, manfully ran to the walles to resist and defend the assaylants. And so all that day the assault with many aduentures still continued, and although the inhabitauntes and Citizens were sore wounded, they neuer left off both to defende themselues, and to annoy and hurt their enemies. When the Erle perceyued that by this light assault and sleight skirmishe he lost somewhat, and gayned nothing, he made a wall, and cast a trenche round about the towne: and caused his great ordenaunce to be shot at that part of the wal which was most feeble and slender, and so daily and nightly he neuer ceassed to beate, and breake downe the Wall and Towres: so that within two dayes the most part of the wall was persed and cast downe to the ground. When the Capteine perceyued these newe feates, he began to intreate, and offered for himselfe and his souldiors, two thousand crownes, so that they might depart in their doblets onely, so their lyues were saued (which somme of money) because Winter approched: was taken, and the towne yelded. Of the which towne he made Capteine Sir Iohn Popham, a valiaunt and a circumspect knight. After that, the said Erle besieged the towne and Castell of Mayon le Iuchez, wherein was Captaine the Lord of Escotaiz: Which towne after the space of fiue weekes was yelded (the liues of the defenders onely saued.) To the kepyng whereof he appoynted Sir Iohn Montgomery knight. And after the feast of the Purification of our Ladie, he besieged the Castell de lafort Barnard: Duryng which Siege, a sale was made of the towne of Alanson beyng in the Englishe mens possession by a Gascoyne and one of the Garrison there, for foure hundreth crownes, to Charles de Villiers, Peter le Beuffe, and other french Capteynes. When the day was appoynted of the deliueraunce both of the towne and the money, the Gascoyne opened and discouered the whole agrement to the Erle of Sarisbury: which ordeyned the Lorde Willoughby, and Sir Iohn Fastolffe with two thousand Englishemen to encounter with the byers of the kinges towne of Alanson. At the day appoynted and time assigned, Charles de Villiers chiefe Marchant of this riche enterprise, early in the mornyng with two hundreth horsemen, and three hundreth footemen approched neere the towne, and abidyng for the Gascoyne, he there displayed his banner, thinkyng triumphantly to enter into the towne: but it happened otherwise. For or they were ware, or suspected any rescues, they were enuironed with the Englishe armie, and slaine and taken euery creature, saue Peter Danthenazy, and xxv. other, which by the swiftnesse of their horses saued themselues.

Mayon and the Castell yelded.

After this conflict ended, the Lorde Willoughby with his companie returned to the Erle of Sarisbury, before the towne le fort Barnard: the Capteines whereof considerynge that there was no hope of succour to be sente to them, and that their vitaile diminished, and that they were not long able to abyde the harde assaultes of the Englishe Nation, rendered the towne and Castell, reseruing to them their horsse and harnesse onely, which towne the Erle receyued to the vse of the king: But the Regent for the valiaunt seruice done by the Erle, gaue the same Towne to him and to his heyres for euer. Besides this, the Erle partly by assault, partly by composition, toke dyuers other townes, as Saint Kales, where he made Captaine Richard Gethyne Esquier, Thanceaux Lermitage, where he made gouernour Mathew Gough, Guerland, of the which he assigned ruler, Iohn Banaster, Malicorne, whereof he made Capteyne, William Glasdale Esquier, Lisle Soubz Boulton, wherof he made Capteine sir Lancelot Lisle knight, Lowpelland, whereof was made Capteyne, Henry Braunche, Mountseur, of the which was made Constable, sir William Oldehall knight, la Susze, was assigned to the keepyng of Iohn Suffolke squier, and beside this, aboue xl. Castels and Pyles were ouerthrowne and destroyed. When the fame and report of these newes

The towne of fort Barnard yelded.

A marueilous conquest so dainely obteyned and as sainely lost.

newes were blowen through Fraunce, some freated, some feared, and some raged for anger: But the veritie of all thinges beyng by the Duke of Bedford declared into England, all men reioysed and were verye glad: not onely for the conquest of so manie townes, but also that God had sent them victorie in a pitched fielde, and in a mortall battaile. Wherefore generall processions were commaunded, to render to God almightie humble and hartie thankes, by whose onely gift, and not by the power of man, these notable victories were gotten and atcheued.

It is not conuenient that I should talke so muche of Fraunce, and omit all thinges done in England: Wherefore, you shall vnderstand, that about Easter this yere, the king called his high Court of Parliament, at his towne of Westminster, and commyng to the Parliament house, he was conueyed through the Citie vpon a great Courser with great triumph, which childe was iudged of all men, not onely to haue the very Image, the liuely portrature, and louely countenaunce of his noble parent and famous father, but also lyke to succede, and be his heyre in all morall vertues, marciall pollicyes, and Princely feates, as he was vndoubted inheritor to hys realmes, seigniories and dominions. In which Parliament was graunted to the king a subsidie of. xij. pence of the pounde, towardes the maintenaunce of the warres, of all marchandise commyng into this realme, or goyng out of the same, and three shyllyngs of euery tonne of wine, besides other sommes set on other liquor, for the terme of thre yeres, & likewise was taxed euery sack of wooll, aswell of English men, as of straungers. During which parliament, came to London Peter Duke of Quimber, sonne to the king of Portingale, & Cossin Germaine remoued to the king, which of the Duke of Exceter and the bishop of Winchester his Vncles, was highly feasted, and liberally rewarded, and was elected into the noble order of the Garter. Duryng which season, Edmond Mortimer, the last Erle of Marche of that name (which long time had bene restrained from his libertie, and finally waxed lame) deceassed without issue, whose inheritaunce descended to Lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heyre to Richard Erle of Cambridge, behedded, as you haue heard before, at the towne of Southhampton. Which Richard within lesse then. xxx. yeres, as heyre to this Erle Edmond, in open Parliament claymed ỹ crowne and scepter of this Realme, as hereafter shall more manifestly appere. In the tyme of which Parliament also, whether it were, either for desert or malice, or to auoyde thinges that might chaunce, accordyng to a prouerbe, which sayeth, a dead man doth no harme. Sir Roger Mortimer, cossyn to the sayde Erle, was attainted of treason and put to execution: of whose death no small slaunder arose among the common people.

A parliamẽt.

This is the custome whiche we nowe paye, called Tonnage and poundage.

Peter Duke of Quimber.

Edmonde Mortimer Erle of Marche deceassed wythout issue.

Sir Roger Mortymer put to death.

After all these actes done in England, and in Fraunce, Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, with the Lady Iaquet his supposed wife, passed the sea, and came to Mons in Henawde, and there by force tooke all suche landes, as Iohn Duke of Brabant her first husbande had in possession of the sayde Lady Iaquet, which doing Phylip Duke of Burgoyn, beyng great friend to the Duke of Brabant, muche disdayned, and more frowned at, and thought for the olde loue and familiaritie, that he bare to the Duke of Gloucester, that he woulde by friendly monicion, turne hym from hys vnhonest and vngodly lyfe, to a reasonable reformation, and brotherly conformitie. Wherfore he wrote louyngly vnto hym, that he should vtterly leaue of any further to folowe the newe attempted enterprise, aduertisyng him and protesting openly, that the vsurping and wrongfull witholding of an other mans possession, was not so vyle and slaunderous, as the defyling of a pure and cleane bed, and adulterously keping the wife of his Christian brother. The Duke of Gloucester being in this case very wilfull, eyther blinded with dotage, or inflamed with couetousnesse of his wyfes possessions, regarding neyther the admonishment of the Duke of Brabant, nor yet the godly aduertisement of the Duke of Burgoyne, sware that he would not leue of to make farther warre, till he had expulsed the Duke of Brabant, out of hys wyfes segniories, territories and dominions. Wherefore the Duke of Burgoyn assembled together a great armie to make warre on the Duke of Gloucester, in the cause and quarell of the Duke

of

of Brabant his friend and Cosyn. The Duke of Gloucester, partely for great affayres, that then were inminent in the realme of Englande, and partely to assemble more people, to resist and withstand the power of the Dukes of Burgoyn and Brabant, left hys wyfe at Mons in Henaude, with the Lordes of the towne, which sware to hym, to defende and keepe her agaynst all men, till the time of his returne. Wherfore he leauing with her two thousand English men, departed to Calice, and so into Englande.

When he was gone, the Duke of Burgoyne so threatened, so vexed, yea, and almost so famished them within the towne of Mons, that they deliuered into his possession the Lady Iaquet or Iacomyne: which incontinent sent her to Gaunt, where she disguised her selfe in a mans apparell, and so escaped into a towne of her awne in Zeland, called Zirice, and from thence she was conueyed to a towne in Holland, called Tergowe, where she was honorably receyued, and there made herselfe strong to withstande her enemies: And for her succour the Duke of Gloucester sent to her fiue hundred men. The Dukes of Burgoyn and Brabant left her not all in quiet, but brent her townes in Holland, and slue her people in Zelande, to her great detriment and displeasure. But in conclusion, this matter was brought before Martyn the fift Byshop of Rome: which adiudged the first matrimonie with Duke Iohn of Brabant, to be good and effectuall, and the second Espousall celebrated with Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, to be of no value, force or effect, and that if the Duke of Brabant dyed, it should not be lawfull to the Duke of Gloucester, to mary againe with the Lady Iaquet. The Duke of Gloucester obeyeng to this sentence, beganne to waxe lothe of his supposed wyfe, by whome he neuer had profite but losse: for whose cause his friends became his enimies, and for whose sake he was openly slaundered. Wherefore he, by wanton affection blinded, toke to hys wyfe Elianor Cobham daughter to the Lorde Cobham, of Sterberow, which before (as the fame went) was his soueraigne Lady and paramour, to his great slaunder and reproche. And if he were vnquieted wyth his other pretenced wyfe, truely he was ten tymes more vexed, by occasion of this woman, as you shall hereafter playnely perceyue: So that he beganne his mariage with euill, and ended it with worse. The Lady Iaquet after the death of Iohn Duke of Brabant, maried a gentleman of meane estate, called Franke of Burselles, for the whych cause the Duke of Burgoyne imprysoned her husbande, and lefte her in great trouble: suche was the ende of these two mariages.

A little before this time, Sir Thomas Rampstone, syr Philip Branch, Sir Nicholas Burdet, and other Englishe men, to the number of fiue hundred, repaired and fortified the towne of Saint Iames de Leitron, on the frontiers of Normandy, adioyning to Britain. Arthur Erle of Richemond and Yury brother to the Duke of Britayne, which like an vntrue Gentlemā, sworne and forsworne to the king of England, sodainely fled to Charles the Dolphyn: which much reioysing of his fauour and amitie, gaue to hym the Constableship of Fraunce, which the Erle of Boughan slayne before at Vernoyl, a small time occupied, and lesse space enioyed. This new constable not a little ioyfull of his high office, thought to doe some pleasure to the Dolphyn hys Master, and to aduaunce his name at the first entry into his aucthoritie, he imagined no enterprise to be to him more honorable, nor to his prince more acceptable, then to aduoyde and driue out of the towne of Saint Iames de Beueon, all the Englishe nation. So in hope of victorie he gathered together aboue. xl. M. men, of Britons, Frenchmen and Scottes, and enuironed the towne of Saint Iames, or saint Iaques de Beuron, with a strong siege. The Englishe men within, which in number passed not sixe hundred men, manfully defended the daylie assaultes of the fierce french men. The Englishe men consulted together what way was best to be taken: and after long debating, they determined to issue out of the towne, and to fight with their enimies. So on a day, when the Britons were weried with a long assault, towards the euening the Englishe men came out of the towne one part by the posterne of the Castell, and another parte by the gate of the towne, cryeng saint George Salisburie: and set on their enemies both before and behinde. The French men seyng the courage of the 1425

A great victory hapned to the Englishe men.

Englishe men, and hearing their crie, thinking that the Erle of Salisburie was come to raise the siege, ranne awaye like sheepe, and there were taken slayne and drowned in the water of them foure thousand men and mo. Besides thys, these iolly Gallaunts left behinde them for haste, all their tentes, xiiij. great Gonnes, and. xl. Barrelles of pouder, three hundred pipes of Wyne, two hundred pypes of Bisket and floure, two hundred Frayles of Figges and Reasons, and fiue hundred Barels of Hering.

The French men (beyng thus vanquished) fell in diuision amongest themselues: the one layeng to the charge of the other the losse of their men, and the cause of their flyeng. Such is euer the chaunce of the warre, ỳ when victorie is obteyned, the most cowarde and faint hearted boy will boste and bragge, and when the battayle is lost, the fault is assigned to the best, and not to the worste. The new Constable was sore dismayed and much ashamed of this discomfiture and shameful flight, but there was no remedy but pacience: But to the entent to plot out and deface this shamefull flyeng with a notable victorie, he with a great armie entered into the Countrie of Aniowe, and brent, spoyled and destroyed two or three at the most, little poore thetched Villages: which small act done, his malice was quenched, and his olde griefe (as he thought) victoriously reuenged.

A variaunce betweene the Duke of Glouester, and the Byshop of Winchester.

In this season fell a great diuision in the realme of England, which of a sparkle was like to growe to a great flame: For whether the Byshop of Winchester called Henry Beaufort, sonne to Iohn Duke of Lancaster, by his thirde wyfe, enuied the auctoritie of Humfrey Duke of Glocester protector of the realme, or whether the Duke had taken disdaine at the ryches and pompous estate of the Bishop, sure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their parte takers: so that the Citezens of London fearing that which might insue vpon the matter, were fayne to keepe daylie and nightly watches, as though their enemies were at hande to besiege and destroy them: In so much that all the shoppes within the Citie of London were shut in for feare of the fauourers of these two great personages, for eche parte had assembled no small number of people. For pacyfiyng wherof, the Archebyshop of Cauntorburie, and the Duke of Quymber, called the prince of Portyngale, roade eyght times in one day betwene the two aduersaries, and so the matter was stayed for that time. The Byshop of Winchester not content with his Nephewe the Lorde Protector, sent a letter to the Regent of Fraunce, the tenor whereof ensueth.

RIght high and mightie prince, and my right noble, and after one, leuest Lorde, I recommend me vnto you with all my heart. And as you desire the welfare of the king our soueraigne Lorde, and of his realmes of Englande and Fraunce, and your awne health and oures also, so hast you hether. For by my truth, if you tarie, we shall put thys lande in aduenture wyth a Fielde, suche a Brother you haue here, God make hym a good man. For your wysedome knoweth, that the profite of Fraunce standeth in the welfare of Englande. &c. Written in great haste on Alhallow euen. By your true seruaunt to my lyues ende. Henry Winchester.

The Duke of Bedford beyng sore greeued and vnquieted with these newes, cõstituted the Erle of Warwike, which was lately come into Fraunce wyth sixe thousand men, hys Lieutenaunt in the French dominions and in the Duchy of Normandie, and so with a small company, he wyth the Duches his wyfe, returned agayne ouer the Seas into Englande, and the. x. day of Ianuary, he was with all solemnitie receyued into London, to whom the Citezens gaue a paire of Basynnes of siluer and gilte, and a thousande Marke in money: and from London he roade to Westminster, and was lodged in the kinges Palayce. The. xxv. day of Marche after hys commyng to London, a Parliament beganne at the towne of Leicester, where the Duke of Bedford openly rebuked the Lordes in *generall*, because that they in the time of warre, through their priuie malice and inwarde grudge, had almost moued the people to warre and commocion, in which time all men ought or should be of one minde, harte and consent: requiryng them to defende, serue and dread their soueraigne Lorde king Henry, in performing his conquest in Fraunce, which was in maner

A parliamẽt holden at Leycester.

brought

brought to conclusion. In this Parliament the Duke of Gloucester layed certaine articles to the Byshop of Wynchesters charge, the which with the aunswers hereafter doe ensue.

The Articles of Accusation and accord, betwene the Lorde of Gloucester, and the Lorde of Winchester.

Articles set foorth by the Duke of Gloucester against Henry Byshop of Winchester.

HEre insueth the articles, as the kings counsayle hath conceiued, the which the high and mightie prince, my Lord of Glocester hath surmised vpon my Lorde of Winchester Chauncelour of England, with the answere to the same.

1 First, where as he beyng Protector and defendor of thys lande, desyred the Towre to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Rychard Woodeuile Esquire, hauing at that time the charge of the keeping of the Towre, refused his desire, and kept the same Towre agaynst him, vnduely and agaynst reason, by the commaundement of my sayde Lorde of Winchester: and afterwarde in approuing of the sayde refuse, he receyued the sayde Wodeuile, and cherished him agaynst the state and worship of the king, and of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester.

2 Item, my sayde Lorde of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, or of the kings counsayle, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kinges person, and to haue remoued him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windsore, to the entent to put him in gouernaunce as him liste.

3 Item, that where my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, to whome of all persones or that should be in the lande, by the waye of nature and byrth, it belongeth to see the gouernaunce of the kings person, informed of the sayde vndue purpose of my sayd Lord of Winchester, declared in the article nexte aboue sayde. And in letting thereof, determyning to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king, to haue prouided as the cause required. My sayde Lord of Winchester, vntruely and agaynst the kinges peace, to the entent to trouble my sayde Lorde of Gloucester goyng to the king, purposing his death in case that he had gone that way, set men of armes and Archers at the ende of London bridge next Southwarke: and in forbarring of the kings high way, let drawe the cheyne of the Stulpes there, and set vp Pypes and Hardels, in maner and forme of Bulwarkes: and set men in Chambers, Sellers, and Windowes, with Bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the entent to bring to finall destruction my sayde Lorde of Gloucesters person, as well as of those that then should come with him.

4 Item, my sayde Lorde of Gloucester sayth and affyrmeth, that our soueraigne Lorde his brother, that was king Henry the fift, tolde him on a time, when our sayde soueraigne Lorde beyng Prince, was lodged in the Palaice of Westminster in the great Chamber, by the noyes of a Spanyell there was on a night a man spied and taken behinde a tapet of the sayd chamber, the which man was deliuered to the Erle of Arundell to be examined vppon the cause of his beyng there at that time, the which so examined, at that tyme, confessed that he was there by the stirring vp and procuring of my sayde Lorde of Winchester, ordeyned to haue slaine the sayd prince there in his bed: Wherefore the sayde Erle of Arundell let sacke him foorthwith, and drowned him in the Thames.

5 Item, our souereigne Lorde that was, king Henry the fift, sayde vnto my sayde Lorde of Gloucester that his father king Henry the fourth lyeing, and visited then greatly with sicknesse of the hande of God, my sayde Lorde of Winchester sayd vnto the king (Henry the fift then being prince) that the king his father, so visited with sicknesse was not personable: and therefore not disposed to come in conuersation and gouernance of the people, & for so much, counsayled hym to take the gouernaunce and crowne of thys land vpon him.

The aunswere of the Bishop.

The answere of the Byshop of Winchester vnto the formes articles.

HEre ensue the aunsweres to the accusations made by my Lorde of Winchester Chaun-

celoûr of England, vnto the causes and matters of heauinesse, declared in articles agaynst him by my Lorde of Gloucester.

1 First, as of the refuse made vnto my Lorde of Gloucester, of openyng the tower to him, of his lodgyng therein, by the commaundement of my sayde Lorde of Wynchester, he aunswereth: that in the presence of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, before his commyng out of his Countie of Henaulde, for causes such as were thought reasonable, it semeth lefull that the tower should haue bene notablie stored and kept with vitaile, howbeit, it was not foorthwith executed, and that in likewise after that my sayde Lorde of Gloucester was gone into his sayde Countie of Henawd for sedicious and odious billes and language, cast and vsed in the Citie of London, sounyng of insurrection and rebellion agaynst the kinges peace, and destruction aswell of diuerse estates of this land, as straungers beyng vnder the defence, in somuche that in doubt thereof, straungers in great number fled the land: and for the more sure kepyng of the sayd Tower, Richard Wooduile Esquier, so trusted with the king our souereigne Lorde that dead is (as well ye knowe) and also Chamberlain and Counsailor vnto my Lorde of Bedford, with a certeine number of defensible persons assigned vnto him, was made deputie there, by the assent of the kinges counsayle, beyng that tyme at London, for to abyde therein for safegarde thereof, and straightly charged by the sayde counsayle, that duryng that tyme of his sayde charge, he should not suffer any man to be in the Tower stronger then him selfe, without especiall charge or commaundement of the king by the aduice of his counsaile.

2 Item, that after, sone vpon the commyng of my sayd Lord of Gloucester into this lande from his Countrie of Henawld, the sayde Lords of the kings counsaile were informed, that my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, grudged with the sayd maner of enforcyng the Tower, and let say to them of London, that he had well vnderstand, that they had beene heauily threatned for the tyme of hys absence, and otherwise then they should haue bene if he had bene in thys land, Wherefore he was right euill contented, and especiall of the sayde forsyng of the Tower, set vpon them in maner of a chast vilaine. Consideryng the good equitie and truth that they had alwayes kept vnto the king, offring them thervpon remedie if they would.

3 Item that after this, Richard Scot Lieutenant of the Tower, by the commaundement of my sayd Lorde of Gloucester, brought vnto him Frier Randolffe, the which had long before confessed treason, done by him agaynst the kings person that dead is, for the which knowlege he was put to be kept in the sayde Tower, and straightly commaunded vnder great paine geuen vnto the sayd Scot, to kepe him straightly and surely, and not to let him out of the sayd Tower without commaundement of the king, by the aduice of his counsaile. The which sayd Frier Randolfe, my sayde Lorde of Gloucester kept then with himselfe (not wittyng to the sayd Scot) as he declared vnto my sayd Lord of Winchester. Sone after that he had brought the sayd Frier Randolfe vnto my Lord of Gloucester, saiyng vnto my Lord of Winchester, that he was vndone but he helped hym, and expressed as for cause of the sayd withholdyng of Frier Randolfe: And saiyng moreouer, that when he desired of my sayd Lorde of Gloucester, the deliueraunce of the sayd Frier Randolfe, to leade him againe vnto the Tower, or sufficient warrant for his discharge, my sayd Lord of Gloucester aunswered him, that his commaundement was sufficient warrãt and discharge for him. In the which thing aboue sayde, it was thought to my Lord of Winchester that my sayd Lord of Gloucester, tooke vpon him further then his Auctoritie stretched vnto, and caused him to doubt and dread, least that he would haue proceeded further. And at such time as the said Woodeuile came vnto him to aske his aduice and coũsaile, of lodgyng of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester in the tower: he aduised and charged him, that before he suffered my sayd Lorde of Gloucester or any person lodge therein stronger then himselfe, he should puruey him a sufficient warrant thereof, of the king by the aduise of his counsaile.

Frier Randolph.

4 Item, as to the sayd article of the aforesayd causes of heauinesse, my said Lord the Chauncelor aunswereth, that he neuer purposed to set hand on the kinges person, nor to

remoue him, or that he should be remoued, or put in any maner of gouernaunce, but by the aduice of the kinges counsaile. For he could not conceiue any maner of goodnesse or of aduauntage that might haue growen vnto him thereof: But rather great perill and charge, and hereof my sayd Lord of Winchester is redy to make profe in time & place cõuenient.

5 Item, as to the third article of the foresayd causes and heuinesse, my said Lorde Chauncelor aunswereth, that he was oft and dyuers times warned, by dyuers credible persons, aswell at the tyme of the kinges last Parliament, holden at Westminster, as before and sithe, that my sayd Lord of Gloucester, purposed him bodily harme, and was warned thereof, and counsayled by the sayd persons, and that diuerse times to abstaine him from commyng to Westminster, as my sayde Lorde of Winchester declared vnto my sayde Lorde, of Gloucester.

6 Item, that in the tyme of the sayd Parliament, diuerse persons of lowe estate of the Citie of London in great number, assembled on a day vpon the Wharffe, at the Crane of the Vintrie, and wished and desyred that they had there the person of my Lorde of Winchester, saiyng: that they would haue throwen him into the Thamise, to haue taught him to swim with winges. Whereof billes and language of slaunder, and threatnynges were cast and spoken in the sayde Citie, by my sayde Lorde the Chauncelor, which caused him to suppose, that they that so sayd and did, willed and desyred his destruction, although they had no cause.

7 Item, that after the commyng to London of Sir Raufe Bottiller, and maister Lewes, sent fro my Lord of Bedford, to the rest of the Lordes of the counsaile, they beyng informed that my sayd Lorde of Gloucester did beare displeasure to my sayd Lord of Winchester: They came to my sayd Lorde of Gloucester to his Inne, the second Sonday next before Alhallowen day, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderstandyng of the sayde displeasure, praiyng him to let them knowe if he bare suche displeasure agaynst my sayd Lorde of Winchester, and also the causes thereof. At the whiche time (as my sayd Lorde of Winchester was afterward informed) that my sayde Lord of Gloucester affirmed that he was heauie toward him, and not withouten causes that peraduenture he would put in writyng.

8 Item, that after the Monday next before Alhallowen day last past in the night, the people of the sayd Citie of London, by the commaundement of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, as it was saide: For what cause my Lorde the Chauncelor wist not, assembled in the Citie, armed and arrayed, and so continued all that night. Amongest diuers of the which (the same night by what excitation, my sayde Lorde the Chauncelour wist not) sedicious and heauie language was vsed, and in especiall against the person of my sayde Lorde the Chauncelor. And so the same Monday at night, my sayd Lord of Gloucester, sent vnto the Innes of Court at London, charging them of the Court dwellyng in the same, to be with him vpon the Morow, at eyght of the Clocke in their best array.

9 Item, that on the morowe, beyng Tewesday next folowyng earely my sayd Lorde of Gloucester, sent vnto the Maior and Aldermen of the sayd Citie of Londõ, to ordein him vnto the number of thre. C. persons on horsback, to accompanie him to such place as he disposed him to ride, which (as it was sayd) was vnto the king, to the entent to haue his person, and to remoue him from the place that he was in, without assent or aduise of the kinges counsail, the which thing was thought vnto my sayde Lorde the Chauncelor, that he ought in no wise to haue done, nor had not bene seene so before.

10 Item, that my sayde Lorde the Chauncelor, consideryng the thinges abouesayde, and doubtyng therefore of perilles that might haue ensued therof, intendyng to puruey thereagaynst, and namely for his awne suretie and defence, accordyng to the law of nature, ordeyned to let that no force of people should come on the Bridge of London toward him, by the which he or his might haue bene indaungered or noyed, not intendyng in any wise

bodilye

bodilye harme vnto my sayd Lord of Gloucester, nor to any other person, but onely his awne defence in eschewyng the perill abouesayde.

11 Item, as toward the fourth and fift of the sayde articles, my Lorde the Chauncelor aunswereth, that he was euer true, to all those that were his souereigne Lordes, and reigned vpon him, and that he neuer purposed treason or vntruth agaynst any of their persons, and in especiall agaynst the person of our sayd souereigne Lorde King Henry the fift. The which consideryng the great wisedome, truth and manhoode, that all men knewe in him, he would not for the tyme that he was king, haue set on my sayd Lord the Chauncelor so great trust as he did, if he had found, or thought in him such vntruth. The which thing my sayde Lorde the Chauncelor offered to declare and shewe, as it belongeth to a man of his estate to do, requiryng therevpon my Lord of Bedford, and all the Lordes spirituall and temporall in this Parliament, that it might be seene, that there were Iudges conuenient in this case, that they would do him right, or else that he might haue leaue of the king by their aduise, to go sue his right, before him that ought to be his iudge.

12 And as towarde the letter sent by my Lord of Winchester, vnto my lord of Bedford, of the which the tenor is before rehersed, of the which my lorde of Gloucester complained him of the malicious and vntrue purpose of my said lorde of Winchester, as towarde the assembling of the people, and gatheryng of a field in the kings land, in troublyng therof, and agaynst the kings peace: My sayde lorde of Winchester aunswereth, that if his sayde letters duly vnderstand, and in such wise as he vnderstood and meant in the writyng of them it may not reasonably be gathered and taken, that my sayde lorde of Winchester, entended to gather any field or assemble people, in troubling of the kings land, and agaynst the kinges peace, but rather he purposed to acquite him to the king in his truth, and to kepe the rest and peace in the kinges land, and to eschew rebellion, disobedience and all trouble: For by that that in the begynnyng of the sayd letter, he calleth my sayde Lorde of Bedford, his leuest lord, after one, that is the king, whome he ought to accept of dutie of his truth, the which he hath euer kept and will keepe.

13 Moreouer in the sayde letter, he desireth the commyng home of my lord of Bedford, for the welfare of the king, and of his realmes of England and of Fraunce, the which stande principally in his keepyng of rest and peace, and prayeth my sayd Lorde of Bedford to speede his commyng into England, in eschewyng of ieopardie of the lande, and of a fielde the which he dread him, might haue folowed if he had long taryed: As toward those wordes, and ye tary we shall put this land in aduenture with a field, such a brother ye haue here. &c. My sayde Lorde of Winchester sayeth, the sooth is: before or he wrote the sayd letter, by occasion of certeine ordinaunces, made by the Maior and Aldermen of London, against the excessiue takyng of Masons, Carpenters, Tilers, Plasterers, and other laborers, for their daily iourneyes, and approued by the Kynges aduise and his counsaile, there were cast many heuinesses and sedicious billes, vnder the names of such labourers, threatning risyng with many thousandes, and manassyng of estates of the lande, and likewise sedicious and euill language sowen, and so continued and likely to haue ensued of purpose and intent of disobedience and rebellion. To the redressyng of the which, it seemed to my lorde the Chauncelor, that my sayd lord of Gloucester, did not his endeuor nor diligence that he might haue shewed, for lacke of which diligence, they that were disposed to do disobeysance, were incouraged and inboldened. So that it was like that they should haue made a gatheryng, and that the King and his true subiectes, should haue bene compelled to haue made a field, to haue withstand them, the which field makyng had bene aduenturyng of this lande: And in tokenyng that it was neuer my sayde lorde Chauncelors intent to gather no field, but as truth most stirred him agaynst such as riotously would make suche assemble agaynst our souereigne Lorde, and the weale of this land. He desired so hastely, the commyng of my sayde lorde of Bedford, the which he would in no wise haue so greatly desired, if he would haue purposed him vnto any vnlawful

makyng of a field, for he wist well that my sayde lorde of Bedford would most sharpely haue chastised and punished, all those that so woulde any riotous assemble make. When this aunswere was made, the Duke caused this writyng folowyng openly to be proclaymed.

An order taken that an othe should be ministred.

14 Be it knowen to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lorde of Bedford, and all the lordes spirituall and temporall, assembled in this present Parliament, to acquite him and them, and to procede truly, iustly, and indifferently, without any parcialitie, in any maner of matters or quarelles, moued or to be moued, betwene my lorde of Gloucester, on that one partie, and my lorde of Winchester, Chauncelor of England on that other partie. And for sure kepyng of the kinges peace, it is accorded by my sayd lorde of Bedford, and by my sayde lordes spirituall and temporall, an othe to be made, in forme as followeth, that is to say.

The Othe of the Lordes.

The othe of the Lords.

THat my sayde Lorde of Bedford, and my sayde Lords spirituall and temporall, and eche of them shall as farre forth as their cunnings and discretions suffisen, truely, iustly and indifferently, counsayle and aduise the king, and also proceede and acquite themselues, in all the sayde matters and quarrels, without that they, or any of them, shall priuely and apertly, make or shewe himselfe to be party or parciall therein, not leauing or eschewyng so to doe, for affection, loue, meede, doubt, or drede of any person or persons. And that they shall in all wise, keepe secrete all that shall be commoned by way of counsayle in the matters and quarrels aboue sayde, in the sayde Parliament, without that they or any of them shall, by worde, wryting of the king, or in any wise open, or discouer it to any of the sayde parties, or to any other person, that is not of the saide counsayle: But if he haue a speciall commaundement or leaue thereto of the king, or of my sayde Lorde of Bedford. And that eche of them shall, with all his might and power, assist by waye of counsayle, or else shewe it vnto the king, my Lorde of Bedford, and to the rest of my sayd Lords, to put the sayd parties to reason, and not to suffer that any of the sayde parties, by them or by their assistents, proceede or attempt by way of fight agaynst the kings peace: nor helpe, assist, or comfort any of them thereto, but let them with all their might and power, and withstande them, and assist vnto the king, and my sayde Lorde of Bedford, in keepyng of the kings peace, and redressing all such maner of proceeding by waye of fight or force.

The Dukes.

The Duke of Bedford.
The Duke of Norffolke.
The Duke of Exceter.

Bishops.

The Archebishop of Cauntorbury.
The Bishop of Carlisle.
The Bishop of Bathe.
The Bishop of Landaffe.
The Bishop of Rochester.
The Bishop of Chichester.
The Bishop of Worcester.
The Bishop of Saint Dauies.
The Bishop of London.
The Bishop of Duresme.

Erles.

The Erle of Northumberland.
The Erle of Stafford.
The Erle of Oxford.

Lordes.

The Lorde Hungerforde.
The Lord Tiptoft.
The Lorde Ponynges.
The Lorde Cromewell.
The Lorde Bofough.
The Lorde Louell.
The Lorde Botreux.
The Lorde Clynton.
The Lorde Zouche.
The Lorde Audeley.
The Lorde Ferreis of Groby.
The Lorde Talbot.
The Lorde Roos.
The Lorde Grey.
The Lorde Grey of Ruff.
The Lorde Fitzwalter.
The Lorde Berkeley.

Abbottes.

The Abbot of Waltham.
The Abbot of Glaustinbury.
The Abbot of Saint Augustines in Cauntorburie.

The

The Abbot of Westminster. The Abbot of Saint Albons, not sworne,
The Abbot of Saint Maryes in Yorke. because he was not present.

Which othe in maner and forme aboue rehearsed, all the Lords as well spirituall as temporall, being in this Parliament at Leycester assembled the fourth day of Marche, promised vpon their fayth, duetie and allegeaunce, which they owe to the king their soueraigne Lorde, truely to obserue and keepe, according to the true meaning and purporte of the same.

The Arbitrament.

The Arbitrement.

IN the name of God, we Henry Archebyshop of Cauntorburie, Thomas Duke of Excester, Iohn Duke of Norffolke, Thomas Byshop of Duresme, Phillip Byshop of Worcester, Iohn Byshop of Bathe, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, Wylliam Alnewik keper of the kings priuie seale, Rauffe Lorde Cromewell, Arbitratoures in all manner of causes, matters and quarrels of heauinesses and greeuances, with all incidents, circumstaunces, dependents, or connexes, beyng and hangyng betwene the high and worthy Prince Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, on the one partie, and the worshipfull father in God, Henry Byshop of Wynchester and Chauncellour of England, on the other partie, by eyther of them for the peasing of the sayde quarels and debates, taken and chosen in maner and forme, as it is conteyned more plainly in a comprimise made therevpon, of the which the tenour sheweth in thys forme.

Memorandum, the. vij. day of March, in the fourth yere of our soueraine Lord the king, Henry the sixt. The high and mighty prince Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, at the reuerence of God, and for the good of the king our soueraigne Lorde in this lande, and namely at the reuerence, and specially at the request and prayer of the mightie and high Prince, my Lorde of Bedford his brother, agreed him to put and putteth all maner matters and quarels in deede, with all their incidents, circumstaunces, dependentes and connexes, that touchen him and his person, that he hath in any wise, doe, or feeleth him greeued, or heauie agaynst my Lorde his Vncle, my Lorde of Winchester. Or else that my Lorde of Wynchester findeth him greeued agaynst him, in as much as they touch him or his person, fro the beginning of the worlde vnto this day: In the aduise, ordinaunce and arbitrament of the worthy father in God, Henry Archebishop of Cauntorbury, the high and noble prince Thomas Duke of Excester, and Iohn Duke of Norffolke, the worshipfull father in God Thomas Byshop of Duresme, Philip Byshop of Worcester, Iohn Bishop of Bathe, The noble Lorde Humfrey Erle of Stafford, the worshipfull persons, Mayster Wylliam Alnewike keeper of the kings priuie Seale, and Raufe Lorde Cromewell, promising and behighting, by the fayth of his body, and worde of his princehood and kings sonne, to doe, kepe, obserue and fulfill, for him and his behalfe, all that shall be declared, ordeyned and arbitred, by the foresayde Archebishop, Dukes, Bishops, Earle, keeper of the priuie seale, and Lorde Cromwell, in all matters and quarrels aboue sayde: Grauntyng also and promysing ouer that, to be comprehended in the foresayde arbitrement, as towarde putting awaye all heauynesse or displeasures in any wise, conteyned by my Lorde of Gloucester, agaynst all those that haue in any wise assisted, counsayled, or fauoured vnto his sayde Vncle of Wynchester, and as towarde any matters, that be touching my Lorde of Gloucester, remitteth it and the gouernaunce thereof vnto the king and his counsayle, they to deme it by the aduise of his counsayle, as him thinketh it to be done. In witnesse of the which thing, to this present compromise, my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, hath subscribed his name with his awne hande Humfrey Gloucester. And in like forme, my Lorde of Winchester in an other compromise, hath subscribed with his awne hande, vnder the worde of Priesthood, to stande at the aduise, ordinaunce and arbitrement of the persons aboue sayde, *Mutatis Mutandis*.

A decree or order taken by the kings counsayle for the pacefying of the quarrels and variaunces that were betweene the Duke of Gloucester, and the Byshop of Winchester.

The causes beforesayde and quarels by vs seue, heard, and diligently examined and decreed, by the assent of the sayde parties, ordeyne and awarde, that my lords of Gloucester and of Winchester, for any thing done or spoken, by that one partie against

against that other, or by any of theirs, or any other person or persons, afore the. vij. day of this present moneth of Marche, neuer hereafter take causes, quarrels, displeasures or heauinesses, that one against the other, ne neyther agayust the counsaylers, adherents or fauourers of that other, for any thing or things that are past. And that my sayde lorde of Gloucester, be good lorde to my sayd lorde of Winchester, and haue him in loue and affection as his kinseman and Vncle. And that my sayde lorde of Winchester, haue to my sayde lorde of Gloucester, true and sadde loue and affection, doe and be readie to doe to him suche seruice, as appertayneth of honesty to my sayde lorde of Winchester and hys estate to doe. And that eche of them be good Lorde vnto all those adherents, counsaylers and fauourers of that other, and shewe them at all times fauourable loue and affection, as for any thing done by them, or sayde afore the seuenth day of Marche.

The saieng of the bishop of Winchester vnto ye Duke of Gloucester.

And we decree, ordayne and awarde, that my sayde Lorde of Winchester, in the presence of the king our soueraigne Lorde, my Lord of Bedford, and my Lorde of Gloucester, and the residue of the lordes spirituall and temporall, and commons beyng in thys present Parliament, say and declare in maner and forme that foloweth.

My soueraigne lorde, I haue well vnderstande, that I am noysed among the states of your lande, howe that the king our soueraigne lorde that was that time, being prince and lodged in the great chamber at Westminster, by the bayeng of a spanyell, there was on a night taken, behinde a tapet in the same chamber, a man, that should haue confessed that he was there by mine excitation and procuring to haue slaine the foresayd Prince there in his bed, wherevpon he was sacked, and foorthwith drowned in the Thames. And furthermore I am accused, how that I should haue stirred the king that last died, the time also that he was prince, to haue taken the gouernaunce of this realme, and the crowne vpon him, lyuing his father the same tyme beyng king: Thorough which language and noysing I feele my name and fame greatly enblemished, in diuers mens opinions. Wherevpon I take first God to my witnesse, and afterwarde all the worlde, that I haue bene at all times, and am true louer and true man, to you my Soueraigne lorde, and shall be all my lyfe. And also I haue bene to my soueraigne lorde, that was your father, all time of his reigne, true man: and for such he tooke me, trusted me, and cherished me to his liues ende, and as I trust no man will affirme the contrary, nor neuer in my lyfe procuring, nor imagining death nor destruction of his person, ne assenting to any such thing, or lyke thereto, the tyme that he was king or prince, or else in other estate. And in likewise, I was true man to king Henry the fourth, all the time that he was my soueraigne lorde, and reigned vpon me: In which matters, in all maner of wise, that it liketh to you my soueraigne lorde for to commaunde me, I am ready for to declare me: And furthermore, where, how and when, it shall like you by the aduise of your counsayle to assigne me. Wherfore, I beseech you my soueraigne lorde, as humbly as I can, consydering that there is no grounded processe, by the which I might lawfully in these matters aboue sayde be conuict, blessed be God, to holde me and declare me, by the aduise of all the lordes, spirituall and temporall, being in this present Parliament, true man to you my soueraigne lorde, and so to haue bene vnto my soueraigne lordes that were your father and Graundfather, and true man also, to haue bene at all times vnto your sayde father, whilest he was prince, or else in any other estate, the sayde slaunder and noysing notwithstanding. And this same declaration to be enacted, in this your sayde present parliament.

The which words declared in maner as it is aboue sayd, by my said lord of Winchester, it seemeth to my sayde lords the Arbitratours, that it is meete that my sayde lorde of Winchester draw him aparte, and in the meane tyme, the lordes being present, be singulerly examined thervpon, and say their aduise: And if it be assented by them, in maner as my sayde lorde of Winchester desireth, let him be called agayne, and that then my lorde of Bedford haue these wordes in effect that follow.

Fayre Vncle, the king my lord, by the aduise of his counsayle, hath commaunded me to say to you, that he hath well vnderstande, and considered all the matters which ye haue here openly declared in his presence, and thervpon ye desire a peticion that he will declare you, and by the aduise and assent of the Lordes spirituall and temporall, beyng in this present Parliament, he declareth you a true man to hym, and that ye haue so be to my Lorde his father, and Graundfather, also true man to my Lorde his father whiles he was Prince or else in any other estate, the sayde dislaunder and noysing notwithstanding: And wil that the said declaration be so enacted in this present parliament. After the which wordes thus sayde, as before is declared, by the sayd Lordes Arbitratours, that my sayde lorde of Winchester shoulde haue these words that foloweth, to my sayd Lord of Glocester.

My Lorde of Gloucester, I haue conceyued to my great heauinesse, that ye should haue receyued by diuers reportes, that I should haue purposed and imagined agaynst your person, honor and estate, in diuers maners, for the which ye haue taken agaynst me great displeasure, Sir I take God to my witnesse, that what reportes so euer haue beene to you of me, peraduenture of such as haue had no great affection to me, God forgeue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purposed any thing that might be hindering or preiudice to your person, honor, or estate. And therefore, I pray you that ye be vnto me good lord from this time forth, for by my will I gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to doe hereafter thorough Gods grace.

The which wordes so by him sayde, it was decreed by the sayde Arbitratours, that my lorde of Gloucester should aunswere and say.

Faire Vncle, sithe ye declare you suche a man as ye saye, I am right glad that it is so, and for such a man I take you. And when this was done, it was decreed by the sayd Arbitratours that euery eche of my lordes of Gloucester and Winchester should take eyther other by the hande, in the presence of the king and al the parliament, in signe and token of good loue and accord, the which was done and the parliament was adiourned till after Easter.

When the great fyre of thys discention, betweene these two Noble personages, was thus by the arbitratours to their knowlege and iudgement vtterly quenched out, and layde vnder boorde all other controuersies betwene other Lordes, taking parte with the one partie or the other, were sone appeased and brought to concord. For ioy whereof the king caused a solempne feast, to be kept on whitson Sonday, on the which daye he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the Erle of Cambridge (whom his father at Hampton, had put to execution, as you before haue heard) Duke of Yorke, not foreseing before, that this preferment shoulde be his destruction, nor that his seede should be of hys generation, be the extreme ende and finall confusion. He the same day also promoted Iohn Lorde Mowbrey and Erle Marshall, sonne and heire to Thomas Duke of Norffolke, by king Richarde the second exiled this Realme and dominion, to the tytle, name, and stile of the Duke of Norffolke, during which feast, the Duke of Bedford adourned the king with the high order of Knighthood, which on the same day dubbed with the sworde these knights, whose names ensue.

Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke.

Iohn Mowbrey Duke of Norffolke.

Richarde Duke of Yorke.
Iohn Duke of Norffolke.
The Erle of Westmerland.
Henry Lorde Percie.
Iohn Lorde Butler, sonne to the Erle of Ormond.
The Lorde of Rosse.
The Lorde Matreuers.
The Lorde Welles.
The Lorde Barkeley.
Sir Iames Butler.
Sir Henry Gray of Tankeruile.
Sir Iohn Talbot.
Sir Raufe Gray of Werke.
Sir Robert Veer.
Sir Richard Grey.
Sir Edmond Hungerford.
Sir Water Wyngfield.
Sir Iohn Butteler.
Sir Reignold Cobham.

Sir

Sir Iohn Passheleue.
Sir Thomas Tunstall.
Sir Iohn Chedeocke.
Sir Raufe Langstre.
Sir Wylliam Drury.
Sir Wylliam ap Thomas.
Sir Richard Caruonell.
Sir Richard Wooduile.
Sir Iohn Shirdelowe.
Sir Nicholas Blunket.
Sir Wylliam Cheney.
Sir Wylliam Babyngton Iustice.
Sir Raufe Butler.
Sir Robert Beauchampe.
Sir Edmond Trafford.
Sir Iohn Iune chiefe Baron, and diuers other.

A subsidie.

After this solempne feast ended, a great ayde and subsidie was graunted, for the continuance of the conquest in Fraunce, and so money was gathered, and men were prepared in euery Citie, towne and Countrie: Duryng which businesse, Thomas Duke of Exceter the sad, wise, and well learned Counsailer, great Vncle to the King, departed out of this mortall lyfe, at the mannor of Greenewiche, and was with all funerall pompe conueyed through London to Bury, and there buried. In which yere also dyed the Ladie Elizabeth his halfe sister, and of the whole blood with King Henry the fourth maried to Lorde Iohn Holland Duke of Exceter, and after to the Lorde Fanhope, buryed at the Blacke Friers of London.

The death of Thomas Duke of Exceter.

While these thinges were thus appointyng and concludyng in England: The Erle of Warwike Lieutenant for the Regent in the realme of Fraunce, entered into the Countrie of Mayne, and besieged the towne of Chasteau de Loyre, the which shortly to him was rendered, whereof he made Capteyne Mathew Gough Esquier. After that, he toke by assault ỹ Castell of Mayet, and gaue it for his valiantnesse to Iohn Winter Esquier, & after that he conquered the Castell of Lund, and made there gouernour William Gladdisdale gentelman. At which place he was informed, ỹ the French men were assembled together, in the countrie of Beausse, wherfore like a valiant Capteine, he with all his power marched thetherward, to encounter with his enemies, and to fight with his aduersaries, which hauing knowledge of his aproching, fled, and durst not abide the triall, nor ieopard the aduenture, and in his returning, he besieged the Castell of Montdublean, wherof was Capteine sir Roberton des Croix, which siege cõtinued thre wekes, but in conclusion ỹ English men so sore charged them within, ỹ the capteine with his whole company were content to yelde the Castell, their liues, horse, and harnesse, onely reserued: Which to them was after long consultation had, & many agrements made, frankely graunted. And the sayd Erle of Warwike, leauyng there the valiant Lord Willoughby, returned againe to Paris. Duryng which season, he was ordeyned by the assent of the thre estates of the realme of England, to be gouernour of the yong king, in like maner as the noble Duke of Exceter before his death was appoynted & assigned, but yet he taried still in Fraunce, and did there no small seruice as you shall hereafter perceyue.

The Lorde Willoughby made gouernor of the yong king.

1426

The Regent of Fraunce thus beyng in England, meanes was made by the Duke of Burgoyn, for the deliuerie of the Duke of Alanson, which was taken prisoner at the battaile of Vernoyle the last yere. So he for the somme of two hundreth thousand crownes, was deliuered and set at large: but neither for the release of all, or abatement of part of his raunsome, he would in no wise acknowlege the king of Englād, to be his liege and souereigne lord: Such affection bare he to the Dolphyn, and such truth shewed he to his naturall Countrie. When all thinges were concluded, ordered, and establyshed, both for the conseruation of peace and tranquilitie within the realme of England, and also for the maintenaunce of warre, for the finall gainyng of the region of Fraunce: The Duke of Bedford and his wife, toke their leaue of the king, at Westminster, and landed at Calice, with whome also passed the seas, Henry Bishop of Winchester, which in the sayde towne was inuested with the Habite, Hat, and dignitie of a Cardinall, with all Ceremonies to it apperteynyng. Which degree king Henrie the fift, knowyng the haute courage, and the ambicious minde of the man, prohibited him on his allegeance once, either to sue for or to take:

5

A great praise of the Duke of Alanson.

Henry bishop of Winchester made Cardinall.

take: meanyng ỳ Cardinals Hats should not presume to be egal with princes. But now the king beyng yong, and the Regent his friend, he obteyned that dignitie, to his great profite, and to the impouerishing of the spiritualtie. For by a Bull Legantine, which he purchased at Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner had money but he and so was he surnamed the rich Cardinall of Winchester, and neyther called learned Bishop, nor vertuous Priest.

After that, the Duke of Bedford was returned into Fraunce, the Lord of Rustian Marshall of Briteyn, assembled a great companie of the Britishe nation, which fortefyed and repayred the towne of Pontorson, and after the saide Marshall, with a thousand men entered into the Countrie of Constantyne in Normandie, and came before the towne of Auranches. The English men within the garrison, issued out, and boldely fought with their enemyes: But after long conflict & many strokes geuen, the Britons were ouercome, and the Lorde Rustian taken, and the most part of his people slaine.

The Duke of Bedford heeryng that the towne of Pontorson was newly fortefyed, and strongly defended, sent thether the Erle of Warwike, accompanied with the Lorde Scales, and diuerse other valiaunt Capteynes and Souldiers, to the number of. vij. thousand men to besiege the Towne, which so enuironed it on euery part, that neyther man could steale out, nor beast could passe in. The siege long continuyng, vitaile began to waxe scant in the Englishe armie, wherefore the Lord Scales hauyng in his company, sir Iohn Harpeley Baily of Constantyne, Sir William Brearton Baily of Cane, Sir Raufe Tession, Sir Iohn Carbonell, and three thousand good men of warre, departed from the siege to get vitail, powder, and other things necessary for their purpose and enterprise. And as they were returnyng with their cariages on the sea coast, nere to Saint Michaels Mount, they sodeinly were encountered with their enemies, whereof the chiefe were the Baron of Coloses, the Lorde Dausebost Capteine of the the sayde Mount, the Lorde Mountabon, the Lorde Mount bourchier, the lorde of Chasteau Giron, the lord of Tyntygnat, the lorde Chasteau Brian, with. vj. thousande men of warre. The lorde Scales and his companie (seyng that they were compassed on euery syde with deadly daungers, for the sea was on the one syde, and their enemyes on the other, & no meane way to escape or flie) discended from their horses, and like gredie Lions together in an vnpeaceable fury, set on their enemies. The skirmishe was strong, and the fight was fierce, the Englishe men kept themselues so close, that their enemies coulde haue no aduauntage of them. At the last the lorde Scales eryed Saint George, they flie, with that the Englishemen tooke suche a courage, and the Frenchemen that fought before, were so dismayde that they began to flie. The Englishe men leaped againe on horseback, and folowed them, and slue and tooke aboue. xj. hundreth persons, amongest whome were taken, the Baron of Coloses, and the Lorde of Chasteau Brian, and. xxx. knightes.

A fierce skirmishe at the siege of Pontoison.

After this victorie, the lorde Scales with his vitayles, prouision, and prisoners, returned to the siege, where he was of the Erle and other noble men ioyously receyued, and for this noble fact, highly magnified and praysed. While the siege thus continued before Pountorson, Christopher Hanson and other souldiours of the garrison of Saint Susan, made a road into the Countrie of Aniow, and came to a Castell named Ramfort, which Castell was so priuily scaled, that the Capteyne within and his company, were taken or slaine before they knewe of their enemies approchyng. When knowlege of this feate was made open to the Frenchemen, which were assembled to the number of. xx. thousand to rayse the siege, and to breake vp the Campe, liyng before the towne of Pountorson, they left that iourney for a tyme, and returned to the Castell of Ramfort, and besieged the same by the space of ten dayes.

The Englishemen considerying the multitude of the enemies, and the farre absence of their friendes, began to treate with the French men, and so vpon condicion to depart with bagge and baggage, horse and harnesse, they rendered vp the Castell, and departed with more riches then they brought, which Castell thus possessed by the Frenche men, they for-

gat the reskue at Pountorson, and brake vp their armie. But soone after, the lorde of Raix, callyng himselfe Lieutenant generall for the Dolphyn, accompanied with the Lorde Mount Iehan, the lorde Beaumanoyre, and the lorde Tussie, and other to the number of three thousand persons, entered into the Countrie of Mayn, and layde siege to the Castell of Malicorne, whereof was Capteyne an Englishe man, called Oliuer Osbatersby, which Castell with the Captein was by force taken and obteyned: in like maner they toke the little Castell of Lude, and therein William Blackeborne, Lieutenant for William Glasdale Esquire, and put him to raunsome, and slue all his souldiors. After this victorie in the which they muche gloried, the Frenchmen perceyuyng that the Erle of Warwike continued still his siege before the towne of Pountorson, and knowing by their espialls, that the Englishmen were determined to geue them battaile, if they once attempted to rayse the siege, and therefore fearing to fight in an open battaile, reculed backe againe to the Dolphyn with little gaine, and small honour. The Frenchmen and Britons beyng strayghtly besieged within the towne of Pountorson, perceiuyng no likelihood of succors to come, and seyng the Englishe armye dailye did encrease, fearyng the sequele thereof, if they by violence should be taken and vanquished, they offered the towne, so that they might depart with horse and harnesse only: which request (after long sute and peticion) to them was hardely graunted. The Erle lyke a valyaunt Capteyn, entered into the towne, and there appoynted for gouernours, the Lord Roos, and the Lorde Talbot, and leauyng there a conuenient garrison, returned to the Lorde Regent.

Pountorson recouered by the Englishe men.

After the takyng of this towne, there was a league, and a treatie concluded betwene the Regent and the Duke of Briteyn, by the which agreement both the townes of Pountorson, and Saint Iames de Beuron were beaten downe to the ground, and clerely defaced. After the Lorde of Rais was departed out of the territorie of Mayn as you haue heard, Christopher Hanson, Philip Gough, Martyn Godfrey called the scaler, and diuerse other of the garrison of Saint Susan, to the number of. xxx. Archers, went out in a Mornyng to seeke their aduentures, and came neere to the Castell of Saint Laurence de Mortiers (at the same very season) when Sir Iames de Sepeaulx Capteyne of the same, was gone out of hys Castell with the greatest number of his retinewe, to a Churche directly against the Castell. In the Masse tyme, the Englishemen entered by subtiltie into the gate, and so gat the Dongeon. And when sir Iames returned from Masse, as he entered into the gate he was taken, and his men fled, and so was the Castell furnished with Englishe men, and Capteine thereof was appoynted, Sir William Oldehaule.

A league cõcluded betweene the Duke of Briteyn and the Regent.

The same season, Sir Iohn Fastolfe, gouernor of the Countries of Aniow and Maine, assembled a great puyssaunce of men of warre, and layd a siege before the Castell of Saint Owen Destays, besyde the towne of Lauall, whereof was Capteine Sir Guillam Orenge, which, after ten dayes besiegyng, rendered the Castell, their liues and armure onely except: howbeit, one railyng and slaunderous person was put to terrible execution. And from thence, the sayd sir Iohn remoued to the strong Castell of Grauile, and after. xij. dayes, they within offered to yelde the Castell by a day, if they were not succored by the Dolphyn or his power. The offer was taken, and pledges deliuered, which were Gullam Cordouen, and Iohn de Maisiery Esquiers. After these pledges deliuered, sir Iohn Fastolfe returned in post to the Regent, aduertisyng him of this composition and agrement: wherefore the said Lorde raysed a great power, to fight with the Frenchmen at the day appointed, and in his companie were the Erles of Mortaigne, and Warwike, and the Lordes Roos and Talbot, Sir Iohn Fastolfe, Sir Iohn Awbemond, Sir Iohn Ratclife, and dyuerse other, to the number of. xx. thousand men, and so marched forwarde in hope to meete and ioyne Battaile with their enimies. But their aduersaries which were not farre of, durst not approche, wherefore the Regent sent sir Iohn Fastolfe incontinent to receyue the Castell: but they within (contrary to their promise and appoyntment) had newly vitailed and manned the place, and so forsakyng their pledges and felowes in armes, refused to render the fortresse accordyng to the appoyntmẽt: wherfore the pledges were brought before the

sight

sight of them within the Castell, and there openly put to death. After this, the Lord Talbot was made gouernor of Aniow and Mayn. And Sir Iohn Fastolfe was assigned to another place: which Lord Talbot, beyng both of noble birth, and haute courage, after his commyng into Fraunce, obteyned so many glorious victories of hys enemies that his onely name was, and yet is dreadfull to the French nacion, and much renoumed amongest all other people. This holy Capteyn, & sonne of the valiant Mars, entered into Mayne, and slue men, destroyed Castels, and brent townes, and in conclusion, sodeinly tooke the towne of Lauall: but the Lorde Loghac, and dyuerse other, retrayted themselues into the Castell, and there remayned eight dayes. Duryng which tyme, it was agreed, that all Capteynes, Burgesses, and men of warre, which were within the Castell, should depart with bagge and baggages, paiyng the Lorde Talbot for all thinges, one hundreth thousand Crownes. And the Castell so beyng deliuered, was committed to the kepyng of Gilbert Halsall, which after, was slaine at the siege of Orleaunce, for whom was made Capteine Mathewe Gough, which beyng at the iourney before Senlies, by treason of a Miller that kept a Mill adioinyng to the wall, ỹ Frenchmen entered into the towne, and brought it into their subiection and obeysaunce.

The Lorde Talbot a valyaunt captayne.

The Duke of Alaunson, which, as you haue heard, was late deliuered out of Englande, reuiued agayne the dull spirites of the Dolphyn, and the faint hartes of his Capitaynes, promisyng to them great victorie with little trauayle, and much gaine with small labour, wherfore in hope of good luck, he determined to doe some notable feate agaynst the Englishe men. Then happend a chaunce vnlooked for, or vnthought of, euen as they would haue wished or desired, for not onely the Magistrates, but chiefly the spirituall persons of the Citie of Mouns, knowing that the Duke of Britaine and his brother, were reuerted and turned to the French partie, beganne sore to mourne and lament, that they were subiectes and Vassals to the yoke and power of the Englishe men. Wherfore they determined and fully concluded, to aduertise of their mindes and determinations, the Capitaynes of Charles the Dolphyn, (of them called the French king) and so by certain false Friers, thereof wrote humble and louing letters. These newes pleased muche the French Capitaynes, but no lesse you may be sure the Dolphyn himselfe, as a thing discended from heauen, of them vnsought, vnimagined and not deuised. Wherefore to take oportunitie when time serued, and not to leese so great a benefite so honestly offered, the Lordes Delabreth and Fayet, Marshals of Fraunce, accompanied with the Lordes of Monte Iohn, of Buel Doruall, Torsye and Beaumamoyre the heire, and Guyllyam his brother, and. v. C. other hardie Capitaynes and valiaunt Souldiours, tooke vpon them this enterprise, sending great thankes and laudes to the Clergie and Citezens, for their assured fidelitie to their soueraigne lord, promising them to be there at the day appointed, not doubting to finde them readye according to their promise, gladly to receiue them.

The Citie of Mouns lost by treason.

When the daye assigned and the night appointed was come, the French Capitaines priuely approched the towne, making a little fire on an hill in the sight of the towne, to signifie their comming and approching. The Citezens which by the great Church were looking for their approche, shewed a burning Cresset out of the Steeple, which sodainly was put out and quenched. What should I saye, the Captaines on horseback came to the gate, and the Traytors within slue the porters and watchemen, and let in their friendes, the footemen entered first, and the men of armes wayted at the barriers, to the intent that if much neede required, or necessitie compelled, they might fight in the open field. And in the meane season, many Englishe men were slayne, and a great clamour and a houge noise was harde through the towne, as is wont and accustomed to be in a towne, by treason sodainly surprised and taken: but what was the cause of the crie, or beginning of the noyse, few except the confederates, eyther knew or perceyued. For the remnaunt of the Citezens beyng no partakers in this faction, imagined that the English men had made hauock in the towne and put all to the sword. The Englishmen on the other side, iudged that the Citezens had begonne some newe rebellion agaynst them, or else had striuen amongs themselues.

themselues. The Erle of Suffolk, which was Gouerncur of the towne, heryng the clamour and noyse of the people, hauing perfite knowledge of suche as escaped from the walles, in what case the Citie stood in, without any taryeng or prolongyng of time, entered into the Castell which standeth at the gate of Saint Vincent, whereof was Constable Thomas Gower Esquire: whether also fled so manye English men, that the place was pestured, & there if they were not rescued, likely to be famished: but surely they were sore assaulted and marueylously hurte, with the shot of the Arblasters and Crossebowes, but they defended themselues so manfully, that their enemies gat small aduauntage at their handes. But all their hardinesse had not serued, nor all their pollicy had not defended them, if they had not priuely sent a Messenger to the Lorde Talbot, which then lay at Alanson, certefiyng him in what case they stood, for vitaile had they none, municions fayled, and the Castell was almost vndermined, so that yelding must folowe, and resistaunce could not preuayle. The Lorde Talbot hering these newes, neyther slept nor banquetted, but with all hast assembled together his valiaunt Capitaynes, to the number of. vij. hundred men of warre, and in the euening departed from Alanson, and in the morning came to a Castell called Guyerche two Myles from Mauns, and from thence sent as an espiall Mathew Gough, to espie the gouernaunce of the enemies, and if he might, to shewe to his countreymen that he was at hande, to be their ayde and rescues. Mathew Gough so well sped, that priuely in the night he came into the Castell, where he knewe howe that the French men being lordes of the Citie, and now casting no perilles, nor fearing any creature, beganne to waxe wanton and fell to ryot, as though their enemies could doe them no dammage: thinking that the English men which were shut vp in the Castel, studied nothing but how to escape & be deliuered. When Mathew Gough had knowne all the certainty, he priuely returned agayne, and within a mile of the Citie met with the Lorde Talbot, and the lorde Scales, and made open to them all thinges according to his credence, which to speede the matter, because the day approched, with all haste possible came to the posterne gate, and alighted from their horses, and about sixe of the clock in the morning they issued out of the castell, cryeng Saint George, Talbot. The Frenchmen which were scarce vp, and thought of nothing lesse then of this sodaine approchment, some rose out of their beds in their shirts, and lept ouer the walles, other ranne naked out of the gates for sauing of their liues, leauing behinde them all their apparell, horses, armour and ryches, none was hurte but such, which eyther resisted, or would not yeelde, whereof some were slaine and cast in prison. There were slaine and taken foure hundred gentlemen, and the villaines frankely let go. After this, inquisition was made of the authors of this vngracious coniuration, and there were accused thirtie Citezens, twentie priestes, and fiftene Friers, which according to their desertes were put to execution.

Traytours iustly executed.

In thys yere, as sayth Caxton, the Vniuersitie of Loueyne in Brabant was founded by Iohn Duke of Burgondy.

The foundation of Louayne.

And here to encourage and moue the worshipfull and good Citezens of London to be thankefull to God, and beneficiall to their poore neighbours, and to the common weale, I thought it good to note vnto you the charitable deede of a worthie Citezen and Alderman of London named Iohn Raynewell, who about this time gaue certayne landes and tenements lyeng in the sayd Citie, to the Chamber of London, for the which the sayde Chamber is bound for euer to discharge the inhabitauntes of the wardes of Dowgate, Billingsgate and Algate, of all suche fiftenes as from time to time shall be graunted vnto the king (so that it passe not three fiftenes in one yere.)

The Citie of Mouns thus being reduced into the English mens hands, the lorde Talbot departed to the towne of Alanson. After which marciall feate manfully acheeued, the Erle of Warwike departed into Englande, to be gouernour of the yong king, in stead of Thomas duke of Excester, late departed to God. In whose steede was sent into Fraunce, the lord Thomas Mountacute Erle of Salisburie, with fiue thousand men, which landed at Calice, and so came to the Duke of Bedford in Paris. Where he consulting with the

1427

The Citie of Mouns again recouered by the Englishe men.

Duke of Bedford, cõcerning the affayres of the realme of Fraunce: seing all thing so prosperously succeede on the English parte, beganne meruaylously to phantesie the Citie and countrey of Orliance, standing on the Riuer of Loyre. But because the Citie was well fortefied both by the nature of the situation of the place, and by the pollicie of man, he imagined it not the worke of one day, nor the studie of one houre. Wherefore he remitted it to a farther deliberation, yet he was the man at that time, by whose wyt, strength and pollicie, the Englishe name was much fearefull and terrible to the French nation, which of himselfe might both appoint, commaund and doe all things in maner at his pleasure, in whose power, (as it appered after his death) a great parte of the conquest consisted and was esteemed, because he was a man both painefull and diligent, redy to withstande things perillous and imminent, and prompt in counsayle, and with no labour would be weeried, nor yet his courage at any time abated or appalled, so that all men put no more trust in any one man, nor no singuler person gat more the hartes of all men. After this great enterprise had long bene debated and argued, in the priuie counsayle, the Erle of Salisburies deuise, (although it seemed hard and straunge to al other, and to him as it were a thing predestinate very easie) was graunted and allowed, which enterprise was the finall conclusion of his naturall destiny, as you shall shortly perceyue. Thus he replenished with good hope of victorie, and furnished with artilery, and munitions apperteyning to so great a siege, accompanied with the Erle of Suffolke and the Lorde Talbot, and with a valiaunt company to the number of ten thousand men, departed from Paris, and passed through the countrey of Beause: he toke by assault the towne of Yainuile, but the Frenchmen fled into the Castell, and there continued fiue dayes, at the end wherof they rendered themselues simply: of the sayde number, some were put to death for certaine causes, and some were taken to mercie: he toke also the towne of Bawgency, suffering euery man, which would become vassayle and subiect to the king of Englande, to inherite their landes and enioy their goodes. The townes of Meum vpon Loyre and Iargeuan, hering of these treatise, presented to him the keyes of the towne, vpon lyke agreement and equall condicions.

After this in the Moneth of September, he layde his siege on the one side of the water of Loyre, and besieged the towne of Orleaunce, before whose comming, the Bastard of Orleaunce, and the Byshop of the Citie and a great number of Scottes hering of the Erles intent, made diuers fortifications about the towne, and destroyed the suburbes, in the which were. xij. Parishe Churches, and foure orders of Friers. They cut also downe all the Vines, trees and bushes within fiue leagues of the towne, so that the Englishe men should haue neyther comfort, refuge, nor succour.

Bastard of Orleaunce.

Here muste I a little digresse, and declare to you, what was this Bastard of Orleaunce, which was not onely now Capitayne of the Citie, but also after by Charles the sixt made Erle of Dunoys, and in great auctheritie in Fraunce, and extreme enemie to the Englishe nation, as by this storie you shall apparantly perceyue, of whose line and stem discended the Dukes of Longuile, and the Marques of Rutylon. Lewes Duke of Orleaunce murthered in Paris, by Iohn Duke of Burgoyn, as you before haue heard, was owner of the Castell of Concy, on the Frontiers of Fraunce towarde Arthoys, whereof he made Constable the lord of Cawny, a man not so wise as his wife was faire, & yet she was not so faire, but she was as well beloued of the Duke of Orleaunce as of her husband, betwene the Duke & her husband (I cannot tel who was father) she conceyued a child, & brought forth a pretie boy called Iohn, which child being of the age of one yere, the Duke disceased and not long after the mother & the Lorde of Cawny ended their lyues. The next of the kinne to my Lorde Cawny, chalenged the enheritaunce, which was worth foure thousand crownes a yere, alleging that the boy was a bastard: and the kindred of the mothers side, for to saue her honesty, it plainely denied. In conclusion, this matter was in contention before the Presidents of the Parliament of Paris, and there hanged in controuersie till the chylde came to the age of eyght yeres olde. At which time it was demaunded

maunded of him openly whose sonne he was: his friendes of his mothers side aduertised him to require a daye, to be aduised of so great an aunswere, which he asked, and to him it was graunted. In the meane season his sayde friendes perswaded him to claime his inheritaunce, as sonne to the Lorde of Cawny, which was an honorable lyuing, and an auncient patrimony, affirming that if he sayde contrarie, he not onely slaundered his mother, shamed himselfe, and steyned his blood, but also should haue no lyuing nor any thing to take to. The scholemaster thinking that his Disciple had well learned his lesson, and would reherse it according to his instruction, brought him before the Iudges at the day assigned, and when this question was repeted to him agayne, he boldly answered, my hart geueth me, and my noble courage telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleaunce, more glad to be his Bastard with a meane lyuing, then the lawfull sonne of that coward Cuckold Cawny, with his foure thousand crownes. The Iustices much marueyled at his bold answere, and his mothers cosyns detested him for shaming of his mother, and his fathers supposed kinne reioysed, in gayning the patrimonie and possessions. Charles Duke of Orleaunce hering of this iudgement, tooke him into his family, and gaue him great offices and fees, which he well deserued, for (during his captiuitie) he defended his landes, expulsed the English men, and in conclusion procured his deliueraunce.

This couragious Bastard, after the siege had continued three weekes full, issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishmen, but they receyued him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with al his company compelled to retire and flie back into the Citie: but the Englishe men folowed them so fast, in kylling and taking of their enemies, that they entered with them the Bulwarke of the bridge: which with a great Towre standing at the ende of the same, was taken incontinent by the English men. In which conflict many French men were taken, but mo were slaine, and the keeping of the Towre and Bulwarke was committed to Wylliam Glasdale Esquire. When he had gotten this Bulwarke, he was sure that, by that way neither man nor vitaile could passe or come. After that, he made certain Bulwarkes round about the Citie, casting trenches betwene the one and the other, layeng ordinaunce in euery part, where he sawe that any battery might be deuised. When they within perceyued that they were enuironed with fortresses and ordinance, they laied Gonne against Gonne, and fortefied towres agaynst Bulwarkes, and within made new Rampires, and buylded newe Mudwalles, to auoyde crackes and breches, which might by violent shot sodainly insue. They appointed the Bastard of Orleance, and Stephyn Veignold called the heire, to see the walles and watches kept, and the bishop saw the inhabitants within the Citie were put in good order, and that vittailes were not wantonly consumed, nor vainely spent. Orleaunce besieged.

In the Tower that was taken at the bridge ende, as you before haue heard, there was a high Chamber, hauyng a Grate full of barres of yron by the which a man might loke all the length of the bridge into the City, at which grate, many of the chiefe Capteynes stoode dyuerse times, viewyng the Citie, and deuisyng in what place it was best assautable. They within the Citie perceyued well this totyng hole, and layde a piece of ordinaunce directly agaynst the Windowe. It so chaunced that the. lix. day after the siege layd before the Citie, the Erle of Sarisbury, Sir Thomas Gargraue, and William Glasdale, and diuerse other, went into the sayde Tower, and so into the high Chamber, and looked out at the grate, and within a short space, the sonne of the maister Goonner, perceyuyng men looke out at the Chamber windowe, tooke his matche, as his father had taught him, which was gone downe to dinner, and fired the Goon, which brake and shewered the yron barres of the grate, wherof, one strake the Erle so strongly on the hed, that it stroke away one of his eyes and the side of his cheeke, Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewise stricken, so that he died within two dayes. The Erle was conueyed to Meum vpon Loyre, where he lay beyng wounded viij. dayes, and then died, whose bodie was conueyed into England, with all funerall pompe, and buried at Bissam by his progenitors, leauyng behinde him an onely daughter named Alice, maryed to Richard Neuill, sonne The Erle of Sarisbury slaine.

to Raufe Erle of Westmerland, of whom hereafter shall be made mencion. What detriment, what dāmage, and what losse succeded to the Englishe publike wealth, by the sodeine death of this valiaunt Capteyne, not long after his departure, manifestly appered. For the high prosperitie, and great glorie of the English nacion in the partes beyond the sea, began shortly to fall, and little and little to vanishe awaye: which thing, although the Englishe people like a valiaunt and strong bodie, at the first tyme did not perceyue, Yet shortly after, they felt it growe like a pestilent humor, which successiuely a little and little corrupteth all the members, and destroyeth the bodie. For, after the death of this noble man, fortune of warre beganne to chaunge, and triumphaunt victorie beganne to be darkned. Although the death of the Erle were dolorous to all Englishmen, yet surely it was most dolorous to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, as he which had lost his right hande, or lacked his weapon, when he shoulde fight with his enemie. But seeyng that dead men cannot with sorowe be called againe, nor lamentation for dead bodies cannot remedie the chaunces of men liuyng: He (like a prudent gouernor and a politike patrone) appoynted the Erle of Suffolk to be his Lieutenant, and Capteyn of the siege, & ioyned with him the Lord Scales, the Lord Talbot, sir Iohn Fastolfe, and diuerse other valiant knightes & squiers. These Lordes caused Bastiles to be made round about the Citie, with the which they troubled their enimies, and assaulted the walles, and left nothing vnattempted, which might be to them any aduauntage, or hurtfull to their enemies.

In the tyme of Lent, vitaile and artillerie began to waxe scant in the Englishe armie, wherefore the Erle of Suffolke appoynted Sir Iohn Fastolfe, Sir Thomas Rampstone, and Sir Philip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Parys to the Lord Regent, to enforme him of their scarcenesse and necessitie. Which beyng therof informed, without any delay, or prolongyng, prouided vitaile, artillery and munitions, necessary & conuenient for so great an enterprice, and laded therewith manie Chariots, Cartes, and horses: and for the sure conduite, and sauegarde of the same, he appoynted Sir Simon Morhier, Prouost of Paris, with the garde of the Citie and diuerse of hys awne housholde seruaunts, to accompanie Sir Iohn Fastolfe, and his Cōplices, to the armie liyng at the siege of Orleaunce. The which departed in good order, to the number of fiue hundred men of warre, besyde wagoners, out of Parys, and came to Yaynuile in Beausse, and in a mornyng earely in a great frost they departed, from the place towarde the siege, and when they came to a towne called Ronuray, in the laundes of Beausse, they perceyued their enemies commyng agaynst them, to the number of. ix. or. x. thousande French men and Scottes: The Capteines whereof was Charles of Cleremont, sonne to the Duke of Burbon, then beyng prisoner in Englande, Sir William Stewarde Constable of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of Captiuitie, the Erle of Pardriacke, the Lorde Iohn Vandosme, Vidame of Charters, the Lord of Touars, the Lord of Lohat, the lorde of Eglere, the lorde of Beauiew, the Bastarde Tremorle, and many other valiaunt Capteynes. Wherefore Sir Iohn Fastolfe and his Companions set all their cōpanie in good order of Battaile, and pitched stakes before euery Archer, to breake the force of the horsemen. At their backes they set all their wagons, and cariages, and within them they tied all their horses, so that their enemies could neither assaile them on the backsyde, nor yet spoyle them of their horses, and in this maner they stood still, abiding the assault of their aduersaries. The Frenchmen (by reason of their great number) thinkyng the victorie to be in their handes, egerly lyke Lyons set on the Englishemen, which with great force them receyued, and manfully defended: for it stood them vpon, considerying the vnequalitie of the number. And after long and cruell fight, the Englishemen droue backe and vanquished the proude Frenchmen, and compelled them to flie. In this conflict were slaine, Lorde William Stewarde Constable of Scotland, and his brother, the Lorde Dornall, the Lord Delabret, the Lorde Chasteaubrian, Sir Iohn Basgot, and other Frenche men and Scottes,

The victorie of the English men at the towne of Ronuray in Beaussy.

to

to the number of. xxv. hundreth, and aboue. xj. hundreth taken prisoners, although French writer affirme the number lesse.

After this fortunate victorie, sir Iohn Fastolfe and his companie (of the which no man of any reputation was eyther slaine or taken) came with all their cariages, vitaile, and prisoners, to the siege before Orleaunce, where they were ioyously receyued and welcomed of all the Souldiours. This conflict (because the most part of the cariage was Heryng and Lenten stuffe) the Frenche men call the vnfortunate battaile of Herynges. The batteayle of Herringes.

The Erle of Suffolke, beyng thus vitayled, continued his siege, and euery day almost skirmished with his enemies, which, being in dispayre of all succours, began to common amongest themselues, howe they might render the towne, to their most honour and profite. After much reasonyng, and long debatyng amongest the Capteines, and the Magistrates of the towne, what way was best to be folowed: Some affirmed it not only to be shamefull and dishonourable, but also vnnaturall and vnreasonable, to yelde the towne to the Englishemen, beyng neither friendes nor fauourers of the Frenche nacion: other, fearyng the victory of the Englishemen, imagined, that if they by force possessed the Citie, they would do to them as tyrantes be accustomed to serue wilfull and obstinate people, and therefore they thought it a great folly and a notable lightnesse, aswell not to beware of the one, as to denie or refuse the other. But when they saw, that their glorie must nedes decline to a shame and reproche, they thought to find a meane way to saue themselues, and their Citie from the captiuitie of their enemies, and deuised to submit their Citye, themselues, and all theirs vnder the obeysance of Philip Duke of Burgoyn, because he was brought out of the stocke & blood royall of the auncient house of Fraunce: thinkyng by this meanes (as they did in deede) to breake or minishe the great amitie betwene the Englishe men and him.

After this poynt concluded, they made open and sent to the Duke al their deuises and intentes, which certefied them that he would gladly receyue their offer, so that the Regent of Fraunce would thereto agree and consent. And thervpon dispatched certeyn Ambassadors to the Duke of Bedford, to whom these newes were straunge and not very pleasant, vpon which poynt, he assembled a great counsaile. Some thought that maner of yeeldyng to be both honorable and profitable to the king of England, by reason whereof, so great a Citie, and so rich a Countrie, should be brought out of the possession of their enemyes, into the handes of their trustie friendes, without further coste or bloodshed. The Duke of Bedford and other were of a contrary opinion, thinkyng it both dishonourable, and vnprofitable to the realme of England, to see a Citie so long besieged at the costes and expenses of the king of England, & almost brought to the point of yeldyng, to be yelded to any other forein Prince or Potestate, and not to him or his Regent, the example whereof might prouoke other townes hereafter to do the same. This reason tooke place, and the Regent aunswered the Dukes Ambassadors, that it was not honorable nor yet consonant to reason, that the king of England should beate the Bushe, and the Duke of Burgoyne should haue the birdes: Wherefore sithe the right was his, the warre was his, and the charge was his, he sayde that the Citie ought not to be yelded to no other person, but to him, or to his vse and profite. By this little chaunce, succeded a great chaunge in the Englishe affayres, for a double mischiefe of this aunswere arose and sprong out. For first the Duke of Burgoyne began to conceyue a certein priuie grudge agaynst the Englishemen for this cause: thinkyng them to enuy and beare malice agaynst his glory and profite, for the which in continuance of tyme he became their enemie, and cleued to the Frenche king. Secondly, the Englishemen left the siege of Orleaunce, which by this treatie they might haue had to friend, or to haue continued neuter, till their Lorde the Duke of Orleance, or the Erle of Angulosie his brother were deliuered out of the captiuitie of the Englishe people. But if men were Angels and forsaw thinges to come, they lyke beastes would not runne to their confusion: but fortune which guideth the destenie of man will turne her wheele as shee listeth, who so euer sayth nay.

While this treatie of the Orleaunces was in hande, Charles the Dolphyn daily studied, and hourely laboured, to plucke the fauour and heartes of the Nobilitie of Fraunce, from the Englishe Nation, to the entent, that he might assemble a puyssaunce sufficient, to relieue his friendes, beyng shut vp in the Citie of Orleaunce. While he was studiyng and compassyng this matter, there happened to him a straunge chaunce, of the which I will write a little, because some of the Frenche Aucthours, and especially, Iohn Bouchet wryteth of it to much.

Ione a mayde commoniy called by the frenchmen la Puzelle de dieu.

For as he and other say, there came to him beyng at Chynon, a mayde of the age of xx. yeres, and in mannes apparell, named Ione, borne in Burgoyne, in a towne called Droymy besyde Vancolour, which was a greate space a Chamberlein in a common Hostrey, and was a Rampe of such boldnesse, that she would course horses, and ride them to water, and do thinges, that other yong maydens both abhorred and were ashamed to do: yet as some say, whether it were because of her foule face, that no man would desire it, either because she had made a vowe to liue chaste, she kept her maydenhed, and preserued her virginitie. She (as a monster) was sent to the Dolphyn, by sir Robert Bandrencort Capteyne of Vancolour, to whome she declared, that she was sent from God, both to ayde the miserable citie of Orleaunce, and also to restore him to the possession of his realme, out of the which he was expulsed and ouercommed: rehersyng to him visions, traunces, and fables, full of blasphemie, superstition, and hypocrisye, that I marueyle much that wise men dyd beleeue her, and learned Clerkes would write such phātasyes. What should I reherse, howe they say, she knewe and called him her king, whome she neuer sawe before? That she had by reuelation a sworde, to her appoynted in the Church of Saint Katheryn, of Fierboys in Torayne where she neuer had bene? that she declared such priuie messeges from God, our Ladie, and other saints, to the Dolphyn, that she made the teares ronne downe from his eyes? So was he deluded, so was he blinded, and so was he deceyued by the Deuilles meanes which suffered her to begin her race, and in cōclusion rewarded her with a shamefull fal. But in the meane season, such credence was geuen to her, that she was honored as a saint of the religious, and beleued as one sent from God of the Temporaltie, insomuch that she (armed at all poyntes) rode from Poyters to Bloys, and there founde men of warre, vitaile, and munitions, readie to be conueyed to Orleaunce.

The Englishemen perceiuyng that they within could not long continue for default of vitail & powder, kept not their watch so diligently as they were accustomed, nor scoured not the Countrie enuironed, as they before had ordeyned: which negligence, the Citizens beyng shut in perceyuyng, sent word thereof to the French Capteynes, which with Puzell in the dead time of the night, and in great raine and thunder, with all their vitaile and artillerie entered into the City. And the next day the Englishemen boldely assaulted the towne, promisyng to them that best scaled the walles great rewardes. Then men mounted on Ladders couragiously, and with Gonnes, Arowes and Pikes, beate their enemyes from the walles.

The Frenchmen, although they marueyled at the fierce fighting of the Englishe people, yet they were not amased, but they defended themselues to the darke night, on which day no great priuate feate worthy of memorie, was eyther attempted or done. The Bastarde of Orleaunce (seyng the puissaunce of the Englishe nation) beganne to feare the sequele of the matter: wherefore he sent worde to the Duke of Alaunson, aduertisyng him in what case the towne then stoode, and that it could not continue wythout hys hasty speede, and quick diligence. Which delaiyng no time, nor deferring no space, came with all his army within two leagues of the City, and sent worde to the Capitaynes, that on the next morowe they should be ready to receiue them. Which thing the next daye they accomplished, for the Englishe men thought it to be much to their auaile, if so great a multitude entered into the Citie, vexed with famine and replenished with scarcenesse. On the next day in the morning the Frenchmen altogether issued out of the towne, and assauted the

the Fortresse or Bastile, called the Bastile of Saint Loure, the which with great force, and no litle losse they tooke and set it on fyre, and after assauted the Towre at the bridge foote, which was manfully defended. But the French men being more in number, so fiercely assauted it, that they tooke it or the Lorde Talbot could come to succours, in the which Wylliam Gladdisdale the Capitayne was slaine, and the Lorde Morlyns, and the lorde Pownyngs also.

The Frenchmen puffed vp with this good luck, seing the strong Fortresse was vngotten, which was vnder the defence of the lorde Talbot, fetched a compasse about, and in good order of battayle marched thetherward. The lorde Talbot lyke a Capitayne without feare or dread of so great a multitude, issued out of his Bastile, and so fiercely fought with the french men, that they not able to withstand his puissaunce, fled (lyke sheepe before the Wolffe) agayne into the Citie, with great losse of men and small artillerie: and of the Englishe men were lost in the two Bastiles sixe hundred persons. Then the Erle of Suffolke, the lorde Talbot, the lorde Scales, and other Capitaines, assembled together, where causes were shewed, that it was both necessary and conuenient eyther to leaue the siege for euer, or to deferre it till an other time, more luckey and conuenient. And to the intent that they should not seme eyther to flie or to be driuen from the siege by their enimies, they determined to leaue their fortresses and Bastiles, and to assemble in the plaine field, and there to abide all the day, abyding the outcomming and battayle of their enimies. This conclusion taken, was accordingly executed. The French men weried with the last bickering, held in their heades, and durst not once appere: and so they set fyre in their lodgings, and departed in good order of battayle from Orleaunce. The next day, which was the eyght day of May, the Erle of Suffolk, ryding to Iargeaux with foure hundred Englishe men, and the Lorde Talbot with an other company returned to Meum. Which towne after that he had fortefied, he incontinent assauted and wanne the towne of Lauall and the Castell, sore vexing and punishing the townes men, for their hard hartes, and cancarde obstinacie: and leauing there a garrison, reculed to Meum.

The siege of Orleaunce broken vp.

After that the Englishe men were thus retired from the siege of Orleaunce, and seuered themselues in dyuers townes and fortresses, holding on their parte: The Duke of Alaunson, the Bastard of Orleaunce, Ione the Puzell, the Lorde of Gancort, and diuers other french men, came before the towne of Iargeaux, where the Erle of Suffolke, and his two brethren soiourned, the twelue day of Iune, and gaue to the towne a great and terrible assault, which the Englishe men, (being but a handefull) manfully defended on three partes of the same. Poyton of Sentrailes, perceyuing one part of the towne to be vndefended, scaled the walles on that part: and without any difficultie tooke the towne, and slue sir Alexander Pole brother to the Erle, and many other, to the number of two hundred: but they not much gayned, for they lost three hundred good men and more. Of the Englishe men were taken. xl. beside his brother Iohn. After thys gayne and good luck, the french men returning towarde Orleaunce, fell in contention and debate, for their captiues and prisoners, and slue them all, sauing the Erle and his brother.

After the gayning of the towne of Iargeaux, the same armie came to Meum, and tooke the towre at the bridge, and put therein a garrison, and from thence remoued to Bangency. Which garrison being not vittayled rendered the towne, so that they might depart with bagge and baggage, frankly and freely: which desire to them was graunted. At this towne of Bangency met with the Duke of Alaunson, Arthur of Britayne the false forsworne Gentleman to the king of Englande, newelye made Constable of Fraunce (as you haue heard) with whom was the Lorde Delabret with. xij. hundred men, to whome daylie repayred freshe ayde out of euery parte, as the Erle of Vandosme, and other to the number of. xx. or. xxiij. thousand men. All these men of warre, determined to go to Meum, and to take the towne, but they were informed, that the Englishe men had left the towne desolate, and were returned to the Lorde Talbot to Ieneuile. Then they concluded to passe towarde that towne. But as they marched forward vpon a Saterday, they had perfite

1428

knowlege, that the Lorde Talbot with fiue thousand men, was comming to Meum. Wherfore they intending to stop him a tyde, conueyed their company to a small Village called Patay, which way they knewe that the Englishe men must nedes passe by. And first they appointed their horsemen, which were well and rychely furnyshed, to go before, and sodainely to set on the Englishe men, or they were, eyther ware or set in order. The Englishe men comming forwarde perceyued the horsemen, and imagining to deceyue their enimies, commaunded the footemen to enuirone and enclose themselues about with their stakes, but the french horsemen came on so fiercely, that the archers had no leysure to set themselues in aray. There was no remedie, but to fight at aduenture. This battayle continued by the space of three long houres. And although the Englishe men were ouerpressed, with the number of their aduersaries, yet they neuer fled back one foote, till their Captayne the Lorde Talbot was sore wounded at the backe, and so was taken. Then their heartes began to faint, and they fled, in which flight, there were slayne aboue twelue hundred, and taken. xl. wherof the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Scales, the Lorde Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Rampstone, were the chiefe: Howbeit diuers archers which had shot all their arrowes, hauing onely their swordes defendyng themselues, and with the helpe of some of the horsemen, came safe to Meum.

A sore skirmish wherein the Englishe men had great losse.

The Lorde Talbot, the lord Scales, and the lorde Hungerford taken.

When the fame was blowen abroade, that the Lorde Talbot was taken, all the French men not a little reioysed, thinking surely that nowe the rule of the Englishe men should shortly asswage and waxe faynt: for feare whereof, the townes of Ieneuile, Meum, Fort, and dyuers other returned from the Englishe parte, and became French, to the great displeasure of the Regent. From this battayle departed without any stroke striken, syr Iohn Fastolffe, the same yere, for hys valyauntnesse elected into the order of the Garter: For which cause the Duke of Bedford, in a great anger toke from hym the Image of saint George, and his Garter: but afterward, by meane of friends, and apparaunte causes of good excuse by him alleged, he was restored to the order agayne, agaynst the minde of the Lorde Talbot.

Charles, calling himselfe French king, being aduertised of this victory, thought nowe that all things succeeded, according to his opinion and good hope, which euer was of that high courage and haute minde, that in hys most aduersitie, he neuer dispayred in good lucke at length: so that the Erle of Salisburie being dead, and the Lorde Talbot lying in captiuitie (which were the glory of his enimies) he thought to enterprise great and waighty things, where before he medeled with small and little doings. For fulfilling of his minde and appetite, he determined, first to conquere the Citie of Reynes, to the intent that he being there, might according to the fashion of his progenitors, with all accustomed Ceremonies, be sacred and annoynted king, that all men might see and perceyue, that he was by all lawes and decrees, a iust and a lawfull king. Wherefore he assembling together a great armie, and hauing in his companie Ioan the Puzell, whome he vsed as an Oracle and a Southsayer, passed thorough Champaigne by the Towne of Anxer which he besieged, they within sent to him Messengers, prayeng him of certaine dayes of abstinence of warre, in the which (if they were not rescued) they promised to render the Towne. He not wylling to recompence with ingratitude the louing hartes of the Citezens, graunted gently to their peticion, and leauing there certain persons, to see that they should not iugle with hym, departed from thence to Troys, being the chiefe Citie of Campaigne, which he besieged twelue dayes. Sir Philip Hall Captayne there, vnprouyded both of vitayle and men, mistrusting that ayde would not come in time, vpon composition rendered the towne, so that he and his, with all their mouables might in safetie departe the Citie: which demaunde was agreed to. After that Troys was yeelded, the commomaltie of Chalons rebelled against sir Iohn Awbemond their capitayne, and constrayned him to deliuer the towne vpon like composition, which against his will he was faine to doe: and likewise did the citizens of Reins, desiring him to geue safe conduite to all Englishe men, safely to departe.

Anxer besieged.

Troys besieged and yelded to the French men.

Awbemond deliuered to the French.

Reynes deliuered to the French.

When he had thus conquered Reyns, he in the presence of all the Noble men of his faction, and the Dukes of Lorayne and Barre, was sacred king of Fraunce, by the name of Charles the sixt, with all tytles and ceremonies thereto apperteyning. They of Anxer which were not rescued within the time appointed, brought the kayes to him, and submitted themselues to hys obeysaunce: lykewise did all the Cities and townes adioyning geuyng thankes to almightie God, which hauyng compassion on their miserie, had restored them to libertie and freedome. Charles the Dolphyn crowned king of Fraunce.

The Duke of Bedford, hearing that these townes had returned to the parte of his aduersaries, and that Charles late Dolphin had taken vpon him the name and estate of the king of Fraunce, and also seing that daylie Cities and townes returned from the English part, and became French, as though the Englishe men had nowe lost all their hardie Chiefetaynes and valyaunt men of warre, espyed and euidently perceyued, that the laste and vttermost point of recouery, was driuen onely to ouercome by battayle, and to subdue by force. By which victorie (as he put his confidence in God) he trusted not onely to scourge and plague the Cities, which were so sodainely chaungeable, but also to asswage and caulme the haute courage of the newe sacred French king and his companions. Wherefore he hauing together ten thousand good Englishe men (beside Normans) departed out of Paris in warlike fashion, and passed through Brie to Monstrell Faultyow, and there sent by Bedforde his Herault letters to the French king, alleging to him that he contrary to the lawes of God and man, yea and contrary to the finall conclusion, taken, concorded, and agreed betweene his noble brother king Henry the fift, and king Charles the fift, father to the sayde now vsurper, leauyng all humaine reason and honest communication (which sometime appeaseth debates and pacefyeth strifes) onely allured and entysed by a deuelish Witch, and a fanaticall Enchaunteresse, had not onely falsely and craftely taken vpon him, the name, title & dignity of the king of France: but also had by murder, stealing, craft, and deceitfull meanes, violently gotten, and wrongfully kept, diuers Cities and townes, belonging to the king of England, his most best beloued Lorde, and most deerest Nephew. For profe wherof, he was come downe from Paris with his armie, into the Countrie of Brye, by dent of sworde, and stroke of battayle, to proue his wryting and cause true, willing his enimie to chose the place, and he in the same would geue him battayle.

The newe French Kyng, departyng from his solempne ceremonies at Reins, and remouing from thence to Dampmartine, studiyng howe to compasse the Parisians, eyther with money, or with promise, was somewhat troubled with this message, howbeit he made a good countenaunce, and a French bragge, aunswering to the Herault: that he would sooner seeke hys mayster the Duke, then that the Duke should pursue him. The Duke of Bedford hering his aunswere, marched toward him, and pitched his field in a strong place, and sent out diuers of his raungers, to prouoke the Frenche men to come forward. The French king was in maner determined to abide the battayle, but when he heard say by his Espialles, that the power and number of the Englishe men were to his army equall in power, he determined that it was more for his profite, to abstaine from battayle without daunger, then to enter into the conflict with ieopardie: fearing least that with a rashe courage, he might ouerthrowe all his affayres, which so effectuously proceeded. And so well aduised, he turned with his armie a little out of the way. The Duke of Bedford perceyuing his faint courage, followed him by Mountaynes and dales, till he came to a Towne in Barre, not farre from Senlis, where he found the French king and his army. Wherefore he ordered his battayle, lyke a man expert in marciall science, setting the Archers before, and himselfe with the noble men in the mayne battayle, and put the Normans on both sides for the winges. The French king also ordered hys battayles, according to the deuise of his Capitaynes. Thus these two armies without any great doing (except a fewe skirmishes, in the which the Dukes light horsemen did very valyaunly,) laye eche in sight of other, by the space of two dayes and two nightes. But when the French king sawe, and

and perceyued, how glad, howe diligent and couragious the Englishe men were to fight and geue battayle, he imagined that by his taryeng, one of these two things must nedes chaunce: that is to say, eyther he should fight against his will, or lye still like a coward, to his great rebuke and infamie. Wherefore in the dead of the night (as priuely as he could) he brake vp his campe and fled to Bray. When this flight was perceyued in the morning, the Regent could scarce refraine his people, from folowyng the French army, calling them cowardes, dastardes and loutes, and therefore, he perceyuing that by no meanes, he could allure the newe French king to abide battayle, mistrusting the Parisians, and geuing no great credite to their fayre, swete, and flattering wordes, returned agayne to Paris, to assemble together a greater power, and so to prosecute his enimies.

In this season, the Bohemians (which belike had espied the vsurped auethoritie of the Bishop of Rome) began to Rebell against his Sea. Wherfore, Martin the fift, Bishop of Rome, wrote vnto them to absteyne from warre, and to be reconciled by reason, from their damnable opinions. But they (beyng perswaded to the contrary) neyther gaue eare vnto him, nor yet obeyed his voyce. Wherefore the Bishop of Rome, wrote to the Princes of Germanie, to inuade the Realme of Beame, as the den of heretykes. Beside this, he appoynted Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinall of Saint Eusebie, a man very well borne (as you haue heard) but no better borne then high stomacked, to be his Legate in this great iourney, and to bring out men from the Realme of England, into the Countrie of Beame. And because the war touched religion, he licenced the sayd Cardinall, to take the tenth part of euery spirituall dignitie, benefice and promocion. This matter, was declared in open Parliament in England, and not dissented, but gladly assented to, wherfore the bishop gathered the money, and assembled foure thousand men, and mo, not without great grudge of the people, which daily were with tallages and aydes weried, and sore burdened. And when men, municions, and money were redie for his high enterprise, he with all his people came to the Sea stroud at Douer, redie to passe ouer the Sea into Flaundyrs.

But in the meane season, the Duke of Bedford considerying, how townes dayly were gotten, and Countries hourely wonne in the realme of Fraunce, for lacke of sufficient defence and number of men of warre, wrote to his brother the Duke of Gloucester, to relieue him with ayde, in that tempestuous tyme and troubleous season. When this letter was brought into England, the Duke of Gloucester was not a little amazed, because he had no armie redie to sende at that tyme: For by the reason of the Crewe sent into Beame, he could not sodeinly rayse a new armie. But because the matter was of such importance, and might neyther be from day to day differred, nor yet long delayed, he wrote to the Bishop of Winchester, to passe with all his armie toward the Duke of Bedford, which at that tyme had both nede of men and assistaunce, considerying that nowe, all stood vpon losse or gaine: which thing done, and to his honor achieued, he might performe his iourney agaynst the Bohemians. Although the Cardinall was somewhat moued with this countermaund, yet least he should be noted, not to ayde the Regent of Fraunce, in so great a cause, and so necessary an enterprise, he bowed from his former iorney, and passed the sea with all his companie, and brought them to his Cosin, to the Citie of Parys.

Charles the Frenche King, hauyng knowledge in the meane season by his espials, which went round about the Country, to intise & sollicite townes and Cities, to returne from the Englishe part, and become French, that the inhabitantes of Champaine, and Beauuoys, ought to him great loue and singuler fauour, and gladly coueted to renounce the subiection of England, and to be vnder his protection, and also offered to open him their Gates, so that they should not thereby, be in ieopardie of their lyues, and losse of theyr goodes, with all hast and diligence remoued towarde Champaigne. The Duke of Bedforde beyng aduertised of his progresse, and hauyng his armie augmented, with the newe ayde, which the Cardinall had of late conducted, marched forward with great speede to encounter and geue battayle, to hys mortall enemie the French king. When the Duke

was

was come to Senlis, the Frenchmen were lodged on the Mountpilioll, betwene Senlis and Champaigne. Euery army knewe of other, and euery host might beholde other. Then the Campes were trenched, and the battayles pitched, and the fieldes ordered.

Thus these great armyes laye two dayes, nothyng doyng but wyth skirmishes, in the which the Normanes sore vexed the French men. Wherefore the Lord Regent, gaue to them many high laudes and praisynges, and determined surely the next day to set on the French king in his Campe, if he would abyde battaile. But while king Charles did polletikely consider, what a variable Lady, Fortune was, and what a sodein and vnthought chaunce of a small thing, might do in a battaile: for the detrimentes and ouerthrowes, that he and his Nacion had taken and tasted by the Englishe men, were to them a learnyng, to auoyd open ioinyng, mutuall conflict, and force to force. And besyde that, he had by his searchers and spyes, plaine and perfect knowledge, that many and diuers Cities and townes in Fraunce, abhorryng the English libertie, and aspiryng to the French bondage and natiue seruitude, (accordyng to the nature of Asses, which the more they be charged with, the more they desyre) would (when they saw their tyme) not onely rebell and returne to his faction and part, but also were redie to ayde and assist him, in recouery of his desired realme and auncient dominion, in expellyng also the Englishe nacion out of the territories of Fraunce. And therefore he imagined that the Duke of Bedford, was so hastie to geue him battaile, thinkyng that if he then were ouercome, the game had for the Englishemen bene clerely gotten, and to the Frenchmen, a perpetuall checkmate. Wherefore he determined neuer (except very necessitie compelled or constrayned him) to fight in open battaile with the Englishemen, nor by a field to aduenture his realme with them, of whome his predecessors so often tymes had bene vanquished, wherefore like a carpet Capteyne, he in the night, remoued his Campe and fled to Crespie, and yet his number was double to the Englishe armie. The Duke of Bedford seeyng that the French king, was thus cowardly retrayted, and as a man which durst not once assay the stroke of an Englishe arme, shamefully reculed: with all his power and armie, and returned againe to Parys, sore suspectyng the deceytfull fayth of the polletique Parisians. The Bishop of Winchester, after the French kinges flight, went into Beame, and there did somewhat, but what it was Aucthours kepe silence, and so do I: But shortly he without any great prayse, and small gaine, returned into England, more glad of his retraite, then of his aduauncyng forwarde. Sone after the Bishop of Rome without his agreement, vnlegated him, and set an other in his steede and aucthoritie, with which doyng he was neyther content, nor pleased.

On the sixt day of Nouember, beyng the day of Saint Leonard, king Henry, in the eight yere of his reigne, was at Westminster with all pompe and honor, crowned king of this realme of England. 1429 8 The coronation of King Henry the sixt at Westminster.

But to returne to the troubleous warres in Fraunce. After that the French king was fled from the Duke of Bedford (as you haue heard before) and was come to Crespy in Valoys, he was credibly informed, how the Citizens of Champaigne, desired greatly to be vnder his gouernaunce and subiection. Wherefore he mindyng not to lese so fayre an offered pray, ceassed not till he came to the towne, where with al reuerence and benignitie, he was receyued and welcommed. And after that, were rendered to him the townes of Senlis and Beauoys. And the Lorde Longuenall tooke by stealth, the Castell of Aumerle, and slue all the Englishe men, and in short space, the Lorde Barbason, which long had beene prisoner in the Castell Gaylard, so muche, what with fayre wordes and large promises, perswaded his kepers, that he not only deliuered his awne person, but also caused the towne, to turne from the English men, to the part of king Charles his mayster. Which king although he much reioysed, at the good successe, that Fortune had to hym sent, yet he was somewhat desperate, how to recouer his countrie from the possession of the English men, except he vnknitted the knot and league, betwene the Duke of Burgoyn and them. Wherfore he sent his Chauncelor, and diuers Ambassadors to

the Duke of Burgoyn, first excusyng himselfe of the death and murther of Duke Iohn his father, and after, declaryng to him, that there could be nothing more foule, more dishonest, nor more detestable, then, for his awne peculiar cause, and priuate displeasure, to ioyne with hys auncient enimies, and perpetuall aduersaries agaynst his natiue Countrie and naturall Nacion: Not onely requiryng him of concord, peace, and amity, but also promisyng golden Mountaines, and many more benefites, then at that tyme, he was eyther able or could performe. This message was not so secrete, nor the doyng so closely cloked, but the Duke of Bedforde, thereof was plainely enformed. Which, beyng sore troubled, and vnquieted in hys minde, because he sawe the power of the Englishe nacion, dayly waxe lesse, he of all thinges first foreseyng, if any losse should of necessitie chaunce, of those townes and Countries, which his noble brother king Henry the fift had cõquered, in the very Countrie of Fraunce, for lacke of tuicion or defence: yet for an Ankerholde, he determined to kepe, possesse, and defende, the Duchie of Normandie, the olde inheritaunce and auncient Patrimonie of the kinges of England, and from them onely, by force and not by iustice, by violence and not by right, sithe the tyme of King Henry the thirde, (the deuilish deuision then reignyng in the realme) wrongfully deteyned, and iniuriously vsurped. Wherefore, he diligently prouidyng, for thinges that might chaunce, appointed gouernor of the Citie of Parys, Lewes of Luxenborough, Bishop of Turwyne and Ely, beyng Chauncelor of Fraunce, for the king of England, a man of no lesse wit, then of birth, leauyng with him a conuenient number of Englishmen to defend both the Citie and territorie of Paris, and the Isle of Fraunce, then beyng in the Englishe mens possession and gouernaunce.

The duke of Bedford Regent of fraūce calleth a parliament at Roan.

These thinges thus ordered, he departed from Paris, into Normandie, and called at Roan a Parliament, of the three estates of the Duchie, in the which he declared vnto them, the great liberties, the manifolde priuileges, the innumerable benefites, which they had receyued of the kinges of England, duryng the tyme that they were possessors, and Lordes of the same Duchie, not puttyng in obliuion, the miserie, bondage, and calamitie, which they had susteyned, by the intollerable yoke, and dayly tributes, continually layde in their neckes lyke Asses, by the cruell and couetous Frenchmen: And puttyng them also in remembraunce, how the kinges of England, were notonely brought foorth and discended of the Normans blood and progenie, but were the very true and vndoubtfull heyres, to the same Countrie & Duchie, lineally succedyng and lawfully discendyng from Rollo the hardie, first Duke and prince of the same Dominion: Requiryng them further, to liue in loue and amitie amongest them selfes, to be true and obedient to the king their souereigne Lorde and to kepe their othe and promes, made and sworne to his noble brother, king Henry the fift, promisyng to them, English libertie and priueleges royall.

While the Duke of Bedford was thus interteinyng and encouragyng the Normans, Charles the newe French king, beyng of his departure aduertised, longyng and thirstyng for to obteyne Paris, the chiefe Citie & principall place of resort, within the whole realme of Fraunce, departed from the towne of Senlis wel accompanied, and came to the towne of Saint Denise, which he found desolate, and abandoned of all garrison, and good gouernãce. Wherefore, without force and small damage, he entered into the voyd towne and lodged his armie at Mountmartir, and Abberuilliers, nere adioinyng, and liyng to the Citie of Parys. And from thence, sent Iohn Duke of Alanson, and his sorceresse Ioan (called the Mayde sent from God) in whom, his whole affiaunce then consisted, with three thousand light horsemen, to get againe the Citie of Paris, eyther by force, or by fayre flatteryng, or reasonable treatie, and after them, he without delay or deferryng of tyme, with all hys power, came betwene Mountmartir and Parys, and sodeinly approched the gate of Saint Honore, settyng vp Ladders to the walles, and castyng Faggots into the diches, as though he would with a French brag, sodeinly haue gotten the fayre Citie. But the Englishe Capteynes, euery one kepyng his warde and place assigned, so manfully and fiercely, with a noble courage, defended themselues, their walles and Towers, with the assistence,

assistence of the Parisiens, that they rebutted and draue away the Frenchmen, and threw downe Ione, their great Goddesse, into the botome of the towne ditche, where shee lay behinde the backe of an Asse, sore hurt, till the tyme that she all filthie with mire and durt, was drawen out, by Guyschard of Thienbrone, seruaunt to the Duke of Alaunson. The French king, seyng the great losse, that he had susteyned at this assault, and accompted his pretensed conquest in maner impossible, leauyng the dead bodies behinde him, and takyng with him, the wounded Captaynes, which were of no small number, returned into Berry. But in the meane way, the Citezens of Laignie became his subiectes, and made to him an othe, promisyng to continue from thencefoorth to him, both true and obedient.

Ione the holy mayde ouerthrowne.

The Duke of Bedford, beyng in Normandie, and heryng of this sodain attempt, lost no tyme, nor spared no trauaile, till he came to Parys. Where he not onely thanked the Capteynes, and praysed the Citizens for their assured fidelitie and good will, towarde their king and souereigne Lorde, but also extolled their hardinesse, and manly doynges, aboue the Starres, and highe elementes: promisyng to them, honour, fame and great aduaunce-mentes. Which gentle exhortacion, so incoraged and inflamed the heartes of the Parisians, that they sware, promised and concluded, to be friendes euer to the king of England and his friendes, and enemies always to his foes and aduersaryes, makyng proclamation by this stile. Friendes to king Henrie, friendes to the Parisians, enemyes to England, enemies to Parys. But if they spake it with their hearts, eyther for feare, that Charles the French king should not punishe them, if he once obteyned the superioritie ouer their Citie and towne, or that they flattered the Englishemen, to put themselues in credite with the chiefe Capteines, you shall plainely perceiue, by the sequele of their actes.

The Duke of Bedford commenderth the Citizens of Paris.

Sone after these doynges, came to Parys with a great companie Philip Duke of Burgoyn, which was of the Regent, and the Ladie his wife, honourably receyued, and highly feasted. And after long consultation had, for the recoueryng of the townes, lately by the French king stollen and taken, it was agreed, that the Duke of Bedford, should rayse an armie, for the recouerie of the sayd fortresses, and that the Duke of Burgoyn, should be his deputie, and tary at Parys, for the defence of the same. After this great businesse thus concluded, and appoynted, the Duke of Bedford himselfe, without any great resistance, recouered againe the towne of Saint Denise, and dyuers other Castells. And after that done, he sent the Bastard of Clarence, to lay siege to the Castell of Toursie, beyng both by the naturall situation, and mannes pollicie, very strong and in maner vnable to be beaten downe. The siege continued six monethes, but in conclusion, the Captaine discomfited of all releue and succor, rendred the fortresse, the life of him and his souldiours onely saued: which offer was taken, and the Castell rased, and cast downe to the ground. Duryng this siege, Sir Thomas Kiriell, knight with foure hundreth Englishemen, departed from Gourney in Normandie, and road by Beauoys, spoilyng, robbyng and wastyng the Countrie, to the Suburbes of Cleremount. Whereof, heeryng the Erle of the same towne, assembled all the men of warre, of the garrisons adioynyng to fight with the Englishmen: and so the French men with all diligence set forwarde, and found their enemies in a straight place, nere vnto Beauoys. The Erle of Cleremount seing that he could not hurt them with his men of armes, by reason of the straight, came downe on foote with all his companie, and fiercely set on the Englishe men. The fight was fierce, and the aduauntage doubtfull. But in conclusion, the Archers shot so terribly, that the Frenche men not able to abide the smart, and gaules of the arrowes, fled apace, and the Englishemen leauyng the straight, leaped on horsebacke, and folowed the chase. In the which were taken two hundreth prisoners, and thrise as many slaine. The Erle, by the swiftnesse of his horse escaped his enemies, and came to the towne of Beauoys: and so Sir thomas Kiriell, with plentie of spoyle and prisoners, returned to Gournay, rendryng to God his hartie thankes for that good chaunce and happie victorie.

Yet fortune sent not this good luck alone, for the Erle of Suffolke at that same very sea-

son, besieging the towne of Aumarle, whereof was capitaine the Lorde Raimbures (after xxiiij. great assaultes geuen to the fortresse) had the towne and Castell to him simply rendered. Wherefore, he caused. xxx. of the townes men, for their vntruth to be hanged on the walles, and all the rest he raunsomed, and sent the Capitayne into England, where he remayned sixe yeres continually, and after by exchaunge was deliuered. After this, the Erle fortefied the towne with men, munitions and vytaile, and so by a little and little, the English men recouered agayne many townes which before they had lost, without any great losse of their people. Which thing the Frenche men well consydering, imagined by what meanes, how to get againe the towne of Laual, which the Lorde Talbot (before as you haue heard) gat by scalyng in a night. Wherefore to possesse their desired pray, they with money and gay promises, first corrupted a Miller, that kept a Mill adioyning to the wall, so that the Miller suffered the Lorde Homet with three hundred other, to passe thorough his Mill into the towne, in a very darke night. When they were entered, they slue the keepers of the gate, and let in the Lorde Bertrand de la Ferrier, with fiue hundred men of armes: which eyther slue or tooke prisoners, all the Englishe men within the towne. And shortly after, syr Stephin de Vignoles called the Heire, tooke by scaling the towne of Louiers in Normandy, and did much dammage to all the townes adioyning.

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While these chaunces happened, betwene the Englishe men and French men, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, maried the Ladye Isabell, daughter to Iohn King of Portyngall, and great aunt to the King of England. In honour of which mariage, he instituted and begaune an order of. xxxvj. knights without reproche, called the order of the golden Fleece, and deuised statuts, Mantels, collers and ceremonies for the same, much lyke to the ordinaunces of the noble order of the Garter begonne in Englande, almost an hundred yeres before the inuention of this fraternitie and friendship. On the which wyfe, he begat the hardie Duke Charles, father to Marie, after maried to Maximilian king of the Romaynes, as (when place requireth) shall be hereafter to you declared.

The order of the golden fleece.

The towne of Laigny besieged.

In thys very season the English men in the colde Moneth of December, besieged the towne of Laigny, in the which was the Puzel and dyuers other good Capitaynes. But the weather was so colde, and the rayne so great and continuall, that they of force compelled, not by their enemies, but by the intemperate season, reysed their siege: and in their returne, the Puzell and al the garrison within the towne, issued out and fought with the English men, where (after long fighting) both parties departed without eyther great gaine or losse. After this enterprise done, the Duke of Burgoyne accompanied with the Erles of Arundell and Suffolke, and the Lorde Iohn of Luxenbrough, wyth a great puyssaunce, besieged the towne of Compeigne: which towne was well walled, manned and vytailed, so that the besiegers must eyther by assault or long taryeng, wearie or famishe them within the towne. So they cast trenches, and made mynes, and studied all the wayes that they could deuise, howe to compasse their conquest and interprise. And it happened in the night of the Ascention of our Lorde, that Ponthon of Xentrales, Ione the Puzell, and fiue or sixe hundred men of armes, issued out of Compeigne by the gate of the bridge towarde Mowntdedier, intending to set fyre in the tents and lodgings of the Lorde of Baudo which was then gone to Marigny, for the Duke of Burgoyns affayres. At which time syr Iohn of Luxenborough, wyth eyght other gentlemen (which had riden about the towne to serche and viewe, in what place the towne might be most aptly and conuenicotly assaulted or scaled) were come nere to the lodging of the Lorde of Baudo, where they espyed the French men, which beganne to cut downe tents, ouerthrowe pauilions, and kill men in their beds. Wherefore shortly they assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgonions, and couragiously set on the Frenche men. Sore was the fight and great was the slaughter, in so much that the French men, not able lenger to indure, fled into the towne so fast, that one letted the other to enter. In which chace was taken, Ione the Puzell, and diuers other: which Ione was sent to the Duke of Bedford to Roan, where (after long examination) she was brent to ashes. This witch or manly woman (called the mayde

Compeigne besieged.

Ione the Puzell taken and brent.

mayde of God) the French men greatly glorified and highly extoled, alleging that by her Orleaunce was vitayled: by her king Charles was sacred at Reynes, and that by her, the Englishe men were often times put backe and ouerthrowne. O Lorde, what dispraise is this to the Nobilitie of Fraunce? What blot is this to the Frenche Nation? What more rebuke can be imputed to a renowmed Region, then to affirme, write and confesse, that all notable victories, and honorable conquestes, which neyther the king with his power, nor the nobilitie with their valiantnesse, nor the counsayle with their wit, nor the commonaltie with their strength could compasse or obtaine, were gotten and achiued by a shepherdes daughter, a Chamberlein in an hostrie, and a beggers brat: which blinding the wittes of the French nation, by reuelations, dreames and phantasticall visions, made them beleue things not to be supposed, and to geue fayth to things impossible. For surely, if credite may be geuen to the actes of the Clergie, openly done, and commonly shewed, thys woman was not inspyred with the holy ghost, nor sent from God (as the French men beleeue) but an Enchanteresse, an organe of the Deuill, sent from Sathan, to blinde the people, and bring them in vnbeliefe: as by a letter sent from the king of England may appere: But for that the same is long, I thought it sufficient to rehearse the effect thereof, which was as foloweth.

First that she two yeres and more, contrarie to Gods lawe, and the honest estate of womanhood, was clothed in mans apparell, and exercised the office of a Capitayne in the warres.

Also, she affirmed that she was sent of God, and that she had spoken personally with God.

Also, she caused her selfe to be honored and worshipped of many, as a woman sanctified.

And for a true declaration of the falsitie and lewdnesse of her doing, she being called before the Byshop and the Vniuersity of Paris, was there with great solempnity adiudged and condempned, a superstitious Sorceresse, and a diuelishe Blasphemeres of God, and as an erronyous wretch was consumed with fyre. And at the time of her death, she confessed how the Deuill had deluded and deceaued her.

This letter, the king of England, sent not onely to the Duke of Burgoyne and other Princes, to declare the veritie of the matter, and the administration of Iustice, but to admonishe all rude and ignoraunt persons, in all other countries, to refraine from the credite and beliefe of the sayengs, of suche prephane prophecies, and craftie imaginers, as this pieuishe painted Puzell was. Yet notwithstandyng, this lawfull processe, this due examination and publike sentence, Iohn Buchet, and diuers French wryters affirme her to be a saint in heauen. But because it is no point of our fayth, no man is bound to beleue his iudgement, although he were an Archdeken. But Paulus Emilius, a famous wryter, rehersing that the Citezensof Orleaunce, had buylded in the honor of her an Image or an Idole, sayth that Pius Byshop of Rome, and Anthony Byshop of Florence, much maruayled and greatly wondered at her actes and doings. With which saiyng I can very well agree, that she was more to be maruayled at, as a false prophetisse, and seducer of the people, then to be honored or worshipped as a Saint sent from God into the realme of Fraunce. For of this I am sure, that all auncient wryters, as well diuine as prophane, allege these three thinges beside dyuers other, to apperteine to a good woman. First shamefastnesse, which the Romaine Ladies so kept, that seldome or neuer they were seene openly talking with a man: which vertue at this day amongst the Turkes, is highly estemed. The second is pittie: which in a womans hart, abhorreth the spylling of the bloud of a poore beast, or a sicly birde. The thirde is womanly behauiour, aduoyding the occasion of euill iudgement, and causes of slaunder. If these qualities, be of necessitie incident to a good woman, where was her shamfastnesse, when she daylie and nightly was conuersant with comen souldiours and men of warre, amongst whome is small honestie, lesse vertue and shamefastnesse least of all exercised or vsed? Where was her womanly

Iohn Buchet.

Paulus Emilius.

Three properties that appertaine to a good woman.

pittie, when she taking to her the heart of a cruell beast, slue man woman and childe, where she might haue the vpper hande? Where was her womanly behauiour, when she cladde her selfe in a mans clothing, and was conuersaunt with euery losell, geuing an occasion to all men to iudge, and speake euill of her, and her doings. Then these things, being thus plainely true, all men must needes confesse, that the cause ceasing, the effect also ceaseth: so that if these morall vertues lacking, she was no good woman, then it must needes consequently folow, that she was no saint.

Now leauing this woman, consumed to ashes, let vs returne agayne to the siege of Compeigne, which still contynued. During which tyme, the Regent sent to the Duke of Burgoyne, lyeng at the siege, the Erle of Huntyngdon, sir Iohn Robsert with a thousand Archers, which daylie skirmished with them of the towne, and made suche Bastiles and fortresses, that the towne must nedes be rendered, or else they within famished. But see the chaunce, when victorie was at hande, tydings were brought to the Duke of Burgoyn, that Philip Duke of Brabant, was departed out of this worlde, leauing behinde him no heire of his body: To whome the sayde Duke pretended to be next heyre, wherefore he taking with him, his best Capitaynes, for the recouery of so great a Duchy, departed from the siege, leauing his poore people behinde him, and ordeyned in his place, for his Lieutenaunt, Sir Iohn Luxenborough, which being of small strength and lesse courage, after the Dukes departing, aduised the English men to depart for that time, till the next Sommer: which thereto at the first, would in no wise agree. But there was no remedy, for he was Capitaine generall, and had the ordinaunce vnder his rule, so that without that, they could nothing doe: Wherfore in great displeasure, they returned into Normandy. After whose departure, the Captaine set fire in all the Bastiles, and secretly departed, leauing behinde him dyuers peeces of ordynaunce, for lack of cariage. Wyth which returne, the Dukes of Bedford and Burgoyn, were sore displeased: for if he had continued his siege eyght dayes lenger, the towne had bene rendered without dent of sworde. For pestilence and famine, had almost consumed all the Souldiours, and left the towne without safegard or defence.

After this siege broken vp, Iohn Duke of Norffolke tooke agayne the townes of Dampmartyn, and the Chasse Mongay, & dyuers other townes. And the Erle of Stafforde tooke the towne of Brie, in Countie Robert, and from thence, forraged all the Countrey to Sens, and after tooke Quesnoy in Brie, Grand Puys, and Rampellon, with many prisoners, as sir Iaques de Milly, and sir Iohn de la Hay. During which time the French men tooke Louiers, and Villuence. And then the towne of Melune rebelled, and had suche ayde of other townes adioyning, that the English Souldiours, were fayne to leaue Melune, Morret, and Corbell. Thus, according to the chaunce of warre, the one parte gat, and the other lost. Thus the Englishe affayres (as you haue heard) within the realme beganne to wauer, and waxe variable, which caused the Englishe Capitaynes to be of diuers opinions. For one part being sorie and pensiue, adiudged the things present, light and of no moment, in comparison of them which they saw likely to folowe: and another sort, adiudged that present time to be most ieoperdous, and perillous: Because they sawe the power of their enemies nowe increased, and their awne strength rather decayed, then conserued. And so euery man studyeng on this businesse, aduised secretly with himselfe, what counsayle was best to be taken, and what way was best to be folowed, to remedie these things, thus waueryng in a doubtfull Ballance, did at the last conclude, that it was most apt and mete, for the time present, that king Henry in his royall person, with a new armie, should come downe into Fraunce, partely to comfort and visite his awne subiects there: partly eyther by feare or fauour (because a childe of his age and beautie doth commonly allure to him, the hartes of the elder persons) to cause the Frenchmen to continue in their due obeysaunce towarde him. Wherefore after a great host, conuenient for that purpose, assembled, and money for the maintenaunce of the warre, redy gathered, and the realme set in order, and the Duke of Gloucester appoynted Gouernour (which during

ring the kings absence, appeased dyuers riottes, and punished many offenders) the king with a great power, tooke shypping at Douer, and landed at Calice, and there taried a good space, and from thence, he remoued to Roan, where with all triumph, he was receyued, and there soiourned till the middest of August, hys nobles daylie consulting on their great businesse, and waightie affayres. King Henry the sixt goeth with an armie into Fraunce,

In the Month of Nouember, he remoued from Roan to Ponthoise, and so to saint Denice, to the intent to make his entrie into the Citie of Paris, and there to be sacred king of Fraunce, and to receyue the Scepter and Crowne of the realme and Countrey. 1431 10

There were in his company of his awne Nation, his Vncle the Cardinall of Winchester, the Cardinall and Archebyshop of Yorke, the Dukes of Bedford, Yorke, and Norffolke, the Eaules of Warwike, Salisburie, Oxford, Huntyngdon, Ormonde, Mortayn, Suffolke, and of Gascoynes, the Erle of Longuile, and Marche, beside many noble men of Englande, Guyan & Normandy. And the chiefe of the French nation were the Dukes of Burgoyn, and Lewes of Luxenbrogh Cardinall and Chaunceliour of Fraunce for king Henry, the Byshops of Beauoys and Neyon, both peeres of Fraunce, beside the Byshop of Paris, and dyuers other Byshops, the Erle of Waudemount, and other noble men, whose names were to tedyous to reherse. And he had in a garde about his person, three thousande strong archers, some on horseback, and parte on foote. And as he was comming, betwene Saint Denice and Paris, he was met at the Chapell, in the meane way, by Syr Simon Moruer Prouost of Paris, with a great company, all clothed in redde Sutin, with blewe Whoodes, which did to him due reuerence and lowe obeysaunce. After whome came dyuers riche and notable Burgesses of the towne of Paris, all appareled in Crimosyne cloth. After they had done their reuerence, there approched to the king the. ix. worthies, sytting richely on horseback, armed with the armes to them apperteyning. Next after them, came the knight of the watch, for the prouost Marchants, and with him, all the officers of the Courte, appareled in blew, and Hattes redde. And in a long space after, came Master Philip de Noruillier, chiefe president of the Parliament, appareled in a robe of estate: and all the other Presidentes of the Parliament, clothed in robes of Scarlet, and in lyke robes folowed the Lordes of the chamber of accomptes, and of the finaunce, the Masters of the requestes, the Secretaries, and Regesters, and euery company, as their course came, saluted the king with eloquent Orations and heroicall Verses, and so conueyed him to the gate of Saint Denice, where the Prouost of the Marchauntes, and the Shriefes of the towne receyued him with a Canapy of blew Velvet richely embraudred, with flower Delices of Golde, and bare the same ouer him, through the towne, which on euery side was hanged with riche clothes of Arras and Tapissery. And at euery porte and bridge where he passed, was set a Pageaunt of great shew and small cost, which because they were but trifles, I ouer passe, and speake but of one deuise, made before the gate of the Chastelet, where vpon a stage stoode a goodly childe, clothed with habite royall, set full of flower Delices, hauing two crownes on his head, representing the yong king, and on his right hande stoode two noble personages, in the armes of Burgoyne and Flaunders: and on the left side of him, stode three personages clothed in the armes of Bedford, Salisburie, and Warwike, which to him delyuered the sworde of England. This Pageaunt was well regarded, and highly praysed. From thence he departed to the Palace, and offered in the Chapell, and from thence he departed to the house of Tournelles, and there tooke his repast. And the next day he was conueyed to Boys de Vincennes, where he reposed himselfe till the fiftene day of December: on which daye, he returned to the Palace of Paris. And on the. xvij. of the sayde Moneth, he departed from the Palace in great triumph, honorably accompanyed to our Lady church of Paris: where with all solempnitie he was annoynted and crowned king of Fraunce by the Cardinall of Winchester: (the Byshop of Paris not being content that the Cardinall should doe such a high ceremonie in his Church and iurisdiction.) At the offering he offered Bread and Wine, as the custome of Fraunce is. When the diuine seruice was fi- The coronation of king Henry the sixt in Paris.

ed, and all ceremonies due, to that high estate accomplished, the king departed towarde the Palaice, hauing one crowne on his head, and another borne before him, and one scepter in his hand, and the second borne before him. What should I speake of the honorable seruice, the daintie dishes, the pleasaunt conceytes, the costly Wynes, the sweete Armony, the Musicall instruments, which were seene and shewed at that feast, sithe all men may coniecture, that nothing was omitted, that might be bought for Golde, nor nothing was forgotten that by mans wyt could be inuented. Yet this high and ioyous feast, was not without a spot of displeasure, for the Cardinall of Winchester which at this time, would haue no man to him egall, commaunded the Duke of Bedford, to leaue of the name of Regent, duryng the time that the King was in Fraunce: affirming the chiefe ruler being in presence, the auctboritie of the substitute was cleerely derogate: according to the common saying: in the presence of the high power, the small auctboritie geueth place. The Duke of Bedford tooke such a secret displeasure with thys doing, that he neuer after fauored the Cardinall, but repugned and disdayned at all things that he did or deuised. And so because the Cardinall would haue no temporall Lorde eyther to him superiour or with him egall, he set foorth this proude and arrogant conclusion, thorow which vnhappie diuision, the glorie of the Englishe men beganne first to decay, and vade away in Fraunce.

The next day after this solemne feast, were kept triumphant Iustes, and Turneys, in the which, the Erle of Arundell, and the Bastard of Saint Poll, by the iudgement of the Ladies, wan the price, and gat the honor. When he had kept open house to all commers, by the space of xx. dayes, because the ayre of Paris was somewhat contrariant to his pure complexion, he was aduised by his counsoile, to returne to Roan. But before his departure, he caused all the Nobilitie, the Presidentz of the Parliament, the Prouostes of the Citie, and of the Marchantes, and the chiefe Burgesses of the Towne and Citie, and all the Doctors of the Vniuersitie, to be assembled in his presence: to whome the Duke of Bedford made a long and solempne Oracion, perswadyng the Frenchmen to the loue and obedience of king Henry, whom he termed theyr naturall soueraigne Lorde and Prince, discended from the Ladie Isabell, daughter & sole inheritrice to king Philip (the fayre) French king.

When the Duke had finished and ended his Oracion, the people beyng glad, and reioysyng at his saiynges, cryed: *Viue le Roy:* Liue king Henry, liue king Henry. After which crie passed, the Noble men, aswell of Fraunce, as of Normandie, did to him homage, and the common people, sware to him fealtie; to whome (although he were a childe) he gaue both pleasaunt and good words, with harty thanks, to the great admiration of the french people.

Homage.
Fealtie.

After he had feasted the Nobles and Commons of Fraunce, within the Citie of Paris, he with a great companie, departed from thence, and by smal iourneyes came to Roan, where he kept with great solemnitie, the high feast of Christmasse. While these noble Ceremonies were thus in doyng, in the Citie of Paris, sundrie chaunces diuersly happened in seuerall places, to the displeasure of the one part, and to the gaine of the other. For Sir Fraunces Surrien Arragoys, a noble Captaine in Normandie, toke by force and pollecie, the towne of Mounterges, with a great pray of treasure and prisoners, and therein he put a garrison, and vitailed the towne, to the great displeasure of the French king. About the same season, the Erle of Arundell, beyng truely informed, that the Lord Bousac, Marshall of Fraunce, was come to Beauoys, intendyng to do some feate in Normandie, assembled the number of xxiij. hundreth men, & layd himselfe priuely, in a close place, not farre from the sayd towne, and sent a great number of light horsemen, to ron to the barriers of the Citie. The Frenchmen, like valiant men of warre, issued out, & manfully fought with the Englishmen: which sodainly fled toward the stale. The Frenchemen couragiously folowed, thinkyng the game gotten on their syde: But when they were entered into the straight, the Erle set freshly on them, so that after long fightyng

yng, there were slain and taken, in maner all the french men, saue a few which fled into the towne with the Marshall. Amongest the Captaynes was founde prisoner, the valiaunt Captaine, called Poynton of Sanctrayles, which (without delay) was exchaunged for the Lord Talbot, before taken prisoner, at the battaile of Patay. There was also taken one called the shepherd, a simple man, and a sely soule, whom the Frenchmen reputed, to be of such a holinesse, that if he touched the wall of a towne, of their enemies, that incontinent, it would fall to the ground, and ouerturne. Such false phantasticall fayners, were at that tyme muche regarded, and no lesse beleued in Fraunce.

This chaunce succeded not fortunately alone: For Richard Beauchamp Erle of Warwike, had a great skirmish before the towne of Gournay, where he discomfited and repulsed his enemies, and besyde the carions which were left dead on the ground, he tooke prisoners, three score horsemen, all Gentlemen of name and armes. Like chaunce of infortune, happened at the same tyme, to Renate or Reyne Duke of Barre, a great friend to Charles the French king, both in lendyng him money, and also in ministryng to him ayde and succors. This Duke bearyng displeasure to Anthonie Erle of Vaudemont his Cosyn and kinseman, gathered together a great army, and besieged the towne of Vaudemont. The Erle before the Dukes approchyng, to the entent that he would not be enclosed and compassed aboute by his enemies within a wall, leauyng behinde him a conuenient crew of men of warre, to defende the towne for a tyme, with all diligence rode to the Dukes of Bedford, and Burgoyne, beyng then at the great triumph at Paris, whose parte he had euer taken. After long consultacion, it was agreed that Sir Iohn Fastolfe should go with him, hauyng in his companie sixe hundreth Archers, and the Duke of Burgoyn sent to him his Marshall, called Sir Anthonie Doulongon, with. xv. hundreth men.

Richard Beauchamp Erle of Warwike.

Vawdemoüt besieged.

The Erle of Vaudemont thus beyng accompanied, marched towarde his enemies. Duke Reine heeryng of his commyng toward him was somewhat dismayed, fearyng least if his enemies should approche to the walles, and be espyed by the garryson within the towne, that at one tyme he should be assayled before, by them that would issue out of the towne, and behind, by the Erle and his armie. Wherefore like a hardie Captein, he brake vp his siege, and met face to face with the Erle and his companie: betwene whome, was a cruell and mortall battaile. The horsemen endured long, but in conclusion, the Englishe Archers, so galled the horses, and so wounded the men, that the Barroys and their friendes were compelled to flie: In which chase was taken, the sayd Duke of Barre, the Bishop of Mies, the Lord of Rodemaque, Sir Euerard of Sasebery, the Vicount Darcy, and two hundreth other, besyde three thousand men, which were slayne. In this lucky tyme also, no lesse occasion of victorie, was offered to the Englishe men, beyng in another part, if when the pigge had bene profered they had opened the poke: For Robert Lord Willoughby, and Mathew Gough, a valiaunt Welsheman, with. xv. hundreth Englishemen, layd siege to a towne in Amow, beyng both by situation and pollecie, very strong and defensible, called Saint Seueryne. The Englishemen assayled it not so couragiously, but they within, with egall audacitie, boldely made defence: so that fortune seemed, to way both the parties in egall ballaunce. Charles the French king, beyng thereof aduertised, sent with all speede the Lorde Ambrose de Lore, with many noble and valiaunt personages, to ayde and relieue his friendes, inclosed in the towne by his enimies. This Lorde de Lore, beyng Capteyne of the towne, made much hast to comfort his Deputie and Capteine within the same, and so marched forward with great speede: but fearyng to be sodeinly compassed about, he tarved still at Beaumont, lookyng for the armie and Capteynes that should folowe, and then altogether to set on their enemies, and so to rayse the siege. While he made there his abode, and tooke his leasure, the Englishemen, by their espials were assertayned and aduertised, what progresse their enemies made, and what they intended. Wherefore they polletikely prouided, to fight with the one part, before the whole puyssaunce were ioyned. And so a great part of them departed secretly in the night, toward

The Duke of Barre taken.

Saint Seueryne besieged.

their enemies, and found the watche so out of order, and ouersene, that a thousand men were entered into the camp before they were espyed. But the sleayng of men and cuttyng downe of Tentes, awaked the Captaynes, whome this sodeine feare, and vnlooked chaunce so greatly abashed, that no man in maner, eyther could here his felowe or himselfe, or could make signe to expulse or driue out their enemies out of their campe. But when the day beganne to appere that all thing might be sene and perceyued, the Englishemen geuen to couetousnesse of spoyle, and desyre of rauine, neither chased, nor folowed their enemies, but beyng content with their pray and gaine, began to retreat towarde the siege againe. But see the chaunce: the French men which were cõmyng after, and heard by the noyse of the people, that some fray was then in hand, put the Spurres to the horse, and set on their enemies, beyng laden with bagges and wallettes, of prayes and spoyles. The other part which before fled, returned againe and assayled their enemies. The Frenchmen egerly assayled, and the Englishemen manfully defended, which beyng out of order, were compelled to flie, of whome Mathew Gough and diuerse other were taken prisoners, and yet of the other part many were slaine, and a great number taken, amongest whom, was the Lorde of Lore, which for all the battaile, was kept and not deliuered.

The Lord Willoughby, heeryng of this chaunce, raysed the siege and departed, very sore displeased. Therefore let euery Captain take good heede of victorie, the which as she is harde to obtein, so she is quicke to flie away: for it is dayly sene, that he which thinketh surely, that he hath her in his handes, before he can catche her, is deceyued, and ronneth into a great losse and daũger: and on the other side, when she is gotten, (except good watch be hourely kept) she will steale away, with much hurt and detriment, to the first gayner. Thus the Englishemen, for the greedie appetite of gayne, lost the triumphant victorie, which they had in their handes. While the Englishe and French nacion thus stroue and contended for preeminence principally, yea, and for ỹ superior power of life, by the vnreasonable rage of war in Fraunce, the riche men were spoyled of their goodes, the spirituall persons were taxed and brought low, the common people were slaine, murdred and trodden vnder the foote, women were defyled, virgines were rauished, townes were destroyed and wasted, towne dwellers and Citizens were robbed and exiled, bewtifull buyldynges, were cruelly brent, and nothyng was spared, which by fire, blood, or famine, might be catched or destroyed, besyde a hundreth more calamities, that dayly vexed and troubled the miserable French nacion.

Although Fraunce were at this tyme thus miserably afflicted: yet England was not without some trouble: for dayly Englishemen, as well noble as meane personages, were slaine, taken, wounded, or hurt, their substaunce were continually exacted, and consumed for maintenaunce of the warres, so that mischiefe and calamitie was indifferent to both the nacions, and quietnesse and gaine, were expulsed and banished from them both: in so much that the lamentacion and dolor of both the Countries, were heard through the whole west part of the worlde, and of their continuall dissencion, all Europe and Affrik, had their eares and mouthes full, so that all men, not onely marueyled, that Fraunce could so much trouble so long tyme sustaine, but more wondered that the realme of Englande, beyng but an Isle, was able so to scourge, plague, and trouble the large Frenche region, for which cause Eugenie the fourth beyng Bishop of Rome, intendyng to bryng this cruell war to a friendly peace, sent his Legate called Nicolas, Cardinall of the holye Crosse, into Fraunce, to the entent to make an amitie, and a concord betwene the two princes, and their realmes. This wise Cardinall came first to the French king, and after to the Duke of Bedford beyng at Parys: exhortyng concorde, and perswadyng vnitie, shewyng, declaryng, and arguyng peace to be most honourable, and more profitable to Christian Princes, then mortall warre, or vncharitable dissencion.

When the Legate had thus perswaded the Princes on euery part, they both gently aunswered, that they were content to come to a reasonable ende. But when the first communication was moued, and by Commissioners treated, their doynges were so farre disagreeable

agreeable from their wordes, that not onely reasonable and honest condicions of peace, could be neyther heard nor accepted, but more frowardnesse, pertinacye, and malice, was kindled and sprong vp in their stomacks, then before that tyme had bene seene. The Cardinal being in vtter dispayre, of concludyng a peace betwene the two realmes (least he should seme to depart empty of al things, for ỹ which he had taken so much trauaile) desyred a truce for sixe yeres to come, which request, as it was to him by both parties hardly graunted, so was it of the french men sone and lightly broken after his returne: For the Bastard of Orleaunce, newly made Erle of Dumoys, tooke by treason the towne of Charters from the Englishe men: affirming by the lawe of armes, that stealing or biyng a towne, without inuasion or assault, was no breach of league, amity or truce. In the which toune, he slue the bishop, because he was a Burgonion, through which occasion, new malice encreased, and mortall warre began againe to rise and spring.

A truce taken wyth Fraunce for sixe yeres.

While these thinges were thus doyng in Fraunce: There chaunced in Englande by certeine light persons (who as some write bare no good will to priestes) dwellyng in Abyngton, that a tumult and an assembly was made, to the disquietnesse of the realme, but by wisedome of the protector, the same was sone pacified, and the chiefe Aucthour thereof, whose name was William Maundeuile, alias Iohn Sharpe, being apprehended, was put to execution, and so were sundrie other. After these thinges thus quieted, the Cardinal began to commun with the Duke of Gloucester, cõcernyng the affayres and businesse of Fraunce: But the Duke of Gloucester, suspectyng that the truce would not long continue betwene both the realmes, (as it did not in deede) deuised how to send more ayde, and men to the Duke of Bedford, and gathered vp more money and treasure, for the further maintenaunce of the warres, and resistence of their enemies. Wherevpon the Duke of Gloucester called a Parliament, in the which money was assigned, and men were appoynted. Duryng which Parliament, Iames the king of Scottes sent Ambassadors, to conclude a peace with the Duke of Gloucester, which (because the king was absent) referred the matter to the thre estates. After long consultacion, not without great argumentes, a peace was graunted and cõcluded, which all men iudged should long continue, because king Iames was then vexed with ciuile warre, and intestine dissencion, and also the Frenche men had taken truce, as you haue heard for six yeres.

A peace concluded with the Scottes.

When this Parliament was finished, the Cardinall well garnished with men & money, departed out of England, & came to Roan to the king, to whom also resorted from Paris, Iohn Duke of Bedford, to debate and consulte of things, not vnlikely to happen and chaunce. Wherfore a great counsaile was celebrate in the Castell of Roan, & many doubts were moued and disputed.

After this disputacion, with many argumentes ended, the Dukes of Bedford and Yorke, and Edmond late Erle of Mortain, and nowe by the death of Iohn Duke of Somerset, (which died without heire male, leauyng behinde him, a sole daughter called Margaret, after Countesse of Richmõd) erected to the name and tytle, of Duke of Sommerset, liked and approued, the first argument, and first moued reason: affirmyng best, that warre must be prouided for, and that money ought to be disbursed, and to auoyde all doubtes, that a greater armie was necessary to be gathered together and assembled. When all things were agreed, king Henry departed to Calice, and from thence to Douer, and so by easye iourneys he came the xxj. day of February, to the Citie of London, where he was receyued not only with great pompe and triumph, but also highly presented with giftes and money, as in the Chronicle of Robert Fabian, you may rede at large, which I ouerpasse.

King Henry the sixt returneth out of Fraunce into Englãd.

After that the king was departed into England, the Duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, and Captaine of Calice, taryed behinde in the Marches of Picardie: where he was informed, that certein souldiours of Calice, grudgyng at the restraint of woolles, began to mutter and murmure agaynst the king and his counsaile, so that the towne of Calice was like to stand ieopardie. Wherefore the Duke foreseyng the mischiefe that might insue, and thinkyng it wisedome to withstand the first mocion, caused the Chieftaynes of this faction to be apprehended,

Souldiours of Calice murmour at the restraint of Woolles.

prehended, & after due examinacion had, diuers were put to death, and many banished and exiled the Marches for euer. After that he had purged the towne of that vngracious and sedicious companie, and had furnished it with new Souldiours and discrete men of warre, he was determined, first to repayre againe to Parys, but his heart would not serue him: for sith his departure, Ladie Anne his wife and Duchies, was departed to God, and honorably enterred in the Celestins at Paris: by whose death, and for other causes, (as partly you haue heard) the sure loue, and approued fidelitie, betwene the Duke of Burgoyn, his brother in lawe and him began to wax faint and colde. For which cause, he beyng perswaded by the Lorde Lewes of Luxenborough, Bishop of Tyrwine and Ely a Chauncelor of Fraunce for king Henry, agreed to mary the Lady Iaquet, daughter to Peter Erle of Saint Paule, and neece to the sayd Bishop, and to Lorde Iohn of Luxenborough to the intent that by this newe affinitie the olde acquaintaunce and familiaritie, which he had with the noble family of Luxenborough shoulde be renued and inforced, and with a more sure knot, knit and confirmed. Wherevpon, he departed from Calice to Tirwyne, where he was highly receyued of the Erle of Saint Paule, and his brethren, and there he maryed the fayre and freshe Ladie Iaquet, of the age of xvij. yeres with all tryumph and nuptiall solempnitie. After which ceremonie ended, he returned with his new spouse to Calice, and so into England, where he with his wife remayned vntill August next, and then returned againe to Parys. The Duke of Burgoyn, (whose mynde began to incline, a little and little, toward king Charles) was sore grieued and angrie, that the Duke of Bedford was ioyned in affinitie with the noble and famous house of Luxenborough: by the which he sawe, that the power of the Englishemen should be greatly aduaunced. But the mariage was fully ended, and he could find no remedy.

Anne wife of the Duke of Bedford and sister to the Duke of Burgoyne deceased.

The Duke of Bedford maried to the Lady Iaquet.

This yere the Standard of Chepe (at the charges of Iohn Welles a Citezen and Maiour of London) was buylded.

1432
11

While these things were doing thus, in other places, the French souldiours lacking wages (and amongest them a great number, which in hope of pray, and desire of spoyle, had cast vp the Plough, and left their labour) beganne priuely (as time serued, and occasion gaue place) to take both English men and Burgonions, and raunsomed and spoyled them at their pleasures. And although they were prohibited thus to doe (during the time of truce and peace) yet in conclusion they spared not openly to rob, spoyle and burne: yea and to steale townes, which they affirmed to be no breache of truce. The Englishe pricked and vexed with these open wrongs and manifest iniuries, prepared for warre, after the sixt Moneth that the truce was taken and concluded. And by this meanes, the warre was renewed and begonne agayne. The vntrue French men breakers of peace, and not keepers of truce, reysed a crewe of men, and sodainely tooke the towne of saint Valerie, standing in Normandy on the Riuer of Some: and another army vnder the conduyt of Sir Ambrose, Lorde of Lore, wasted and destroyed all the Countrie about Caen. The Duke of Bedford not minding to lye still in ydelnesse, sent the Erle of Arundell, the Erle of Warwicks sonne, the Lord Lisle, Adame Marshall of Fraunce for king Henry, and twelue hundred men with ordinaunce and municions, to besiege the towne of Laigny, vpon the riuer of Marne. Which Erle, with the shot of a Canon, brake the Arche of the bridge, and gat from the French men their Bulwarke, and set it on fire. Dyuers assaults were attempted, but the towne was well defended: for wythin were shut vp eyght hundred men of armes, beside other meane Souldyours.

Saint Valerie taken by the French men.

The Duke of Bedford being thereof aduertised, gathered an armie of sixe thousand men of warre, and hauing all things necessary, he came to the siege before Laigny. He there made a bridge of Boates, and brought his ordinaunce so neere the towne, that to all people, it seemed not long able to resist. But the Erle of Dumoys Bastard of Orleaunce, with dyuers hardie Capitaines, as valyauntly repulsed, as the Englishe men assauted: Thys siege continued, as fyre agaynst flame, and sometime flame against fyre. For although the English men slue the more number, yet they gat neyther pray, nor botie: and although

although the French men kept valyauntly the walles, and defended the loupes, yet they both lost men and Capitaynes, and were long secluded from their ayde and succors, till Charles the Frenche king perceyuing this towne, to be the three corner key betweene the territories of the English men, the Burgonians, and his awne, and that the losse thereof, should turne him to innumerable dammages and hurtes, sent the Lorde of Rieu, Poyton the Heire, the Lord Gancort, and sixe thousand men wyth great plentie of vittayles, to the intent eyther to rayse the siege, or to vittayle the towne. The French Capitaynes made a bragge, as though they would fight with the English men within their field and Campe. The English men would not issue out, but kept themselues in good order, euer loking for their entrie and inuasion. The Regent perceyuing, that they approched not, sent to them an Herault of armes, declaring his intent, and the courage of hys company, which nothing more desired then battayle. And to shewe himselfe as a Capitaine, meaning that which he offered, and not dissimuling that which he spake: he incontinent diuided his men into thre battayles, no more wisely ordered, then politiquely gouerned: as who would saye, come on French man, if thy hart wyll serue. But hys aduersaries more craftie then hardy, more politique then courageous, framed themselues in suche order of battayle, as they were able to doe all thing, and yet in conclusion (concernyng martiall feates) they did nothing. For while they made a proude bragge, and a stoute skirmish with the English men, they appointed dyuers rude and rusticall persons, to conuay into the towne. xxx. Oxen, and other small vytayle, but thys swete gayne was sowrely payde, for if the losse with the gaine be pondered in one balaunce, for hauing regarde to. xxx. leane Oxen, in the conflict were slayne, the Lorde Sentrayles brother to Pothon, the valyant Capitayne Iohn, brother to the Lorde Gawcort, and fiftie other noble and valyaunt personages, beside other common people, which bought that bargaine, aboue the price of the common Market. The French men perceyuing their infortunate chaunce, and not onely considering, the vnspeakable heate which then wearied their people, being in the beginning, of the hote month of August: but also perceyuing the Englishe men to be planted and setled, in a place vnable to be wonne, and in a grounde both daungerous to inuade, and hard to assayle, like men desperate of gayne, and without hope of victorie, departed to Fort vnder Yeere, where by a bridge of Tonnes, they passed into the Isle of Fraunce.

The Duke of Bedford (like a wise prince) not minding to lease the more for the lesse, nor the accident for the substaunce, fearing that Paris and other townes more necessarie to the Englishe men, and of more estimation would returne to his aduersaries, thinking if the greater power were holden, the lesse should be sone obtayned, reysed his siege and returned to Parys, nothyng lesse minding then to try hys quarrell wyth dent of sworde agaynst his enemies: and so sent Bedford his herault to the Lorde Gawcort, and other Chiefetaynes of his army, offering him battayle, and a pitched field, within a conuenient graunde, where so euer he would, within the Isle of Fraunce, assigne or appoynt. To the which officer of Armes, the Capitaynes aunswered, that battayle they feared not, nor the Englishe puyssaunce, they not much regarded, but they sayde: that time was to gayne, and time was to lose, of the which two, they doubted not to espie the one, either for their great gaine, or to their apparaunt losse. Wherevpon they sent the Lorde Ambrose de Lore with. vij. C. horsemen to rob and spoyle the poore people, comming to the fayre, on the day of Saint Michaell the Archangell, kept in the subburbes of the towne of Caen. But when Dauy Hall Esquire, Capitayne of the towne for the Duke of Yorke, issued out to fight with him, he departed by flight, without eyther botie or gayne of the fayre. The Frenchmen perceyuing that neyther power, force, nor pollicie could auayle against the Englishe nacion, determined to trip and deceyue them, by their accustomed seruaunt called Mayster Treason, and so by money corrupted Piers Audebeufie, Constable of the Castell of Roan, that the Marshall of Fraunce, and the Lord Fountaynes, with two hundred persons disguised, entred into the Castel, but they were sone espied, and driuen to the Don-

Treason.

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geon, where they were taken and yelded: whereof some were hanged, some headed, and some raunsomed at the pleasure of the Regent: and such ende had the Traytors, which would by treason rather then by battayle, obtayne their praye and desired purpose.

Thys Pageaunt played, the Regent sent Peter of Luxenborough Erle of Saint Paule, and Robert Lorde Willoughby, with a competent crewe of men to besiege the towne of Saint Valerie, which the French men a little before had taken. These valyaunt Capytaines not minding to slepe their businesse, enuironned the towne with a strong siege. Within the towne were Sir Lewes de Vancort, syr Philip de la Toure, and syr Reignold de Verseilles Capitaynes, with three hundred good fighting men, which by the space of three weekes, manfully defended the same. But at the xxj. day, they perceyuing the fiercenesse of the English men, and the weaknesse of themselues (hauing no hope of reliefe, nor confidence in any ayde) rendered the towne, their horse and harneis onely saued. The Erle put in the garrison of the towne freshe and valyaunt Souldiours, and appointed Captaine there, Sir Iohn Awbemonde: in the which towne sodainely, whether it were by infection of the ayre, or by corrupt vittayle by long lyeng, which the townes men did eate, a great pestilence sprang in the infortunate Countrey. Which after so many calamities and euill chaunces, being two times besieged by the French men, and thrise recouered by the English Nation, was now infected and corrupted with the pestilent plague: whereby two partes of the people, within short space were destroyed and consumed.

Saint Valery recouered againe by the Englishmen.

A great pestilence.

After this towne gotten, the Erle of saint Paule, and the Lorde Willoughby returned to the Regent, where they were wel welcomed. And after, the saide Erle departed from Paris, to lay siege to the Castell of Monchas, but being encamped nere to the towne of Blangy, he by a sodaine Maladie, finished his dayes, and departed the worlde, leauing hys seigniories to Lewes his sonne and heire. For which dead Erle were solempne obsequies kept, both in Paris and in London, because he was father in lawe to the Regent. In the meane season, the French men entered into the costes of high Burgoyne, and brent, tooke and destroyed townes: for which cause, the Burgonions beyng sore displeased, assembled a great armie, both to reuenge their quarels, and also to recouer agayne the townes, from them vniustly taken: to whom, as to his friends the Duke of Bedford sent Robert Lorde Willoughby, and syr Thomas Kiriell, with a conuenient company of Souldiours, which entering into the laundes of Laonoys, were encountered with a great number of their enemies: Notwithstanding, after long fyght, the French men were slayne and dispersed: wherof were left dead in the field, an hundred and sixtie horsmen, beside prisoners, which after in a furie, were all killed and put to death.

The death of the Erle of saint Paule.

1433

Whyle these chaunces thus happened in Fraunce, Iohn Lord Talbot gathered together a crewe of chosen men of warre in England to the number of eyght hundred, and sayled into Normandie, and passed by Roan towarde Paris, and in his way he toke the strong Castell of Ioinge, betwene Beauoys, and Gisors, and caused all the French men within, to be hanged on the walles, and after rased and defaced the Castell, & came to the Duke of Bedford to Paris. The presence of which renowmed Capitayne (a maruellous thing it is to see) so encouraged the hartes of the English nation, that they thought nothing able to resist their puyssaunce, and so discouraged the hartes of the French men, that they were in doubt, whether it were better to fight or to flie. And thys was not without a cause: for surely he was a chosen Capitaine, and in martiall feates a man fully instructed, and hys courage and practise in warre, was fearefull to the French nation, and to his awne Countrymen an especiall hope, and a sure defence. When this hardye Baron had commoned with the Regent, & agreed what waye he should take, without long delay or prolonging of tyme, he departed from Parys with hys armie, and besieged the Castell of Beaumont vpon Oise, whereof was Capitayne, syr Amadour de Vignolles brother to the Heire. Which Castell was sone rendered vpon condition. After that he regayned without long siege, the townes of Creile, the bridge of Saint Maxens, the newe towne in Esmoy, Crespi in Valloys, and Cleremount in Beauoys: and so with great riches and fatte prisoners, he returned

Iohn Lorde Talbot sayleth into Fraunce.

turned agayne to Paris. Thus prosperous successe happened not to the Lorde Talbot alone: but also the very same season, the Erle of Arundell tooke the Castell of Bomeline, and rased it to the grounde, and after tooke by force the Castell of Dorle, and from thence came to Saint Seleryne, where the Lorde Ambrose of Lore was Capitayne, which issued out and fought with the English men so egerly at the first, that he droue them back an arrow shot by fine force. But the Erle so incouraged his men, that they tooke newe courages to them, and set so fiercely on the French men, that they slue a great number, and droue the remnaunt into the towne.

After this victorie he besieged Louiers, whereof was Capitayne, the Heire and his brother, which rendered the towne, without stroke or assaut. For all this good luck, the Erle forgat not to returne, to the towne of Saint Seleryne, but assembled a great armie, and enuironed the Towne about with a strong siege. When he had lien there almost three moneths, euery day attempting or doing somewhat, for the performaunce of his enterprise, in conclusion at the three Moneths ende, he gaue so fierce an assault, that by force he entered the towne, and slue Iohn Allemagne and Guillam sent Aubyne, the chiefe Capitaynes, and eyght hundred other men of warre, and the children of the Lorde Lore were taken captiues: he replenished and fortefied the towne againe with newe men, and municions, and made there Capitayne Sir Iohn Cornewall. Which act thus accomplished, he departed, and came before the strong towne of Silly, and there pitched hys Campe. The inhabitaunts of the same, somewhat dismaied with the chaunce, that late happened to the towne of Saint Seleryne, delyuered to him pledges, vpon this condition: that if they were not rescued within thirtie dayes next insuyng, then they (their lyues saued) should render the towne into his possession: which offer was taken. The Capitaynes within the towne sente a Poste to the French king, to aduertise him of their hard chaunce, which incontinent sent vnto them Arthur Erle of Richmond (but after some wryters, Iohn Duke of Alaunson) with a great company of men. When the Erle sawe the French succours appere, he restored agayne the pleges to the Gouernours of the towne, and issued out of his Campe, taking a place most mete and conuenient for to abide battayle, for which he sore thirsted and longed. The Duke or the Erle (take which you list) lyeng by a brooke side, which a man might stride ouer, seyng the Englishe men so warlike and strongly embattayled, thought it not for his profite to geue battayle, or to set forwarde: but in the dead time of the night cowardly fled, and with shame returned: although some French wryters affirme, that he looked that the Erle of Arundell should haue giuen him battaile, and because he profered not forward, therefore the French men departed. This appereth to be an apparaunt lye, and a French bragge: for if they came to rescue the towne, why did not they geue battayle, and so driue away the English men from the towne? If they came to fight, why departed they without any stroke striken? But it seemeth that they came, to make a French face, and for to doe nothing. For they without skirmishe or succouring the towne, departed in the night secretly (as you haue heard.) When they within the towne knew that their succours fayled, they rendered themselues to the mercy of the Erle of Arundell, which gently receiued them, and leauing a garrison in the towne, departed to Mauns, and in the meane way, tooke the Castels of Mellay and saint Laurence. About this time the Lord Willoughby, and Syr Thomas Kiriell, returning with great victories out of the parties of Burgoyne, tooke in their waye, the towne of Louiers, and furnish it, both with men and municions.

Amongest so many good chaunces, some euill are accustomed to fall, and happen, or else the gayners will not know themselues. So it happened, that a great number of rude and rusticall persons in Normandie, dwellyng by the sea coast, eyther prouoked or intised therevnto by the French king, or desyrous of alteracion and chaunge (which thing the common people muche couet and desyre) made an insurrection, and put on harnesse, and by force expulsed certein garrisons out of their holdes, and tooke certeine townes: publishyng and proclaimyng openly, that their onely purpose and intent was, to expell and banishe

An insurrection in Normandie.

banishe the whole Englishe Nacion, out of their Countries and coastes. Wherefore it may cuidently appere, that the blacke Ethiopian* or the blacke colored Rauen, will soner turne their colours, then the vniuersall people bred in Fraunce, will hartily loue, and inwardly fauor an Englishe borne childe. And yet the Normans of long tyme, louingly and gently, haue obeyed to the subiection of England, and haue of the Englishe Nacion bene well accepted and regarded, but now they forgetting their dutie, and remembryng theyr hurtes, did not feare to rebell agaynst theyr Prince and souereigne Lorde.

* that is a man of Inde, commonly called a black Moryan.

This mischieuous companie, thus frantikely gathered together, with al speede marched towarde Cane, to the intent there, both to assemble a greater number of people, & also to consult what way they should folow in their new begon attemptate. But the Dukes of Yorke and Sommerset, which then were lyng in Normandy, heryng of this vngracious faction, and troubleous commocion, and hauyng knowlege by theyr espyals what iourney they intended to take: incontinent without delay, sent the Erle of Arundell, and the Lord Willoughby, with. vj. thousand Archers, and. xiij. hundreth light horses to stay and kepe them eyther for settyng foorth, or makyng further progresse. The Erle of Arundell goyng one way, appoynted the Lorde Willoughby, with two thousand Archers, and a certaine number of horsemen, to go before him, to lie in watche and stale, secretly by the way, to stoppe the iourney and passage of the rebelles, when they should approche. The Lorde Willoughby, couertly couered himselfe and his companie, sendyng worde to the Erle, of the place where he laye, to the entent that he might make a signe and token (when tyme should be most luckey and fortunate) to inuade and set on their enemies. Which thing done, the Erle folowed at the backe, the ragged route, and mischieuous multitude, as a man, that draue the Deere before him into the Buckstalle, or the sely Conies into the secrete Hay. When the ignoraunt multitude approched nere to the place of the stale, the Erle made a token, and shot a Goon for a signe. Then the Lorde Willoughby, set on them before, and the Erle behinde, sholyng so fiercely, that the dastard people partly amased with the sodaine chaunce, and partly galled and wounded with the shot of the arrowes, threwe away their harnesse, desiryng nothyng but death. The Erle of Arondell (moued with compassion) caused his souldiors to leaue of and stay, from farther murther or bloodsheddyng, and apprehendyng such as he thought to be leaders, and chiefe stirrers of the people, let the other returne home frankley and freely: but yet there were a. M. and more slain, before the souldiors could be brought again vnder their stādards.

The Rebels slaine.

After this commocion appeased, and the sodeine rage in the beginnyng stayed and brideled, diligent inquirie was made of the malefactors, and such as were found gilty, by diuers terrible executions (accordyng to their deserts) miserably ended their trayterous liues. Duryng which rebellion, Peter Rokefort and his companie, gat by treason the towne of Depe, and dyuers other holdes, therevnto adioinyng. After the Erle of Arondell, had obteyned so many Conquestes, and notable victories (as you haue heard) he attempted another, which was the last worke and extreme labor of his liuyng dayes. For the Duke of Bedford, beyng informed, that his aduersaries, had sodainly surprised and taken the towne of Rue, and therein had put a garrison, which sore vexed the Countries of Ponthiew, Artheys, and Bolenoys, sent worde to the Erle, that he without delay, shoul dbesiege the sayd towne. The Erle obeyed to his commaundement, and incontinent, sent for all the people vnder his gouernaunce, and in his marchyng forwarde, came to Gouerney, where he heard tell, how that there was a certain Castle, nere Beauoys, called Gerborye, which eyther by force of rasyng, or violence of weather, was sore decayed and defaced. And because this place was opportune and very necessary, to prohibite, let and stop the Englishe men, to make sodein runnynges in, or rodes into the Countrie of Beauoys: Charles the French king commaunded Sir Stephen de Veignolles, commonly called the Heire, to see the Castell reedified and fortified. The sayd sir Stephen with a great companie, came to the ground, and lackyng neyther stuffe necessary, nor artificers sufficient, in small tyme erected the Castell, and began to defende the fortresse. The Erle of Arundell, beyng

yng credibly informed of their doyngs, and perceiuyng that this newe edification was verye preiudiciall to the Englishe part, determined first to take the Castell, supposyng to finde there little or no resistence, but he was deceyued, for there was the Heire, wyth many good and valeaunt Captaines. The Erle with fiue hundreth horsemen, encamped himselfe in a little close, not farre from the Castell: The french men which were three thousand men, perceiuyng that the Erle and his horses were wery, and that his archers were not yet come, determined for their aduauntage to set on him, before the commyng of his footemen, which they knewe to be little more, then a myle behind the Erle. Wherefore for a pollecie they set forth fiftie horsemen, as though there were no mo in the Castell. The Erle perceiuyng that, sent forth Sir Randolfe Standishe, to encounter with them, hauyng in his companie a hundreth horses: the Frenchemen fought couragiously a while, and sodainly came out all the remnaunt, and slue Sir Randolfe Standishe, and all his companie, and boldely set on the Erle and his bande, which manfully defended them, so that the Frenchemen gat little aduauntage for all their great number. The Heire perceiuyng the courage and defence of the English people, caused thre Culuerines to be shot amongest them, whereof, one strake the Erle on the Ancle, and so brake his legge, that for paine he fell from his horse, then the French men entered amongest the Englishe armie, and tooke the Erle beyng on the ground, prisoner, and Sir Richard Wooduile, and sixe score more, and there were slain almost two hundreth. The remnaunt saued themselues as well as they might. The Erle was caryed to Beauoys, where, of this hurt he shortly dyed, and was buried in the Friers Minors. He was a man of a singuler vertue, constancie, and grauitie, whose death in so troublous a world did sore appall the heartes of his nacion. By this infortune, Rue was not besieged, nor Gerborie taken, such is the chaunce of warre.

The death of the Erle of Arundel.

About the Moneth of Iune, Iohn Duke of Burbon, and Auerne, taken prisoner at the battaile of Agyncourt. xviij. yeres past, (as you before haue heard) nowe paiyng his raunsome, which was. xviij. thousand pound sterlyng, and hauyng redy prepared all thinges necessary, for his triumphaunt returne into his countrie, was taken with a most sore and grieuous Feuer, whereof shortly he dyed, in the Citie of London, on the day appoynted for his departure into Fraunce: whose corps was enterred in the Gray Friers of the sayd Citie: So by this, euery creature may see: that man purposeth, and God disposeth.

The death of Iohn Duke of Burbon.

I may not forget a chaunce which happened this yere, to the example of Princes, and a spectacle for gouernors. For the deuill himselfe, to set further diuision betwene the Englishe and French Nacion, did apparell certaine Clawpoules & Parasites, commonly called Titiuils, and tale tellers, to sow discorde and discencion, betwene the Dukes of Bedford, and Burgoyne, not faynyng trifles nor phantasies, but thinges of reproche, repugnaunt to both their honours, estates, and dignities, with the which, eche of them was as well pricked, as hastely spurred, so that all loue, betwene them ceased, all affinitie was forgotten, and all olde familiaritie was cast by disdaine, into the caue of obliuion. Such a pestilent breath hath Flattery, and such mischiefe ensueth of Princes light credence. This grudge was perceyued, by their mutuall friendes, which by charitable exhortacion and Godly aduertisement, exhorted them to renue their olde loue and familiaritie, and to mete and enterueiu, in some place decent and conuenient. The Duke of Bedford gladly condiscended to come to saint Omers, beyng the Duke of Burgoyns towne, and thither accordyng to his appoyntment, he in honourable estate came and resorted, and likewise did the Duke of Burgoyne. The Duke of Bedford, beyng Regent of Fraunce, and sonne, brother, and vncle to kinges, thought that the Duke of Burgoyn, should first haue visited and saluted him: Duke Philip on the other part, beyng Lorde and soueraigne of the towne, iudged it not mete, nor to stand with his honour, to go to him, where he was lodged, but was content by intreatie of friendes, to mete him in a place indifferent, betwene both their harberowes: which offer was not accepted, & so both parties departed discontent, and neuer after saw or commoned with other. What should I speake of the courage of these two prowde princes, the Duke of Bedford mindyng to haue no peere, and the Duke

The fallyng out or breche of friendship betwene the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Burgoyne.

of Burgoyne willyng to haue no superior, by whose prowde disdaine, and enuious discorde, shortly England lost, and Burgoyne gayned not long, as you shall perceyue in thys Historie folowyng.

1434 — 13 The Bastard of Orleaunce, called the Erle of Dumeys, the Lorde Rochford Marshall of Fraunce, with other, in the beginnyng of this. xiij yere, tooke the towne of Saint Denise by treason, and skirmished with them of Paris, and leauyng behinde him a great garrison, toke the towne of Howdone, and the bridge of Saint Maxence by composition, and at that time was taken the towne of Pount Meulan, by sodeyn scalyng of two fishermen: which entered vp at a common priuie, standyng on the wall. Thus townes vnwalled, were prayes to rauenous men of warre, so that the poore inhabitantes within them (not beyng able to keepe their fidelitie or allegeaunce, when shield and defence lacked) were constrayned and compelled to yelde and render themselues to the more power, and vpper hande: least they being nedy and innocent people, should be vexed and tormented, with the vnreasonable men of warre: So that in all Christendom, no region was more vnquiet, more vexed, more poore, nor more to be pitied, then the Countrie of Fraunce. And although the rude and poore people, suffered many plagues and aduersities: yet the Souldiours prospered not in all thinges. For although pray and spoyle sometyme refreshed their mindes, and did comfort their stomackes, yet at another tyme they were slaine, taken and licked vp, or they were ware. For euery Prince studied and circumspectly compassed, how to kepe defend & releue, the Cities and townes, of their seuerall faction, and priuate fidelitie. Wherefore when sacietie of slaughters, and aboundance of murthers, had replenished the stomackes of both the Nacions, and that both in generall had perceyued their hurtes, pondered their losses, and considered their ruynes, and dayly afflictions: although their stomackes were haute, and their hearts stonie, yet they waxed soft, priuily enclining to peace, and wishyng concorde, and not without an vrgent cause: For all thinges necessarie to mannes liuing, penury shewed her selfe forth, and abundance was hidden in a Caue. The corne fieldes lay vntilled, the medowes were ouertroden, the woodes were spoyled, so that all men went to harnesse, and no man to the Plough. The Churches were seldome vsed for deuocion, but many times spoyled for desyre of gaine. These and such innumerable mischiefes, caused both the people beyng enemies, to desyre peace, and yet the one part disdeyned openly to offer it, or the other priuately to receyue it.

The nature and property of warre.

The crie and noyse of this perillous and insaciable warre, was blasted through Europe, detested through Christendome, and especially at the counsaile of Basill, where then the Emperour Albert, and all the Princes and Potestates of Christendome, or their Deputies were assembled, for the vnion of that vngracious Scisme, in the vsurped Sea of Rome. Wherfore, the Emperour and the temporall Princes, supposyng the exhortacion of discrete fathers, should more profite amongest the two highe stomacked nacions of England and Fraunce, desired Eugeny then Bishop of Rome, to be the aucthour and Arbitrer of that great strife & contencion: so that by his meanes, counsaile, and exhortacion, the weapon might be taken out of the handes of two so inuincible nacions, which neuer would yelde or bow, the one to the other, neyther yet once heere of abstinence of fighting, or refusyng from war: so much were their heartes hardened, and so princely were their stomackes. And one thing put them in good comfort of some good conclusion, because the Duke of Burgoyne was willyng (so that it were not of his awne sute) to returne and reconcile himselfe to Charles, his mortall enemie and auncient aduersarie. Wherfore by aucthoritie of this generall Counsaill, two Cardinals came to the towne of Arras in Arthoys, whither were sent for the king of England, Henry Beuford, Cardinall of Winchester, Henry, Archebishop of Yorke, William de la Pole, Erle of Suffolke, and Iohn Holland Erle of Huntyngdon, with diuers other knightes and Esquiers: and for the French king were there present, Charles Duke of Burbon, Lewes Erle of Vandosme, Arthure of Briteyne, Constable of Fraunce, the Archebishop of Reyns, and Sir Philip Harcort. There was the Duke of Burgoyn in proper person, accõpanied with the Duke of Gelders,

Gelders, & the Erles of Estamps, Lygny, Saint Paule, Vaudemont, Neuers, and Daniell, sonne to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a galland companie.

Vpon the day of the first session, the Cardinall of Saint Crosse, declared to the three parties, the innumerable mischiefes, the multitude of inconueniences, which had succeeded through all christendone, by their daylie discorde and continuall discention: exhorting and requiring them for the honor of God, for the loue that they bare to the setting forth of Christes religion, and for the aduauncement of the publique wealth of all Christendome, that they would laye all rancour aparte, represse all wrath and anger, and conforme themselues to reason, and to godly concorde, by the which, they should receyue honor, profite, and continuall quietnesse, in the worlde, and of God, a reward euerlasting. After which admonition thus to them geuen, and after diuers dayes of communication, euery parte brought in their demaunde, which were most contrary, and hard to come to a good conclusion. The Englishe men required, that king Charles should haue nothing, but at the hande of the King of Englande, and that not as duetie, but as a benefite by him of hys meere liberalitie giuen and distributed, to which the Frenchmen aunswered that: king Charles would haue the kingdome frankely and freely, without begging it of an other man: requiring the king of England to leaue the name, armes, and tytle of the king of Fraunce, and to be content with the Dukedomes of Aquitayn and Normandy, and to forsake Paris and all the townes which they possessed in Fraunce, betwene the Ryuers of Loyre and Some, being no parcell of the Duchy of Normandy. The English men loth to lese so good a botie as Paris, did not esteme and allow the demaunds of the French Ambassadors, and they on the other side, couetyng and desyring to obtayne agayne the renoume and glorye of their Region, which was Paris, would in no wise condiscend, to any parte of the Englishe requestes. Thus the pride of the one parte, and the ambition of the other letted concorde, peace, and quietnesse. The Cardinalles seing the frostie hartes, and hardened mindes of both parties, determined not to dispute the titles, but offered to them honest and reasonable condicions of truce and peace, for a season: which articles both parties, eyther for frowardnes, or for disdayne openly refused: In so much as the English men in great displeasure departed to Calice, and so into England. One writer affirmeth, that they beyng warned of a secret conspiracie moued agaynst them, sodainely remoued from Arras, and so sayled into their countrey.

Whiles this treatie of peace was thus in communication at Arras, the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Willoughby, the Lorde Scales, with the Lorde Lisle Adame, and fiue thousand men besieged the towne of Saint Denise, with a strong bande. The Erle of Dumois bearing thereof, accompanied with the Lorde Lohac, and the Lorde Bueill, and a great company of horsemen hasted thetherward to raise the siege, and in the meane way they encoūtred with syr Thomas Kiriell, and Mathew Goughe, ryding also towarde S. Denise, betwene whome was a great conflict, and many slayne on both parties: but sodainely came to the ayde of the Frenche men, the garrison of Pount Melance, which caused the Englishe men to returne without any great harme or dammage, sauing that Mathew Gough by fonderyng of his horse was taken and caried to Pount Melance. During which fight, the towne of saint Denise, was rendered to the Lorde Talbot and the other Lordes, which caused all the walles to be rased, and abated downe to the grounde, sauing the walles of the Abbay, and a Tower called Venyn. After this towne gotten, the Lorde Willoughby left Sir Iohn Ruppelley at Pounthoyse, and departed to gouerne Paris, which then began to smoke, and sone after brast out in flame (as you shall shortly perceiue.) After whose departure the inhabitants of Pounthoyse rebelled, and droue out the English men by very force, and rendered themselues subiectes to king Charles. This towne was small, but the losse was great, for it was the very conuenient Kay betwene Paris and Normandie, so that nowe the gate betweene them both, was set open and the passage at large.

S. Denise besieged.

Let vs now agayne returne to the counsayle at Arras. After the Englishe Ambassa-

dors were departed, the French men and the Burgonyons beganne familierly to common of a peace, and talke of an amitie, to the which mocion, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, was neyther deafe nor straunge: for he in the beginning of his rule, being much desyrous to reuenge and punishe the shamefull murther done to his father, and to kepe himselfe in his highe estate, and preheminence, beganne to be associate, and to reigne with the English power, and to serue the king of England, thinking that by his amitie and ioyning, he shoulde neither harme nor hurte the common wealth of the Country, wherof at that time he bare the whole rule, nor yet lose one iote or point of his auctboritie, or gouernaunce. But when it happened contrary to his expectation, that the king of Englande by the right course of inheritaunce, tooke vpon him the whole rule and gouernaunce, within the realme of Fraunce, and ordered by the aduise of his counsayle, all causes, iudgements, warres and concordes, and that the Duke iudged that he was not had in great confidence, nor in perfite trust, as he thought, because the Duke of Bedford would not suffer the towne of Orleaunce to be rendered to him, (as you before haue heard:) He therefore imagined, and determined with himselfe to returne into the pathe againe, from the which he had strayed and erred, and to take part and ioyne with his awne bloud and Nation: so that some honest meane might be sought by other, and not by himselfe, least peraduenture by his awne seeking, he might binde himselfe in conditions hurtfull and sore inconueniences, to the Frenche king, and also be noted of vntruth and traytorous behauiour toward the king of England and his nation: to whom he had done homage, league, and sworne fealtie. Now this counsayle was to him a cloke for the rayne, as who should say, that he sought not amitie of the french king (which thing in hys hart he most coueted and desyred) but was therevnto perswaded by the generall counsayle, and by the Bishop of Rome, to whome it was reason, in all honest requests that he should submit himselfe, and humblye obey. And so shadowed with this counsayle, wythout long argument or prolonging of time, he toke a determinate peace, and a final conclusion vpon these conditions: that he should haue to him delyuered the Counties of Arthoys, Ponthiew, and Bulonoys, & the townes of Amience, Corby, Mondidyer, Peron, Saint Quintine, and Abbeuile, wyth many other seigniories, & superiorities, which be not for my purpose to reherse. Prouyded alway, that the French king paying in redy money to the Duke or hys heyres foure C.M. Crownes, should haue the sayde townes and Countries to be redeliuered againe: and many other things the French king graunted to the Duke of Burgoyne, which after he was not able to performe nor accomplish, for he had no power to make deniall to the Duke, of any demaunde or request, which the Duke eyther phantasied or moued: as who would say, that he thought in himselfe, that such an aduersary which desired so honest, and so reasonable condicions (considering the state of the time, and the occasion of concord, most apparauntly offered to him) ought neyther to be refused nor cast awaye, the which chaunce was to him luckey and fortunate: for surely the thing foreseene and looked for, succeeded and tooke place, as you shall perceyue. This concorde was so pleasaunt to the French king, that he not onely sent for him: but as a Swan that swimmeth after her make, mette hym in proper person, at the Citie of Reynes, and forthwith they entered into a league with perfite amitie and friendship.

A peace concluded betweene the French king and the duke of Burgoyn.

When thys league was sworne, and this knot knit, the Duke of Burgoyne, to set a vayle before the king of Englandes eyes, sent Thoison Dor, his king at armes to king Henry with letters: that he being not only waxed faint, and wearyed, with continuall warre, and daylie conflictes, but also chafed daylie with complaints and lamentation, of his people, which of the french men suffred losse and detriment, embrayding and rebuking him openly, affirming that he onely was the supporter and mainteiner of the English people, and that by his meanes and power, the mortall warre was continued and set forward, & that he more diligently studied, and intentiuely toke paine, both to keepe and maintaine the Englishe men in Fraunce, and also to aduaunce and promote their desires and intentes, rather then to restore king Charles his Cosyn, to his rightfull inheritaunce,

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by reason of which things and many other, he was in maner compelled and constrayned to take a peace, and conclude an amitie with king Charles, exhorting king Henry when honest and reasonable conditions were offered, to take them, and to make an ende of the warre which so long had continued, to the decaye of both the realmes, and to the effusion of christen bloud, beside the great displeasure of almightie God, which is the aucthor of peace and vnitie: promising him his ayde and furtheraunce in that behalfe, with many glosyng and flatteryng wordes, which I passe ouer.

This letter was not a little looked on, nor smally regarded of the king of England, and his sage counsayle: not onely for the waightinesse of the matter, but also for the sodaine chaunge of the man, and for the straunge superscription of the letter, which was: To the high and mightie prince, Henry by the grace of God, king of England his welbeloued Cosyn: Neyther naming him king of Fraunce, nor his soueraigne Lorde, according as (euer before that time) he was accustomed to doe. Wherfore all they which were present, being sore moued with the crafty doing and vntrue demeanor of the Duke, whom they so much trusted, could neyther temper their passions, nor yet moderate their yre, nor yet bridle their tongues: but openly called him Traytor, deceyuer, and most inconstant prince. But when the rumor of the Dukes reuerting was published amongst the common people, they lefte wordes and went to stripes: for they being moued and pricked with this vnhappie tydings, ran fiercely vpon all the Flemings, Hollanders, and Burgonions, which then inhabited within the Citie of London, and the suburbes of the same, and slue and hurt a great number of them, before they by the kings proclamation could be prohibited to leaue of and abstayne from suche violence and iniurious doing: for the king nothing more minded, then to saue innocent bloude, and defend them which had not offended.

After the letter twise red, and wisely brooked, he willed the officer at armes to tell his mayster, that it was not conuenient, nor honorable for him, to be enimie to the English nation, without cause or occasion geuen: but his duetie, all things considered, was to haue kept his auncient truth and olde allegeaunce rather then to be the occasion of newe warre and freshe discention: aduertising him farther, that it was not the point of a wise man, to leaue and let passe the certaine for the vncertaine, admonishing him also, not to mingle and mixe his safetie and surenesse, with the vnstablenesse and vnsuretie of his newe alye and Cosyn king Charles.

When the Messenger was departed, the king of Englande and hys counsayle thought and determined to worke some displeasure to the Duke, and to set some conspiracie against him in his awne Countrey, wherefore by rewardes, they did suborne and corrupt certaine Gouernors and rulers of townes and Cities, within the Dukes countries and dominions (which nations surely be euer proclyue and readie to commocion and rebellion.) But the Gauntoys, which of that feate euer bare the Bell, and were the common rysers agayñst their souereigne Lords, some of them imagening that the power of the Englishe men was not long lyke to continue within the realme of Fraunce, more for feare then loue of their Duke, sat still and moued not, but let other townes alone, which sore troubled the Dukes wittes, and a great whyle did disquiet and vexe his senses.

The death of Iohn Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce.

But in this time, and the. xiiij. day of September, died Iohn Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce, a man as politique in peace, as hardy in warre whose bodie was with great funerall solempnitie buried in the Cathedrall Church of our Lady in Roan, on the North side of the high aulter, vnder a sumptuous and costly monument: which tombe and sepulture, when king Lewes the. xj. sonne to this king Charles, which recouered agayne Normandie did well aduise and beholde, certaine noble men in his company, hauing more youth then discretion, and more enuie in their hartes then considerations of their parents, counsayled him to deface and pluck downe the tombe, and to cast the dead carcasse into the fieldes: affirming that it was a great dishonor both to the king and to the realme, to see the enemy of his father, and theirs, to haue so solempne and riche memoriall.

The sayeng of a wise prince.

moriall. King Lewes aunswered agayne, sayeng: what honor shall it be to vs, or to you to breake this monument, and to pull out of the ground and take vp the dead bones of him, whome in his lyfe, neyther my father nor your progenitors with all their power, puissaunce and friendes were once able to make flie one foote backward, but by his strength, wyt, and pollicie, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the realme of Fraunce, and out of this noble and famous Duchy of Normandy: wherefore I say, first God haue his soule, and let his body now lye in rest, which when he was alyue, would haue disquicted the proudest of vs all: and as for the tombe, I assure you, it is not so decent, nor conuenient for him, as his honor and actes deserued, although it were much richer and more beawtifull.

This yere chaunced a maruellous great frost, the which beganne the. xxvj. of Nouember and continued vntill the. x. daye of February next folowyng, in the which tyme the Thames was so feruently Frosen, that no ship nor other Vessell could come within the same. By reason whereof the ships that came from Burdeaux, were forced to vnlade at Douer & other places, and were cõpelled to bring their Wines by land ouer shoters Hil to London.

1435

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After the death of thys noble prince and valyant Captayne, the Duke of Bedford, the bright Sunne that commonly shone in Fraunce fayre and bewtifull vpon the Englishe men, beganne to be cloudie, and daylie to waxe darker: for the French men seing the chiefe Capitaine taken awaye, beganne not onely to refuse their obedience and loyaltie, which they had sworne and promised to the king of Englande, but taking swordes in hande, rebelled, persecuted and openly defyed the Englishe men, yet all these mischaunces, not one point abated the valyaunt courages of the English people: for they nothing mistrusting God, nor good fortune, set vp a newe sayle, and beganne the warre newe agayne, and appointed for Regent in Fraunce, Richard Duke of Yorke, sonne to Richarde Erle of Cambridge, althoughe the Duke of Yorke, both for birth and courage, was worthy of this honour and preferment, yet he was so disdayned of Edmonde Duke of Somerset beyng Cosyn to the king, that he was promoted to so high an office (which he in very deede gaped and looked for) that by all wayes and meanes possible, he both hindered and detracted him, glad of his losse, and sorie of his well doing, causing him to linger in England without dispatch, till Parys and the Flower of Fraunce were gotten by the French king. The Duke of Yorke perceyuing his euill will, openly dissimuled that, which he inwardly thought, eche working things to the others displeasure. This cancarde malice, and pestiferous diuision so long continued, in the hartes of these two Princes, till mortall warre consumed them both, and almost all their lines and ofsprings, as within fewe yeres you shall perceyue.

Richarde. Duke of Yorke made Regent of Fraunce.

The Normans rebell.

The Normans of the Countrie of Caux, beyng somewhat hartened, by the death of the Duke of Bedford, beganne a newe rebellion, and slue diuers Englishe men, and robbed many pretie townes, which were of king Henries faction and part, and tooke the towne of Harflew by assault, and diuers other townes. The Lord Talbot beyng aduertised of this rebellion, sent for the Lord Scales, Sir thomas Kiriell, and the Lord Hoo, which afflicted and plagued the people of Caux, that they slue aboue fiue thousand persons, and brent all the townes and villages in the countrie, not beyng walled, so that in that part, was neither habitacion nor tillage, for all the people fled into Briteyn, and all the beastes of the Countrie were brought to Cawdebec, where a good sheepe was solde for an Englishe penny, and a Cow for. xij. pence. Dayly was skirmishing and fightyng in euery part, in so much that the Lorde Scales with foure hundreth Englishmen, discomfited at the Rye beside Roan, the Heire and fiftene hundreth valiaunt Frenchmen, and Sir Richard Reignold de Fountaynes, Sir Aleyne Gerond, Alayne de Monsay, and Geoffrey Grame Capteyne of the Scottes, and three hundreth and mo, were taken prisoners, besyde seuen fayre and pleasant Coursers. But thys victorie stayed not the hartes of the French nacion, for their myndes were so so full of treason, and their malice so great agaynst the Englishmen, that

Good chepe victuall.

many townes turned to the part of king Charles, without conquest or desyre, and diuers were sold for couetousnesse, and many were deliuered by treason, as Depe, Boys de Vincenes, and other.

Thomas Lorde Beamond, which of late was come to Paris with eight hundreth men, issued out of Parys with six hundreth souldiers, onely entendyng to see and vieue the doynges and number of the French armie, but he was sodeinely espyed, and compassed about: so that within a small space, he was discomfited and taken, and with him foure score prisoners, beside two hundreth which were slaine in the fielde, and the remnant chaced to the very gates of the Citie. The Parisians, and in especiall the Master of the Hales, and some of the Vniuersitie, and Michaell Laillier, and many notable Burgesses of the towne (which euer with an Englishe countenaunce couered a French heart) perceiuyng the weakenesse of the Englishemen, and the force and strength of the Frenchmen, signifiyng to the Frenche Captaynes theyr mindes and intentes, willed them to come with all diligence, to receiue so rich a pray, to them without any difficultie offered and geuen. The Constable delaiyng no tyme, came with his power, and lodged by the Charterhouse: and the Lorde Lisleadam, approchyng the walles, shewed to the Citizens, a Charter, sealed with the great seale of king Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offences, and graunted them all the olde liberties and auncient priuileges, so they would hereafter be to him obedient, true, and seruiceable: which thing to them declared, they ranne about the towne cryyng: Saint Denise, liue king Charles. The Englishe men perceiuyng this, determined to kepe the gate of Saint Denise, but they were deceyued, for the Cheynes were drawen in euery strete, & women and children cast downe stones, and scaldyng water on the Englishe mens heades, and the Citizens persecuted them, from strete to strete, and from lane to lane, and slue & hurt, diuers and many of them. The Bishop of Tyrwine, Chauncelor there for king Henry, and the Lord Willoughby, and Sir Simon Morner, tooke great paine to appease the people, and represse their fury: but when they saw that all auayled not, they withdrew themselues, to the Bastile of Saint Anthony, which Fortresse they had well vittayled and furnished, wyth men and munitions. The Parisians rebell.

Whiles this rumor was in the towne, the Erle of Dumoys and other scaled the walles, and some passed the riuer by Boates, and opened the gate of Saint Iames, at the which the Constable with his Banner displayed entered, at whose entrie the Parisians were verye glad, and made great ioy. The Bishop and the Lorde Willoughby, with their small companie, defended their fortresse, tenne dayes, loking for ayde, but when they sawe that no comfort appered, they yelded their fortresse, so that they and theirs with certain baggage, might peaceably returne to Roan, which desire was to them graũted. Then as they departed, the Parisians rayled, mocked, and taunted the English men, with the most spitefull wordes, and shamefull termes, that could be inuented or deuised: so that all men may apparauntly perceyue, that their heartes neuer thought, as their tongues vttered. Paris is yelded to the French king.

After this glorious gaine, the French king besieged the towne of Craile, vpon Oyse, whereof Sir William Chamberlain was Captain, which with fiue hundreth Englishmen issued out of the towne, and after long fight, discomfited his enemies, and slue two hundreth, and tooke a great number prisoners: the remnant not likyng their market, departed to Compeigne, and other townes adioinyng. Duryng which season. xij. Burgesses of the towne of Gysors, solde it for money to Poyton of Xantrayles, but he had not the Castell deliuered. Wherfore with all his power, he besieged the same, wherof the Lorde Talbot beyng aduertised, sent for the Lord Scales, and they both with. xviij. hundreth men, rescued the Castell, tooke the towne, and discomfited their enemies, and slue of them aboue foure hundreth persons. Nowe was the olde prouerbes verefied, that he that commeth a day after the fayre, commeth to late, and when the steede is stolen, it is no boote to shut the stable dore. For when Paris, Saint Denise, Saint Germaynes in Lay, and many other townes in Fraunce were taken and betrayed, for lacke of succours and sufficient garrisons, then the Duke of Yorke appoynted at the Parliament before to be regent of Fraunce, and

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by the disdeyn and enuy of the Duke of Somerset and other, not till now dispatched, was sent into Normandie, with. viij. thousand men, and in his company the Erles of Sarisbury, and Suffolke, and the Lorde Fauconbridge, and diuers valiaunt Capteynes. When he was landed at Harflew, the Erle of Sarisburie besieged the Castell of Chamboys, which shortly was to him rendered. Then the Duke remoued to Roan, where he set good orders, and did great iustice in the Countrie, wherefore the Normanes in their Chronicle, highly extolt and much magnifie him, for that poynt: Howbeit, they say, that he gate by long siege, the towne and Abbey of Fecampe, and did none other notable act, duryng the tyme of his rule and gouernaunce.

Philip Duke of Burgoyne, which (as you haue heard) brake both his othe and promise with the king of England, imagined with himselfe, that the Englishe men were like shortly to be expulsed out of all the townes on that syde the sea, and that they had no certein refuge nor place to resort to, out of ieopardie, but only the towne of Calice. Wherefore he assembled his counsaile, and the heades of the Cities and townes of Flaundyrs, Brabant, Holland and Zeland, in the towne of Gaunt, where was declared vnto them, the right, title, and interest, that he had to the towne of Calice, and the countie of Guisnes, as a very patrimonie belongyng to his inheritaunce: shewyng further, that the sayd towne was the golfe and swallower vp of all the golde and siluer of his Countries and dominions, for so much as there was the staple of wooles, tynne, lead, and other marchandise, for the which the Englishe men would take no common currant money, but onely gold and siluer, to the great impouerishment of his seigniories & Regions: saiyng further, that Calice only was the common stop, betwene his Countries and Briteyn, and Spaine, so that Southward, nor Westward, his subiectes could not passe, without the daunger of that towne. Wherefore these detrimentes considered, he determined if they would assent, shortly to recouer and conquere that towne and the Countie of Guisnes. To this purpose all the counsayle, and common people, not onely agreed, but also promised ayde, both of men and money. Lorde howe the Fleminges bragged, and the Hollandyrs craked, that Calice should be wonne, and all the Englishemen slaine, swearyng, and staryng, that they would haue it within three dayes at the most: thinkyng verely, that the towne of Calice, could no more resist their puyssaunce, then a pot of double beere, when they fall to quaffyng.

To tell you what ordenance was new cast, what powder was bought, what engines were deuised, what harnesse was prouided, what vitaile was purueyed for that great enterprice: I will not comber you, in rehersyng euery thyng particulerly, because the Flemynges write, that the prouision was more then tongue could speake, or heart could thinke, yet you may beleue as ye list. These doynges were not so priuie, but Sir Iohn Radeliffe Deputy of the towne of Calice, was thereof enformed, and shortly of the same aduertised king Henry, and his counsaile, which incontinent sent thether the Erle of Mortayne, sonne to the Duke of Sommerset, and the Lorde Cammeys, with xv. hundreth men, and great foyson of vitaile, which issued out of Calice, and came before Graueline where they were encountered wyth a great number of Flemynges, which were shortly discomfited, and foure hundreth of them slaine, and six score taken prisoners, and caried into Calice. And within two dayes after, the Englishemen draue by fine force, the Lords of Wauraine and Bado, to the Barriers of Arde, and discomfited the companie to the number of xv. hundreth, and slue. vij. valeaunt Captaynes, & toke many Gentlemen prisoners. Philipe Duke of Burgoyn, abidyng still in his high and warlike enterprice, assembled together of Flemynges, Picardes, Hollanders, and Henowiers, a great armie, to the number of xl. thousand, so well armed, so well vitayled, so well furnished with ordenaunce, and well garnished in all thinges, that they thought in their heartes, and blasted among themselues, that the Calicians, would leaue the towne desolate, and flie for their sauegarde, heeryng onely of the approchyng of the Gauntoys. But they reckned before their host, and so payde more then their shot came to. When this gallant armie was passed the water of Graueln,

Grauelyn, the Duke entendyng to begyn his great conquest, besieged and assaulted the little and poore Castell of Oye, which hauyng in it but fiftie souldiers, of the which. xij. solde their liues derely, the remnant compelled by necessity, yelded themselues simplie to the Duke, which to please the Gauntoys, beyng of the most puyssaunt companie in his armie, liberally gaue to them both the Castell and the prisoners, as a signe and token of good lucke, and fortunate victorie. Which rude and beastly persons, nothyng expert in warre, or lawes at armes, not onely rased and abated the Castell, but also hanged. xxix. of the captiues, and had so done with all the remnant, if the Duke, (disdaynyng theyr crueltie) had not entreated for the rest.

After this victorie, little honourable, and lesse profitable, the Picardes besieged the Castell of Marke, and thre times assaulted it, more to their losse then gaine. The English men within, whereof Sir Iohn Geddyng was Capteyn, set out the banner of Saint George, and rang the belles, to the entent to haue succours from the towne of Calice. But the Capteynes there, myndyng not to lease the more for the lesse, nor the substance for the accident, wished them good luck, & good fortune without any ayde sendyng. For doubt of the Dukes great armie and power. The souldiers within Marke, beyng but two hundreth and sixe, seyng no hope of succour, & desperate of comfort, rendered themselues to the Duke vpon condicion that their liues and limmes should be saued, and so they were conueyed in sure custodie to the towne of Gaunt, and the Castell of Marke was rased and defaced.

Calice besieged by the Duke of Burgoyn.

After this act done, the Duke of Burgoyn, accompanied with the duke of Cleues, the Erle of Estampes, the Lords of Dantoynge, Croy, Cresquy, Humiers, and many other valeaunt Barons, and Knightes, with his great army, came before the towne of Calice, and placed his siege about the same, most to his aduauntage, and to the most displeasure of his enemies. He gaue three great assaultes to the towne, but his people were not so fierce to assaut, but the Englishmen were as quicke to defende, so that he gainyng so little at these three enterprises, was content to abstaine from further approchyng toward the walles. At the first assault the Heire, which was come to see the Duke of Burgoyn, was sore wounded and hurt. Besyde this, the Duke had dayly one great eye sore, which was because that at euery tyde, shippes arriued in the Hauen, out of England, openly before his face, laden with vitaile, municions, and men, and also the Calicians would for the nonce, put out cattaile into the marish, vnder the towne walles, to the entent to prouoke the Flemings to come within their catchyng and daunger, which beyng couetous of pray and gaine, often aduentured, and seldome returned againe: for many by this meanes were taken prisoners, but many mo slaine with ordinaunce. The Duke one day road about, to vieue and beholde the situacion, and the walles of the towne, to the intent to take his most aduauntage, either by assault or shot of ordenaunce. He was quickly espyed, and with the stroke of a Canon, a Trompetor which road next before him, and three horses in his companie were slaine out of hand. When he sawe that all thinges succeded not to his purpose, he first set the Lorde of Croy, and a conuenient number, to besiege the Castell of Guisnes, where the sayd Captain gat little profite, and did lesse harme: And after deuised howe to stop the Hauen, so that no succours should enter there, and also to prohibite them within the towne to make any egresse or road outward, and so by this meanes to famishe and compell them to yelde and render the towne. This deuice was set forwarde, and nothyng slept: for foure great Hulkes were laded with great square stones, semented and ioyned together with lead, to the intent that they should lye still like a mount, and not to seuer a sonder. These shippes with the remnant of the Dukes nauie were conueyed into the mouth of Calice hauen, and in a full sea by craft and pollecie, were sonke downe to the ground, but whether God would not that the hauen should be destroyed, eyther the conueyers of the Hulkes, knewe not the very Channell, these foure great shippes at the lowe water, lay openly vpon the sandes, without any hurt doyng to the rode or Channell, which when the souldiers had perceyued, they issued out of the

towne, and brake the shippes, and caryed both the stones and the tymber into the towne, which serued them well to their fortifications. The seconde deuise was also accomplished, which was a strong Bastell, set on a litle mountaine, furnished with foure hundreth men and much artillery, which fortresse did let the Englishe men to issue out, when they would, to their great displeasure and disturbance.

Whiles these thinges were in doing, there arryued into the Dukes armie an Herault of Englande called Pembroke, belonging to the Duke of Gloucester, which declared to the Duke of Burgoyne, that the Protectour of England his Mayster (if God would send him wind and weather) would geue battayle to him and hys whole puyssaunce, eyther there, or in any other place within his awne Countrey, where he would appoint: but the day he could not assigne, because of the inconstancie of the winde, and mutabilitie of the aire. The Duke (like a noble man) aunswered the Herault: Sir, say to your mayster, that his request is both honorable, & reasonable, howbeit, he shall not neede to take paine, to seeke me in mine awne Countrey, for God wylling he shall finde me here, till I haue my will of the towne, readie to abide him, and all the power that he can make. After this aunswere made, the Herault was highly feasted, and had a Cup, and a hundred golden Gyldens to him delyuered for a rewarde, and so returned to Calice. After whose departure, the Duke called a great counsayle in the chiefe Pauilion of the Gauntoys, and there declared both the Heraults message and his aunswere desyring them to regarde his honor, the estimation of their Countreis, and the honesties of themselues, and like men to receyue their enemies, and valyauntly to defend their aduersaries, promising to them victorie, gaine, and perpetuall glorie.

Whiles this great matter was in consultation, the Calicians, not well contented with the Bastell, which the Duke had newly buylded, issued out of the towne in a great number, part on foote, and part on horseback. The footemen ran to assaut the Bastile, and the horsemen went betwene the armie and the assaylaunts, to stop the ayde and succors which might come. The alarmy was sounded, in so much that the Duke in proper person was commyng on foote to releue his people, but by the meanes of the horsemen, he was stayed and kept back a space, in the which delay of time, the Englishe men by fine force gat the place, and slue a hundred and sixtie persons, the remnaunt were taken prisoners, and defaced the fortresse, and set it on fyre: caryeng with them all the ordinaunce and artillerie into the towne of Calice, to the great displeasure of the Duke and his counsayle. The next day after, there sprang a rumor in the armie (no man could tell how) that the Duke of Gloucester with a great puissaunce was already embarked and shipped, and would arryue at the next tide, and come downe before Calice, and raise the siege. What was the very cause, I can not truely write: but surely the same night the Duke fled away, and sent in all hast to the Lord of Croye, to raise his siege before Guysnes, which tydings were to him very ioyous, for he neither got nor saued: so these two Capitaines departed leauing behinde both ordinaunce, vitaile and great riches. The french writers, to saue the honor of the Duke of Burgoyne, say that there was a certaine discord and commocion amongst the Flemings and duche Nation: affirming that the great Lordes and the Picardes, (whome the Frenche men greatly extoll) would betray and sell the Flemings and their friends, and that for the same cause, in a great furie they cried home, home, and would not tarrie, for no request the Duke could make, nor no exhortation that could be geuen: and so by their misgouernaunce, the Duke was enforced to rayse his siege and to departe. The Flemishe authors affirme the contrary, saying: that they were readie to abide the comming of the Duke of Gloucester, but the Duke of Burgoyne fearing to be trapped, betwene the Duke of Gloucesters armie before, and the garrison of Calice behinde, so that he could escape by no way, fled away in the night, geuing to them no warning before. So that for lack of time, and conuenient space, to lade and carry their stuffe, and being commaunded to retire with all speede and diligence, they were compelled to lose, and leaue behinde them their vitayle and tents, to their great losse and detriment. Now

The Duke of Burgoyne rayseth his siege before Calice and departeth.

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it is at your liberties (gentle Readers) whether you will geue credite to the French men (which were absent and no doers in the act) or to the Flemings, which were partakers of the losse and dishonor. But the infallible veritie is, that he fled the. xxvj. day of July in the night, & the next day in the morning the Duke of Gloucester landed in Calice hauen, and straight went into the Campe, where his enimies the night before were lodged, and there he found many goodly peeces of ordenance, and in especially one called Dygeon, named after the chiefe towne of Burgony, beside pauilions, Wine, Beere, Meale, and innumerable vittayle.

The Duke of Glocester seing his enemies reculed, hauing in his company. xxv. M. men, entered into Flaunders, burning houses, kylling such as would resist, destroyeng the Countrey on euery parte, setting fyre in the townes of Poperniche and Baillens, and wasted the suburbes of many faire Cities, and in all this way, they lost no man, nor sawe any creature appere to defend the Countrey. After they passed by Newe Castell, and destroyed Rymesture, & Vallon Chapell, and then entred into Arthoys, to Arques and Blandesques, setting fyre in euery part where they came. Thus they passed by Saint Omers, to Guysnes, and so to Calice at sixe weekes ende, where they were well refreshed: for in all this iorney, they had little plenty of good bread, which caused much faintnesse, and diuers diseases in the armie. When the Duke of Gloucester had sufficiently plagued and wasted the Countreys of the Duke of Burgoyn, and brought great prayes of beastes and spoyle to the towne of Calice, he setting there all things in good order, returned into Englande, where he was aduertised, how Iames king of Scottes, contrary to his othe, league and promise, had besieged the Castell of Rokesborough, with thirtie thousand men, whereof Sir Raufe Gray was Capitaine which manfully defended it twentie dayes, but the Scottishe king being aduertised, that the Erle of Northumberland was comming to fight with him, fled with no lesse losse, then dishonor to his towne of Edenbrough.

The Duke of Gloucester spoyleth Flaundyrs.

After this daungerous businesse finished, and for a time ended, by meane of friends, and desire of Princes, a truce or abstinence of warre for a certaine time was moued betwene the king of England, and the Duke of Burgoyne, for which cause were sent to Graueiyne for the king of England, the Cardynall of Winchester Henry Beaufford, Iohn Lorde Moubrey Duke of Norffolke, Humffrey Erle of Stafford, and dyuers other well learned and honorable personages: and for the Duke there appered the Duches his wyfe, the Byshop of Arras, the Lorde of Croy, and diuers other. At which treatie, a truce was taken for a small time, and for a lesse space obserued. Which abstinence of warre was concluded betwene the king of Englande, and the Duches of Burgoyne (leauing out the Duke and his name.) Some thinke that the king of England would not enter in league with him, because he had broken his promise, wryting and fidelity, written, sealed, and sworne to him, and to his father. Other imagened this to be done by a cautell, to cast a mist before the French Kings eyes, to the intent he should beleue, that this feat was wrought by the Duches, without assent or knowledge of the Duke or his counsayle, and so he was not bounde to accomplish anye act or thing done in his wyfes treatie.

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A truce taken betwene the Duches of Burgoyn and the king of England.

About thys season, Katheryn Quene and mother to the king of Englande departed out of this transitorie lyfe, and was buryed by her husband, in the Minster of Westminster. Thys woman after the death of King Henry the fift her husbande, beyng young and lustie, followyng more her awne appetite, then friendly counsayle, and regardyng more her priuate affection, then her open honour, tooke to husband priuely a goodly gentleman, and a beautifull person, garnished with many goodly giftes, both of nature and of grace, called Owen Tuther, a man brought foorth, and come of the noble linage and auncient lyne of Cadwaleder, the last king of the Brytons, by whome she conceaued and brought foorth three goodly sonnes, Edmond, Iasper, and another, which was a Monke in Westminster, and liued a smal tyme, and a daughter, which in her youth departed out of this transitorie lyfe: After whose death king Henry, because they were hys brethrene of one

Katheryn mother to king Henry the sixt deceassed.

Owen Tuther maried vnto Katheryn Queene and the late wife of king Henry the fift.

wombe descended, created Edmond Erle of Richemond, and Iasper Erle of Pembroke, which Edmond engendered of Margaret daughter and sole heyre to Iohn Duke of Somerset, Henry which after was king of thys realme, called king Henry the seauenth, of whome you shall heare more hereafter. This Owen after the death of the Quene hys wyfe, was apprehended and committed to warde, because that contrarie to the statute made in the sixt yere of thys king, he presumptuously had maried the Quene, without the kinges especiall assent and agreement, out of which prison he escaped, and let out other with hym, and was agayne apprehended, and after escaped agayne.

The Duches of Bedford maried to Sir Richard Wooduile.

The Duchesse of Bedford, syster to Lewes, Erle of Saint Paule, minding also to mary, rather for pleasure then for honor, wythout counsaile of her friendes, maried a lustie knight called Sir Richarde Wooduile, to the great displeasure of her Vncle the Byshop of Tyrwyne, and the Erle her brother: but they now could not remedie it, for the chaunce was cast and passed. This Sir Richard was made Baron of Riuers, and after Erle, and had by thys Ladye many noble sonnes, and fayre daughters: whereof one was Lady Elizabeth, after Queene of Englande, maried to king Edward the fourth (as hereafter you shall perceyue.)

Iane the Queene of England deceassed.

Whiles this mariage was celebrating, Iane late Quene of England, and before Duches of Britayne, daughter to the king of Nauerre, and wife to king Henry the fourth, died at the mannor of Hauering, and was buried by her husbande at Cauntorbury, in which tyme disceased the Countesse of Warwike, and Henry Archebishop of Yorke.

And here I may not forget the double dealing, and craftie demeanour, of Iames King of Scottes: which being (as you haue heard) late prisoner in Englande, not onely was garnished with learning and ciuilitie (which things were rare and straunge before that time, within the realme of Scotland) but also set at libertie, and honorably sent home. And to the intent that his amitie might be perpetuall, and that loue might continually succede betwene both the realmes, by his meane and accorde: first, his great raunsome was abridged, and diminished, and after he was ioyned in mariage with one of the bloud royall, as before you haue heard: yet this vngentle prince, and forgetfull friend, putting in obliuion both the duetie of his obeysaunce, towarde his soueraigne and liege Lorde, and the othe and promise that he made to king Henry, when he did to him homage, and fealtie at the Castell of Windsore (as before you haue heard) turned his back to his friend and kinsman and loked to the French parte, which neuer did him honor nor profite, not onely sending into Fraunce daylie ayde and succours, agaynst the Englishe nation, but also by newe alliaunce sought and practised wayes and meanes, how to ioyne himselfe with forrein princes, to greue and hurte his neighbours and adioynaunts of the realme of Englande. And although his awne power were small, to doe them any great damage, yet he thought that he being lincked in suche noble houses, should the lesse feare the malice of his enimies: vpon which feeble foundation, he concluded two mariages, the one with Lewes the Dolphin, sonne to Charles the French king, and the other with Fraunces Duke of Britayne. Which mariages were not desired for loue or riches, but onely for ayde to resist and driue out the English men out of Fraunce. For the Lady Margaret maryed to the Dolphin, was of such nasty complexion and euill sauored breath, that he abhorred her company, as a cleane creature doth a caryon: wherevpon she conecyued such an inwarde griefe, that within short time after, she ended her dayes. Although this Lady had such impediments (as you haue heard) yet her sister Isabell, maryed to Fraunces Duke of Britayne, lacked neyther exceeding bewtie, nor pleasaunt breath: but as for wyt, womanhood, and ciuile behauior, she neuer had, nor exercised. Wherefore when the Duke before his maryage, was by his counsayle admonished to refuse and forsake so innocent a creature, he more moued with her fayre face, then her womanly wisedome aunswered: that it was ynnough for a Woman to iudge the difference betweene the shyrte and the doblet of her husbande, and to knowe him in the darke from another man.

For these mariages, king Iames demaunded of his commons a great subsidie or tallage, which

which was sore grudged at, and in maner denied: so that he maried them with fayre promises, and ayde and succour agaynst the Englishe men, rather then with bagges of money, or Chestes of Plate. Thys forreyn alliaunce little profited or auayled the realme of Scotland, nor this newe amitie defended not king Iames: for Walter Steward Erle of Athole, which pretended a tytle to the crowne, by reason that he was begotten of king Robert the second, by his first wyfe, and by whose occasion, Robert Duke of Albany, murdered Dauid Duke of Rothsay, elder brother to thys king Iames (as in the story of king Henry the fourth, you haue heard declared) after the coronation of king Iames the first in Scotland, ernestly sollicited him to put to death Duke Murdo, and all the ofspring of Robert first Duke of Albany, trustyng that after he had destroyed that lyne (which was a stop in his way) to inuent some meane how to destroy the king and his children, and so to obteyne the Crowne and preheminence of the Realme. Wherefore he perswaded Robert Steward his Nephew, & Robert Grame hys Cosyn, and diuers other, to murther and slay the king their souereigne Lorde, which thereto by deuilish instigation incensed and procured, came to the towne of Pertho (commonly called S. Iohns towne) and there entered into the kings priuie chamber, and slue first diuers of hys seruauntes, which made resistaunce, and after kylled the king with many mortall strokes, and hurt the Quene, which in defense of her husband felled one of the Traytors. When this vngracious deede was blowen about the towne, the people rose in great plumpes, and found out the princequellers, and them brought to straight prison, which afterward (according to their deserts) were with most terrible torments put to death and executed.

Iames king of Scottes murthered in his Chamber.

After Iames the first, succeded Iames the seconde, his eldest sonne, which fearing sedicion and ciuile discord, vexed more his awne nation, then the Englishe people did.

Nowe leauyng Scotland, let vs returne to the businesse of Fraunce. Whiles the Scottes were compassyng how to destroy their king: the Lorde Talbot with a great companie layd siege to the Castell of Tankeruile, which after foure monethes was to him simplie rendred and geuen vp. This towne was no great gaine to the Englishe men: for in the meane season the French king in his awne person besieged the strong towne of Monstreau Faultion, whereof Thomas Gerard was Captein: which more for desyre of reward, then for feare of enemies, solde the towne to the French king, and had of him great giftes, and good chere, which afterwarde was well knowen, to hys shame & reproch. This towne had bene reskued or the French king foughten withall, if one chaunce had not happened: For the Duke of Yorke was discharged of his office of Regent, and the Erle of Warwike preferred to the same, so that the Duke of Yorke liyng at Roan, would haue gladly rescued the towne, if his aucthoritie had not surcessed, and the Erle could not, for the winde was so clene contrary to him, that he & his armie taryed for the winde aboue ten weekes. And so betwene the discharge of the one, and the charge of the other, this Towne of Monstreau, was deliuered and solde.

The Castell of Tankeruile taken.

The Erle of Warwike made Regent of Fraunce.

This present yere was a Parliament kept at Westminster, in the which were diuers notable conclusions ordeyned and taken, as well for the preseruation of peace and concorde at home, as for the maintenance of warre, and hostilitie in outward regions: in the which Parliament, (who so will loke on the actes) shall perceyue that one act made, for biyng and sellyng by straungers, was profitable for the publike wealth of this realme, if it were well kept (as a fewe good actes or none be, eyther by the negligence of the gouernours, or by the insolencie and lewdnesse of the people.)

A paaliament.

Nowe must we speake somewhat of Charles the French king: which after he had gayned againe the Citie of Paris, and diuerse other townes, was so puffed vp with pride, that he thought it but a trifle to conquere Normandie, and expulse all the Englishe nacion out of his Countries and seigniories. Wherefore he sent Arthure of Briteyne Constable of Fraunce, and Iohn Duke of Alanson, into Normandie with a great army, which besieged the towne of Auranches, standyng vpon the knop of an hill, nere to the Britishe sea, both well walled and well manned. While they lay there long, little gettyng and much

much spendyng, the Lorde Talbot with a valiaunt companie of men approched nere the French men, and encamped themselues in the face of their enemies, to prouoke and intice them to battaile and fight. The french men refusyng this offer, kept themselues within their trenches, dayly fortifiyng and repairyng their Campe. The Englishemen perceiuyng their doynges, remoued their armie halfe a Mile farther, geuyng their enemyes rowme to issue out and to fight, but all this little auayled: for the Frenchmen lay still and stirred not. The Lorde Talbot seyng their faint heartes, raysed his field, and in the open sight of them all, entred into the towne, and the next day issued out, and found the French men ridyng abroad, to destroy the plain Countrie, whom he enuironed, bet, and discomfited, slayeng many, and takyng diuerse prisoners.

This yere, sayth Cooper, all the Lions in the Tower of London dyed, which before had liued there a long tyme.

1437 16 On the sixt day of Nouember this present yere, the Erle of Warwike as Regent of Fraunce, passed the sea, after he had bene seuen times shipped and vnshipped, and landed at Humflew, with a thousand freshe Souldiers, and came to Roan, and then the Duke of Yorke returned into England, neyther wholy pleased, nor half content. For he secretly smelled, that some men priuily disdeyned his aduaūcement, and enuied his promocion: yet (like a wise man) he kept his tongue close, whatsoeuer his heart thought. Betwene the chaūge of these two Capteines, the Duke of Burgoin (which sore enuied the glory of the Englishe men) besieged the Castell of Croitoy with ten thousand men and mo, hauyng with him great plentie of Goonnes, and goodly ordenaunce. The Erle of Warwike heryng of this feate, sent the Lord Talbot, the Lord Fauconbridge, sir Thomas Kiriell, sir Iohn Mountgomery, Thomas Limbrike, Thomas Chandos, Dauy Hall, & diuers other knightes and squiers, and many tall yomen, to the number of fiue thousand men, which passed the riuer of Some, besyde the towne of S. Valery: for the passage of Blaunche Taque was very daungerous to go through, because the Duke of Burgoyn had layd there ordinaunce, and other engines, to let, trouble, and stoppe the Englishemen to go ouer at that foord. And yet, where the Lorde Talbot passed, his men went in the water vp to the Chinne, so glad were the men to rescue their felowes. When the Duke of Burgoyn was informed of the approchyng of the Lord Talbot and other, he with all his power sauyng foure which were left in a Bastile, by him there newly buylded, fled to Abbeuile, which Bastile was sone gayned, and the men within eyther slain or taken.

After this towne receyued, the Lorde Talbot sent worde to the Duke of Burgoyn, that he would vtterly waste and destroy the Countrie of Picardie, except he (like a valiant Prince) would geue him battaile. And accordyng to his promise, he brent townes, spoyled, and slue many people in Picardie, but for all his doynges, the Duke would not appere, but stale away from Abbeuile, & fled to Amias. So the Lorde Talbot was. xx. dayes full in the Countries of Picardie, and Arthoyse, destroiyng and brennyng all that they could see or come to, and after departed. And in the meane season, Sir Thomas Kiriell had gotten all the Dukes cariages, and ordenaunce, and left as much vittaile in the towne of Croytoy, as would serue sixe hundreth men a whole yere, and conueyed the remnant in safetie to the Erle of Warwike, which not onely receyued the Capteynes with good semblaunce, and louyng chere, but also highly magnified their actes, and much praysed theyr hardynesse.

After this enterprise atchieued, Henry Erle of Mortaine, sonne to Edmond Duke of Sommerset, arriued at Chierburgh with foure hundreth archers, and three hundreth speares, and passed through Normandie, tyll he came into the Countie of Mayne, where he besieged a Castell, called Saint Anyan, in the which were three hundreth Scottes, besyde French men. This Castell he tooke by a strong assault, and slue all the Scottes, and hanged the Frenchmen, because they were once sworne Englishe, and after brake theyr othe: and after he gat also another Castell, two miles from Saint Iulians, called

Alegerche, which was shortly after recouered, and the Lord Cameuis which came to the rescue of the same, in the meane way was trapped and taken. Thus the victorie flowed sometyme on the one part, and sometyme on the other, but the treason of the Frenchemen farre surmounted in gettyng, both the pollecy & strength of the English Capteynes: for by the vntruth and falshode of the very Burgesses and inhabitauntes of the townes, of Meaux in Brie, and Saint Susanne, the same yere were solde and deliuered to the French part in the ende of this. xvj. yere.

This yere king Henry caused a solempne obite and terrement to be kept within Paules Church of London, for Sigismond the Emperour, who also was knight of the Garter.

This yere happened many vntemperate stormes, whereof rose suche a scarcitie, that wheate was solde at three shillynges foure pence the Bushell, wine at. xij. pence the Gallon, Bay salt at. xiiij. pence the Bushell, and mault at. xiij. shillynges foure pence the quarter, and all other graynes were sold of an excessiue price, aboue the olde custome. 1438 17

In the Moneth of Iune, the Erle of Huntyngton (as Stewarde of Guyen) with two thousand Archers, and foure hundreth speares, was sent into Gascoyn, as a supplement to the Countrie, and the Cōmons of the same. For the king of England and his counsaile, were enformed that the Erle of Dumoys, lay on the Frontiers of Tholose, secretely by rewardes and fayre promises, entisyng and prouokyng diuers townes in Guien to become french and leaue the Englishe nacion. Wherefore, this Erle (like a politike warriour) altered not onely the Capteynes in euery towne and Citie, but also remoued the Magistrates, and chaunged the officers, from towne to towne, and from rowme to rowme, so that by this meanes at that tyme, the Erle of Dumoys lost both trauaile and cost. In the same moneth also, Sir Richard Wooduile, Sir William Chamberlain, Sir William Peyto, and Sir William Storie, with a thousand men, were sent to stuffe the townes in Normandie, which surely at that tyme had thereof great neede: for the Englishe Captaynes had small confidence in the Normans, and not to much in some of their awne Nacion. For that harlot bribery, and her felow couetousnesse, ran so fast abroad with French Crownes, that vneth any creature, (without an especiall grace) could holde either hand close, or purse shut, such a strong percer is monie, and such a gredie glotton is auarice. You haue heard before, howe that king Charles heart by gettyng of Paris, was set vpon a merye Pinne, and thought dayly that all thinges more and more, would both apply to his purpose, and folow his appetite. Which inuented imaginacion, sodainly both deceyued him, and also abated his haute courage & prowde stomache. For sodainly there arose a straunge storme, and a quick pirie, so mischieuous and so pernicious, that nothing more execrable, or more to be abhorred, could happen in any christian Region. Which sedicious tempest, if wise counsaile had not with all speede repressed, no doubt, but king Charles, and the whole publike welth of Fraunce, had bene turned vp, and clene ouerthrowne. For Lewes Dolphin of Vien, and heyre apparant to king Charles, a yong Prince of a froward stomacke and euill condicions, desyryng libertie, and to be out of warde and rule, with such as were of his nature and condicions, began to conspire agaynst his father, and souereigne Lord. The chiefe of this vngracious faction with him, were Iohn Duke of Alaunson, and Iohn Duke of Burbon. These confederates gathered together a great power, and the Dolphyn tooke vpon him, the rule and gouernaunce of the Realme orderyng causes, not in his fathers name, nor by his auctoritie, but after his awne will, affection, and phantasie. When king Charles his father, had knowlege of this vnnaturall disobedience, and insolent & prowde doyngs, he was (and no maruaile) greatly moued with this sodaine commocion: thinkyng himselfe borne, and predestinate to trouble, remembryng that it was no small thing, in his awne Countrey so many yeres, both with straungers, and with his awne Nacion, to fight and striue for rule and dignitie, but nowe to be constrayned to contend and make warre with his awne sonne, for the Crowne and Regiment of his realme and Dominion. Yet these thinges did not bring him, beyng a man of great wit and counsaile, dayly troubled and vnquieted with calamities

Two shrewd companions.

Lewes Dolphyn of Vien conspired against king Charles the French king beyng his father.

lamities and displeasures, into vtter dispayre, or extreme wanhope: but like a pollitike prince, determinyng to withstand and resist the smoke at the beginnyng, before the fyre and flame brast out abroad, called together all such as he had eyther in great confidence, or especiall fauour, communicating to them all his inwarde thoughtes and priuie purposes. After long consultacion had, it was agreed by the most part, that this sore was more mete to be cured by polletique and wittie handlyng, rather then by force, and dent of sworde. Wherefore, letters were written, and postes were sent to euery Citie and Borough, straightly prohibityng all and singuler persons, either to heere, or obey, any precept or commaundement, set forth or published by the Dolphyn himselfe, or by other, or in his name, and all offences done in that confederacie, were by open proclamacion freely forgeuen and remitted. And besyde this, diuerse graue and sage persons, were sent to the Dolphyn, and his alies, to common and conclude a peace, and reconciliation betweene the French king and them, declaryng to them, that their ciuile warre, and inward dissenciō, was the very meane to cause their enemies, vtterly to plague and destroy their natiue Country, which was almost desolate, & brought into subiection, by the continuall practised war before. By which meanes and perswasions, the knot of this sedicious faction, was losed and dissolued: and the king with his sonne, and other confederates, openly agreed and apparauntly pacified. And so the spring of these mischieuous sect, was stopped and repulsed, or the flood had any thing encreased, or flowen farther.

The English men (which euer sought their aduauntage) heryng of this domesticall diuision in the realme of Fraunce, raysed an army, and recouered againe diuers townes, which were stollen from them before by the Frenche nacion: and made great prouision to recouer againe the Citie of Paris, but when they heard that the Dolphyn was returned againe to his father, and that all his Mates were ioyned with the French king, they left of from that enterprise, and reuoked their purpose.

The conduyt in Fletestret.

This yere the Conduyt in Fletestrete in London was begon to be builded by Sir William Eestfield knight, and late Maior of London, and the same was finished at his costes and charges, without any charge of the Citie, by the handes of his executors.

1439

18 The English men take Ponthoyse.

In the Month of Nouember this present yere, there was such a great frost, and after that so deepe a snowe, that all the ground was couered with white, and al the diches hardened and frosen, which weather put the English men in comfort to recouer againe the towne of Ponthoise, by the French king gotten before, by corrupting with money diuers Burgesses of the towne. Wherfore the Englishemen being clothed all in white, with Iohn Lorde Clifforde their Capitaine, came in the night to the diches, and passed them without daunger, by reason of the frost, and sodaynely scaled the walles, slue the watche, and tooke the towne with many profitable prisoners. When this towne was thus gotten, Lorde Richard Beauchampe Erle of Warwike and Regent of Fraunce, died in the Castell of Roan, and was conueied into England, and with solempne ceremonies was buryed in his College of Warwike, in a very solempne and sumptuous Sepulture.

The death of the Erle of Warwike Regent of Fraunce.

Then was the Duke of Yorke agayne made Regent of Fraunce, which accompanied with the Erle of Oxforde, the Lorde Burchier, called the Erle of Ewe, Sir Iames of Ormond, the Lorde Clinton, and dyuers other Noble men, sayled into Normandy: Before whose arryuall, the Frenche king beyng sore greeued with the taking of the towne of Ponthoyse, assembled a great army, and besieged the sayde towne himselfe, and made rounde about it Bastiles, Trenches, and diches, and daylie shot ordynaunce, and gaue therevnto dyuers great and fierce assautes. But Iohn Lord Clifford, lyke a valyaunt Capitayne defended the towne with such valyauntnesse, that the French men rather loste then gayned. The Duke of Yorke at his landyng, hauing true knowledge of this siege, sent for the Lorde Talbot, and a great number of souldiours, and so came here to the towne of Pountoise, and there encamped himselfe, and sent worde to the French king, that he was there, readie to geue him battayle, if he would come out of his Campe and Bastiles. King Charles was ruled by his counsayle, which in no wise would suffer him to aduenture his person,

Ponthoyse besieged by the French king.

with

with men of so lowe and base degree: bydding him to remember, what losses he and hys auncesters had susteyned, by geuing to the English men battayle: which thing they principally desire, wylling him to keepe his ground still, and to bid them enter at their perill, and in the meane season, to stop the passage of the Riuer of Oyse so that no vyttayle could be brought to the Englishe armie by that waye, by which meanes he should not onely obtaine his purpose, but also cause the Englishe men to recule back againe, for lack of vittayle and succours. The Duke of Yorke perceyuing that the French king was nothing minded to fight, determined to passe ouer the ryuer of Oyse, and so to fight with him in his lodging, wherevpon he remoued his Campe, and appointed the Lord Talbot and other, to make a countenaunce as they would passe the Riuer by force at the gate of Beaumont, and appointed another company with boates of timber and leather, and bridges made of cordes and ropes (whereof he had great plentie, caried with him in Chariottes to passe ouer the ryuer benethe the Abbay. While the Lorde Talbot made a cry as though they would assayle the gate, certaine Englishe men passed the water ouer in boates, and drewe the bridge ouer, so that a great number were come ouer, or the Frenche men them espied. When they sawe the chaunce, they ran lyke mad men, to stop the passage, but their labour was lost, and all their paine to no purpose: for the most parte of the Englishe people were sodainely transported, in so much that they chased their enemies by fine force into the towne agayne, and tooke Sir Guilliam de Chastell, Nephew to the Lorde Canehy, and dyuers other gentlemen prisoners. The French men seyng their dammage irrecuperable, returned to the French king, accompting to hym their euill chaunce and vnlucky fortune, which therewith was not a little displeasaunt: and well perceiuyng, that if he taried the comming of the Englishe men he was like to be eyther in great ieoperdy, or sure to sustayne much dishonour and great dammage. Wherefore he remoued his ordinaunce into the Bastile of Saint Martyne, which he had newly made, and leauyng behinde him the Lorde of Cotigny, Admirall of Fraunce, with three thousand men to kepe the Bastiles, dislodged in the night from Maubuysson and came to Poissye: for if he had taryed still in that place, the Lorde Talbot with certaine of his trustie souldiors, which passed the riuer of Oyse in two small leather boates had eyther slayne or taken him in his lodging the same night. The Englishe men the next daye in good order of battayle, came before the towne of Pounthoise, thinking there to haue found the French king, but he was gone, and in his lodging they founde great ryches, and muche stuffe, which he could not haue space to conuey for feare of ỹ sodaine inuasion. Then the Duke of Yorke with his company entered into the towne, and sent for newe vittayle, and repayred the towres and bulwarkes about the towne, and dyuers times assayled the Bastile of the French men, of the which he passed not greatly because they were not of power, eyther to assault, or stop the vittayles or succours from the towne. The Duke lyeng thus in the towne of Pounthoise, was aduertised that the French king and the Dolphin with all the Nobilitie of Fraunce, were lodged in Poysye, wherefore he intendyng once agayne to offer hym battayle, left behinde him there for Capitayne, syr Geruays Clifton, with a thousand souldiours, and remoued his armie, and came before Poysye, and set hymselfe and his men in good order of battayle, readie to fight. There issued out diuers gentlemen, to skirmishe with the Englishe men, but they were sone discomfited, and foure valyaunt horsemen were taken prisoners, and dyuers slayne. The Englishe men perceiuyng the faynt hartes, and colde courage of their enemies, which nothing lesse desyred, then to encounter wyth the English nation in open field, dislodged from Poysye, and came to Mant, and sone after to Roan.

When the Regent and the Lorde Talbot, were returned agayne into Normandy, the French king (for all his euill luck) forgat not the towne of Ponthoise, and first he considered what charges he had susteyned, both during the tyme of the siege, and also in making Bastyles, trenches, and other deuises: and after remembred, that his people, and especially the Parisians (to whome this towne was an euill neighbor) would rayle and say,

that he was not able, or lacked courage to get so small a towne, or to discomfite halfe a handefull of amased people. Wherefore these things set in order, he assembled all his puyssaunce, and returned sodainely againe to Ponthoise: where he first by assault gat the Church, and after the whole towne, and tooke the Capitaine prisoner, and dyuers other Englishe men, and slue to the number of foure hundred, which deerely sold their lyfes: for one French wryter affirmeth, that the French king lost there three thousand men and mo, and the whole garrison of the Englishe men, was onely a thousand: so they gayned the towne, but they gat no great bootie of men. When the fame of thys victorie was blowen abroade, the hartes of the townes men waxed faynt, in so muche that Melune, Corbuell, Eureux, and diuers other townes, yeelded and turned at a prowde crake, or a French bragge, without stroke striken, or any blowe geuen.

Ponthoys agayne recouered by the French king.

After these hote rages, the weather beganne to waxe more temperate, for king Henry, and king Charles were agreed to send Ambassadors to common and treate some good peace and conclusion betweene them and their realmes. So the king of Englande sent the Cardinall of Winchester, with diuers other noble personages of his counsayle to Calice, with whome was also sent Charles Duke of Orleaunce, yet prisoner in Englande, to the entent that he might be both the auethor of the peace, and procurer of his delieraunce. The French king sent the Archebishop of Reyns, and the Erle of Dumoys: and the Duke of Burgoyne, sent the Lorde Creuecuer, and diuers other, because that the Duke of Orleaunce was passed the sea with the English Ambassadors, they would meete in none other place to common but in Calice. The french Ambassadors perceyuing their mind, came to Calice, where the Duke of Orleaunce, gently receyued the Erle of Dumoys (his bastard brother) thanking him hartely for his paine taken, in gouerning his countrey, during the time of his captiuity and absence. Diuers communications were had, as well for the delieraunce of the Duke, as for a finall peace: in so much, that after much consultyng and little doing, another tyme was appointed for a newe assembly, and euery parte to declare to their soueraigne, the request and desire of the other. So these Ambassadors tooke their leaue and departed, and the Englishe commissioners conueyed agayne the Duke of Orleaunce into England, which had nothing then to pay hys raunsome, and yet he could not be deliuered without payment. The cause why these commissioners did not agree, was (as the French writers saye) that the Englishe men demaunded, not onely to haue and possesse peaceably the two Duchies of Aquitayne and Normandy, to their kinges and princes discharged of all resort, superioritie, and souereigntie, frankely and freely, agaynst the realme of Fraunce, the kings and Gouernors of the same for euer: but also required to be restored to all the townes, Cities, and possessions, which they, within thirtie yeres next before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of Fraunce. The English men thought that they demaunded but right and reason: and the French men, thought their request to be most hurtfull to their realme, and auncient glorie. So both parties, rather minding to gayne or saue, then to lose, departed for that time (as you haue heard.) After which diet proroged for a time, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, partly moued in conscience, to make some amendes and recompence to Charles Duke of Orleaunce (then being prisoner in England for the death of Duke Lewes his father whome Duke Iohn father to this Duke Philip, shamefully slue, and cruelly murdered in the Citie of Paris) as in the time of king Henry the fourth, is plainely mencioned (and partly intending the aduauncement of his niece, Ladie Marie daughter to Adolph Duke of Cleue, by the which aliaunce, he trusted surely to knit suche a firme knot, and friendly amitie with the Duke of Orleaunce, that all olde rancor should cease, and all discord should be forgotten: and in their places concord should be stablished, and perpetuall loue embraced) sent messengers into England, to the sayde Duke, declaryng to him his good will, deuise and entent. The which proffer he not onely accepted, but also was most ioyfull thereof. And as some wryters affirme, the sayde Duke of Burgoyne payde for his raunsome and delyueraunce foure hundred thousand crownes, but other say three. C. M. and so he was deliuered out of Englande into

The delyuerye of the Duke of Orleaunce, who had bene long prisoner in England.

into Fraunce at that time, both speaking better Englishe then French, and also swearing, neuer to beare armor agaynst the king of England. After his arriuall in Fraunce, he came to the Duke of Burgoyne his speciall friend, gratifying and thankyng him of his libertie and deliueraunce: and according to his promise and conuention, he maryed the fayre Lady Mary in the towne of S. Omers, on whome he begat a sonne, which after was French king, and called Lewes the. xij. After his deliueraunce from captiuity he forgat not hys Vncle Iohn Erle of Angolesme, which had bene as a pledge in Englande for the debt of Duke Lewes of Orleaunce his father, sithe the last yere of king Henry the fourth (as in his storie is declared): but made friends, borowed money, and morgaged land, and so set him at libertie, and brought him into his Countrey: This Iohn engendered Charles, father to Fraunces, the first of that name, which after the death of Lewes the. xij. obteyned the crowne of Fraunce.

Here is to be noted, that olde rancor newely appeased, will commonly spring out agayne: for although the vnhappie diuision, betwene the two noble families of Orleaunce and Burgoyne, were by this great benefite and mariage for a time geuen ouer and put in obliuion, and so continued by the space of twentie yeres and more, yet their children and Cosyns, within fewe yeres after, fell so farre at square, that the house of Burgoyne was spoyled of the fayrest flower of his garlande, as you shall here afterwarde at large declared, and in especiall in the time of king Fraunces the first, the very heire of the house of Orleaunce, which not onely continually vexed with mortall warre, Charles the fift, Emperor of that name, lineall successour to Philip Duke of Burgoyne: but also did as much as in him lay, to depriue the sayde Charles of his honor and possessions (as men wryting their lyues, wil hereafter declare.)

In the beginnyng of this. xix. yere, Richard Duke of Yorke Regent of Fraunce, and gouernor of Normandie, remembryng the great charge, and waightie office to him deliuered and committed, determined (after long consultacion) to inuade the territories of his enemies, both by sundrie armies, and in diuers places, to the entent that the French people beyng vexed within their awne Countrie and peculiar Dominion, should make no rodes nor enterynges into the Duchie of Normandie, the returnyng whereof, was somewhat suspicious. This deuise for that season, semed both profitable and necessarie, wherefore, without long delaiyng of time, he sent Robert Lorde Willoughby, with a great crue of souldiers, to inuade and destroy the Countrie about Amias, and Iohn Lorde Talbot, was appoynted to besiege the towne of Depe, and he himselfe, accompanied with Edmond Duke of Sommerset, set forward into the Duchie of Aniow. The Lorde Willoughby, accordyng to his commission, entred into the Countrie to him appoynted, and to the entent that his trauaile should not be espyed nor knowen, he straightly forbad and inhibited all maner of fire and burnyng of townes, which is the most open and plaine token of warre and inuasion. By reason whereof the poore paysantes and rusticall people goyng abroade without feare or suspicion of euill, were ouerronne or taken with the horsemen, or they could attaine to any towne, or forcelet: so that innumerable people were slaine, and taken, or they heard any tidynges of their enemies approchyng. The French men in the garrisons adioynyng, astonied at the clamor and crie of the poore people issued out in good order, and manfully set on their enemies. The fight was sore, and the victorie long and doubtfull: But in conclusion, the French men seeyng their people in the forefront of the battaile, to be killed without mercie, like men desperate turned their backes and fearefully fled, the Englishe men folowed, and slue many in the chase, and such as escaped the sworde were robbed and spoyled, by Lewes Erle of Saint Paule, which was commyng to ayde the Englishe nacion. In this conflict were slaine, aboue sixe hundred men of armes, and a greater number taken: so the Lord Willoughby, like a victorious Captein, with riche spoyle and good prisoners, returned againe to the Citie of Roan. The Dukes of Yorke and Sommerset, lykewise entered into the Duchie of Aniow, and Countie of Mayne, destroiyng townes, spoilyng the people, and with great pray and profite, repayred again into

1440. 19

Normandie. The Duke of Sommerset, not filled with this gayne, entered into the Marches of Briteyn, and tooke by a fierce assault, the towne of Gerche, apperteinyng to the Duke of Alaunson, and spoyled and brent the same, and after that, departed to Ponzay, where he soiourned two monethes, from whence he sent daily men of warre, which destroyed and wasted the Countreys of Aniow, Traonnoys and Chatragonnoyes.

The French king in all hast, sent the Marshall of Loyache, with foure thousand men, to resist the inuasions of the Duke of Sōmerset, which Capteyne determined to set on the Duke and his people, in the dead tyme of the night. This enterprice was not so secrete, but it was reueled to the Duke, which marched forwarde, and met the French men halfe way, and after long fight, by fine force they were manfully discomfited, and they slue a hundreth personnes and mo, and tooke captiues. lxij. whereof the chiefe were the Lord Dausigny, Sir Lewes de Buell, and all the other almost, were Knightes and Esquiers. After this encounter, the Duke tooke the Towne of Beamotle Vicount, and manned al the fortresses on the frontiers of his enemies, and with riche bootyes, and welthie captiues came againe to the Duke of Yorke.

Duryng these fortunate chaunces and victories, the Lorde Talbot also, the vaweried Chieftain and manly warriour, enuironed the towne of Depe, with depe trenches, and great mountaynes, and did set vp vpon the Mount dé Poulet, a strong and defensible Bastile, at which tyme was Capteyne of the same towne, Charles de Maretz, a man of more force in battaile, then polletike in defence of a siege: for the Englishemen beyng a small number, had to them deliuered with fayre wordes, and faint strokes, the Castell of Charlemesnyll, and diuerse other fortresses adioynyng to the towne. Duryng the siege, many encounters were had, and many great assaultes geuen, the Englishemen sometime saued, and sometime gayned, but the most losse lighted on the Frenchmen for a while. But of three Capteynes sent forth at one tyme (as you before haue heard) all cannot returne with egall honour, and euen botie. For the Lord Talbot perceiuyng the Towne of Depe, to be strongly defended, both with men, vitaile, and ordinaunce, and that he lacked all the sayde furnitures for the accomplishyng of his stout enterprice, deliuered the custodie of the Bastile, with the gouernaunce of the siege, to his Bastard sonne, a valeaunt yong man, and departed to Roan, for ayde, money, and munitions. The French king, was quickly aduertised of the Lord Talbots absence, and of the estate of the Englishe men: wherefore without delay, he meanyng not to lose so great a pray, sent his eldest sonne Lewes Dolphyn of Vien accompanied with the Bastard of Orleaunce, called the Erle of Dunoys, and diuerse other nobles of Fraunce, to the number of. xv. thousand persons, well armed, & no lesse garnished with all thinges necessary for theyr purpose. Three dayes they assayled the Bastile, and so many times they were put back, but poulder fayled in the fortresse, and weapon wherewith to defend, was very scant, so that in conclusion, the Englishe men were vanquished, and the Bastile taken, and in it the Bastard Talbot, Sir William Peytow, and Sir Iohn Repeley, which were shortly after redemed: The other Englishe souldiers seyng the Bastile gayned, stood all day in good order of battaile, and in the night polletikely returned to Roan, without losse or dammage. At this assault, the French men say, that they slue two hundreth Englishemen, and denie not, but they lost fiue hundreth persons, and by this meanes, the one nacion lost the Bastile, and the other saued the towne, to the great displeasure of the Lorde Talbot.

Lewes of Luxenborough refuseth ye Englishe and returneth to the French.

While these thinges were a doyng, Phillip Duke of Burgoyn, hauyng an enuious heart, at the glory and fortunate successe of the Englishe people, intendyng to bereue them of one of their assured friendes, called Lewes of Luxenborough Erle of Saint Paule, made sharpe warre vpon his Countreyes, and tooke diuers townes and fortresses from him, so that in conclusion more for feare, then for loue, he vtterly refused his fayth and promise, made to the Duke of Bedford his brother in lawe, and turned to the Frenche part, and became a luke warme enemy to the realme of England. The losse of this friend and necessarie neighbour, not a little grieued king Henry and hys counsaile: Howbeit they made such pur-

ueyaunce

ueyaunce and prouision, by discrete counsaile, that if he of euill will, would do to them little good, yet he of malice should do to them no great hurt or damage.

The Englishe Capteynes beyng in Guyen, hauyng knowledge of the valeaunt doynges of their Countrimen in the realme of Fraunce, determined to do some notable and noble enterprice on the French coastes adioinyng to Aquitain: and so they besieged the strong towne of Tartas, belongyng to the Lorde Delabreth, their olde and auncient enemie. The Capteynes and gouernours of the towne consideryng their weakenesse, and the force of the Englishe men, tooke this appoyntment with the Englishe Capteynes, that the towne should remaine neuter, and for ỹ assuraunce thereof, they deliuered Cadet the sonne of the Lorde Delabreth in pledge, vpon this condicion: that if the Lord Delabreth would not assent to their agreement, then he should signifie his refusall, to the Englishe Capteynes, within three monethes next ensuyng: and he to haue his pledge, and they to do their best. The Frenche king, at the request of the Lordes of Guyen, which were not able to defende themselues, toke this matter in hande, and caused the Lord Delabreth to certifie his disagrement to the Erle of Huntingdon, Lieuetenant for the king of England, in the Duchie of Aquitaine. And to please the great Lordes of Guien, he assembled. lx. thousand men, and came to Tholose, and so to Tartas: to whom the Chieftaynes of the towne, seyng no succours commyng, rendered the towne, and Cadet Delabreth, which was left there as a pledge, was deliuered, the French king after the yeldyng of Tartas, remoued to S. Seuere, a strong towne in Gascoyn, but smally peopled with men of warre, which he toke by force, and slue three hundreth persons, and toke Sir Thomas Rampstone prisoner. After this towne gayned, he with all his power besieged the Citie of Arques, and toke the Bulwarke of the same, which was smally defended, and sone gotten. The inhabitauntes of the towne, began sore to be afrayed, and came to the Lorde Mountferrand, Capteine for the king of Englande, requiryng him to haue mercie vpon them, and to render the towne to the French king, vpon some honest couenaunt or composicion. The Capteyne perceiuyng the faint heartes of the Gascoynes, and knowyng that without their ayde, he was not able to resist the puissaunce of the Frenche king, toke an agrement, and departed with all the Englishe crue to Burdeaux, where he found the Erle of Longuile, Capdaw of Bueffe, and Sir Thomas Rampston, which was a little before deliuered.

After this, the fortresses of Rioll and Mermandie, yelded them to the French king. Although these townes thus submitted them to him, yet he had them not long, nor made much tariyng in the Duchie of Guien, for the Englishe men not onely prohibited the Gascoynes to minister to his armie vitaile, and sustenaunce, but also gat into their handes, and toke such vitailes as were conueyed to him from Tholose and Poyters: So that in maner constrayned with famine and lacke of prouision, he retired his armie againe into Fraunce. After whose departure, the English Captaines recouered again the Citie of Arques, and the other townes by the Frenche king gayned, and tooke prisoner his Lieutenant, called Reignault Guillam the Burgonyon, and many other Gentlemen, and all the meane Souldiours, were eyther slayne or hanged.

While the Frenche king was in Guien, the Lorde Talbot tooke the towne of Couchete, and after marched towarde Gayllardon, which was besieged by the Bastard of Orleaunce Erle of Dumoys: which Erle heeryng of the English mens approchyng, raysed his siege and saued himselfe. A little before this enterprice, the French men had taken the towne of Eureux, by treason of a fisher. Sir Fraunces Arragonoys heeryng of that chaunce, apparelled sixe strong men, like rusticall people with sackes and baskets, as cariers of corne and vitaile, and sent them to the Castell of Cornill, in the which diuers English men were kept as prisoners: and he with an imbushment of Englishe men lay in a Valey nie to the fortresse. These sixe Companions entered into the Castell, vnsuspected and not mistrusted, and straight came to the Chamber of the Capteyne, and layde handes vpon him, geuyng knowlege thereof to their imbushement, which sodainly entered the Castell, and slue and toke all the French men prisoners, and set at libertie al the Englishe men, which thing done, they

they set the Castell on fire, and departed with great spoyle to the Citie of Roan. Thus the Ladie victorie, sometime smiled on the Englishe part, and sometime on the French syde. Thus one gayned this day, and lost on the next. Thus fortune chaunged, and thus chaunce hapned, accordyng to the olde prouerbe, saiyng: in warre is nothing certaine, and victorie is euer doubtfull.

1448 20 A new variance betwene the Duke of Gloucester, and the Byshop of Winchester.

Nowe let vs leaue the Marciall feates, practised betwene the Englishe and French Nacion, in the Region of Fraunce, and speake a little of a smoke that rose in England, which after grew to a great fire and terrible flame, to the destruction of many a noble man. You haue heard before, howe the Duke of Gloucester sore grudged at the prowde doynges of the Cardinall of Winchester, and howe the Cardinall likewise, sore enuied and disdayned at the rule of the Duke of Gloucester, and howe by the meanes of the Duke of Bedford, their malice was appeased, & eche was reconciled to other, in perfit loue & amitie, to al mens outward iudgements. After which concorde made, the Cardinall and the Archebishop of Yorke did many things without the consent of the king or the Duke, beyng (duryng the minoritie of the prince) gouernor and protector of the realme, wherewith the Duke (like a true harted prince) was neyther content nor pleased: and so declared in writyng to the king, certein articles, wherein the Cardinall and the Archebishop had offended, which articles were here to long to reherse, and specially for that they were neyther regarded nor tooke any effect.

When the king had read the articles, he committed the hering thereof to his counsayle, whereof the most parte were spirituall persons, so what for feare, and what for fauour the matter was winked at, and dalyed out, and nothing sayde to it: & fayre countenaunce was made to the Duke, as though no displeasure had bene taken, nor no malice borne eyther in heart or in remembraunce agaynst him. But venime will once breake out, and inwarde grudge will sone appere, which was this yere to all men apparaunt: for diuers secret attempts were aduaunced forward this season, agaynst the noble Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, a farre of, which in conclusion came so nere, that they bereft him both of lyfe and lande, as you shall hereafter more manyfestly perceyue. For first this yere, dame Elyanour Cobham, wyfe to the sayde Duke, was accused of treason, for that she by sorcerie and enchaunment, entended to destroy the king, to the entent to aduaunce and promote her husbande to the crowne: vpon thys she was examined in Saint Stephens Chapell, before the Bishop of Canterbury, and there by examination conuict and iudged to doe open penaunce, in three open places, within the Citie of London, and after that adiudged to perpetuall prison in the Isle of Man, vnder the keeping of Sir Iohn Stanley knight. At the same season were arrested as ayders and counsaylers to the sayde Duches, Thomas Southwell priest, and Chanon of saint Stephens in Westminster, Iohn Hum priest, Roger Bolyngbroke, a cunning Nicromancier, and Margery Iourdayne, surnamed the Witch of Eye, to whose charge it was layde, that they at the request of the Duches, had deuised an Image of waxe, representing the king, which by their sorcery, a little and little consumed, entendyng thereby in conclusion to wast, and destroy the kings person, and so to bring him to death, for the which treason, they were adiudged to dye, and so Margery Iordayne was brent in Smithfield, and Roger Bolyngbroke was drawen and quartered at Tyborne, taking vpon his death, that there was neuer any such thing by them imagined, Iohn Hum had his pardō, and Southwell died in the towre before execution: the Duke of Gloucester toke all things paciently, and sayde little.

Elianour Cobhā wife to the Duke of Gloucester.

Margerie Iordane the Witch of Eye.

1443 21

The counsayle of England, forgat not the late enterprise of the french king, done in the Duchie of Guien, wherefore to fortifie the countrey, least he peraduenture would attempt agayne a like iorney, they sent thether Syr Wylliam Wooduile, with eyght hundred men, to fortefie the frontiers, tyll a greater armie might be assembled: And farther made publique proclamation, that all men which would transport, or cary any corne, cheese, or other vittayle into the parties of Acquitayne, should pay no maner of custome or tallage, which lycence caused that countrey to be well furnished of all things neces-

sarie and conuenient. About this season, the king remembring the valiaunt seruice, and noble actes of Iohn Lorde Talbot, created him Erle of Shrewsburie, and with a company of three thousand men, sent him agayne into Normandie, for the better thicion of the same, which neyther forgat his duetie, nor forslowed his businesse, but dayly labored and hourely studied, how to molest and dammage his enimies.

John Lorde Talbot created Erle of Shrewsbury.

In thys yere dyed in Guyen, the Countesse of Comyng, to whome the French king, and also the Erle of Arminake pretended to be heire, in so much that the Erle entered into all the landes of the sayde Lady, as very inheritour to her of right, and toke homage of the people of the countrey. But to haue a Rowlande to resist an Oliuer: he sent solempne Ambassadors to the king of England, offering him his daughter in mariage, not onely promising him siluer billes, and golden Mountaynes with her, but also would be bound to delyuer into the King of Englands hands, all such Castels and townes, as he or his auncestors, deteyned from him, within the whole Duchy of Acquitayn or Guyen, eyther by conquest of his progenitors, or by gift or deliuery of any French king: offering farther to ayde the same king with money, for the recouery of other Cities, within the sayde Duchye, from him and his auncesters, by the French kings progenitors, the Lorde de Albreth, and other Lordes of Gascoyne, vniustly kept and wrongfully withholden. Thys offer seemed both profitable, and honorable to King Henry and his realme, and so the Ambassadors, were both well heard, and louingly entertayned, and in conclusion, with a gentle aunswere (not without great rewardes) they departed into their countrey: after whome were sent for the conclusion of the sayde mariage into Guyen, Sir Edward Hulle, Syr Robert Roos, and doctor Iohn Grafton Deane of Saint Seuerines with an honorable company, which (as all Englishe Cronographiers affirme) both concluded the mariage, & by proxie affied the yong Lady. The French King was not ignorant of all these conclusions, wherefore he disdeyning that the Erle of Arminack, should both vsurpe agaynst him the Countie of Coming, and also ioyne himselfe with his mortall enemie the king of England: To recouer his right, and to punishe his rebell, he sent Lewes his eldest sonne Dolphyn of Vyen, into Couergne with a puissaunt army, which sodainely tooke the Erle of Arminack at the Isle in Iordayne, and his yongest sonne, and both his daughters, and by force obteyned the Countries of Arminack, Lonuergne, Rohergne and Moullesson, beside the Cities of Seuerac and Cadenac, and chased the Bastard of Arminack out of his Countrey, and constituted gouernour of all those seigniories, Sir Theobald de Walpergne, Bailif of Lyon. So by reason of this infortunate chaunce, the mariage concluded was differred, yea, and so long differred, that it neuer tooke effect, as you shall heare more playnely declared.

This yere the Steple of Paules Church in London, was set on fyre by lightning, and lastly quenched by the great labour of many.

Thus while England was vnquieted, and Fraunce sore vexed, by spoile slaughter and burning, all christendome lamented the continuall destruction of so noble a realme, and the effusion of so much christian bloud, wherfore to appease the mortall warre, so long continuyng betwene these two puyssaunt kings, all the princes of christendome so much labored and trauayled, by their Orators and Ambassadors, that the frostie hartes of both the parties were somewhat mollified, and their indurate stomacks greatly asswaged. So there was a great diet appointed, to be kept at the Citie of Tours in Tourayne, where for the king of England appered, William de la Pole Erle of Suffolke, Doctor Adame Molyns, keeper of the kings priuie seale, and Robert Lorde Roos, and diuers other: And for the French king were appointed, Charles Duke of Orleaunce, Lewes de Burbon Erle of Vandosme, and great Master of the French kings houshold, Sir Piers de Bresell Stewarde of Poytou, and Bartram Beauriau, Lorde of Pricignye. There were also sent thether, Ambassadors from the Empire, from Spaine from Denmarke, and from Hungary, to be Mediators betwene these two princes. The assemble was great, but the cost was much greater, in so much that euery parte for the honor of their prince, and

1443

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praise of their countrie, set forth themselues, as well in fare, as apparell, to the vttermost point and highest prick. Many meetings were had, and many things moued to come to a finall peace, and mutuall concorde. But in conclusion, for many doubtes and great ambiguities, which rose on both parties, a finall concord could not be agreed, but in hope to come to a peace, a certaine truce as well by sea as by lande was concluded by the commissioners for. xviij. monethes, which afterwarde agayne was prolonged to the yere of oure Lorde. 1449. if in the meane season it had not beene violated and broken, as hereafter shall be declared.

A truce for xviij. Monethes.

In the treating of thys truce, the Erle of Suffolke, extending his commission to the vttermost, without assent of his associates, imagened in hys phantasie, that the next way to come to a perfite peatce, was to mooue some mariage betwene the French kings kinswoman, and king Henry his souereigne: and because the French king had no daughter of ripe age, to be coupled in matrimonie with the king his master, he desired to haue the Ladye Margaret, Cosyn to the French king, and daughter to Reyner Duke of Aniow, callyng himselfe King of Sicile, Naples, and Ierusalem, hauing onely the name and style of the same, without any peny profite, or foote of possession. This mariage was made straunge to the Erle a good space, in so much that he repented him of the first mocion, but yet lyke a bolde man, entending not take a foyle in so great a matter, ceassed not still daylie to sollicite and aduaunce forward his cause. The wily french men perceyuing the ardent affection of the Erle, towarde the conclusion of the mariage, declared to him that this mariage was not like to come to conclusion, as he desired, because the king his Master, occupied a great parte of the Duchie of Aniow, and the Citie of Mauns, and the whole Countey of Mayne, apperteyning (as they sayde) to king Reyner, father to the damosell.

The Erle of Suffolke (I can not say) eyther corrupted with bribes, or to much affectionate to this vnprofitable mariage, condiscended and agreed to their mocion, that the Duchie of Aniow, and the Countie of Mayne, should be released and deliuered to the king her father, demaunding for her mariage neyther penny nor farthing (as who would say) that this newe affinitie excelled ryches, and surmounted Golde and precious stone. And to the entent that of this truce, might ensue a finall concord, a day of enteruieue or meeting was appointed betwene the two kinges, in a place conuenient, betwene Charters and Roan. When these things were concluded, the Erle of Suffolke with his company, thinking to haue brought ioyfull tydinges, to the whole realme of England, departed from Toures, and so by long iorneys arriued at Douer, and came to the king at Westminster, and there openly before the King and his counsayle, declared how he had taken an honorable truce, for the safegarde of Normandy, and the wealth of the realme, out of which truce, he thought, yea, and doubted not, but a perpetuall peace, and a finall concorde should shortly proceede and growe out. And much the sooner, for that honourable mariage, that inuincible alliaunce, that godly affinitie, which he had concluded: omittyng nothing, which might extoll and set forth the personage of the Ladie, not forgetting any thing of the nobilitie of her kinne, nor of her fathers high stile: as who would say, that she was of suche an excellent bewtie, and of so high a parentage, that almost no king or Emperour was worthie to be her make. Although this mariage pleased well the king, and dyuers of his counsayle, and especially such as were adherents, and fautors to the Erle of Suffolke, yet Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the realme, repugned and resisted as muche as in him lay, this newe alliaunce and contriued matrimonie: alleging that it was neyther consonant to the lawe of God nor man, nor honorable to a prince, to infringe and breake a promise or contract, by him made and concluded, for the vtilitie and profite of his realme and people, declaring that the King by his Ambassadors sufficiently instructed and authorised, had concluded and contracted a mariage betwene his highnes, and the daughter of the Erle of Arminack, vpon conditions both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable. Which offers and conditions, the sayde Erle sithe his

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comming out of his captiuitie & thraldome is redy to yelde and performe, saiyng: that it was more conuenient for a Prince, to mary a wyfe with ryches and friends, then to take a make with nothing, and disherite himselfe and hys realme of olde rightes and auncient seigniories. The Duke was not heard, but the Erles doings were condiscended vnto & allowed. Which fact engendered such a flame, that it neuer went out, till bothe the parties with many other were consumed and slayne, to the great vnquietnesse of the king and his realme. And for the performaunce of these conclusions, the French king sent the Erle of Vandosme, great master of his house, and the Archebyshop of Reyns, the first peere of Fraunce, and dyuers other into England, which were ioyously receyued, and friendly enterteyned. Which Ambassadors, after instruments on both parties, sealed and deliuered (not vnrewarded) returned into their Countrie. When these things were thus done, the king both for the honour of his Realme, and to assure to himselfe more speciall friendes, he created Lorde Iohn Holland Erle of Huntyngdon, Duke of Excester, as his father was, and Humfrey Erle of Stafford, was made Duke of Buckingham, and Henry Erle of Warwike, was erected to the tytle of Duke of Warwike, and the Erle of Suffolke, made Marques of Suffolke, which Marques with his wife, and many honorable personages of men and women richely adorned, both with apparell and Iewels, hauing with them many costly Chariots, and gorgeous horselitters, sayled into Fraunce, for the conueyaunce of the nominated Quene, into the realme of England. For king Reyner her father, for all his long stile, had to short a pursse, to send his daughter honorably to the king her spouse.

This noble company came to the Citie of Toures in Tourayne, where they were honorably receyued, both of the French king, and of the king of Sicile. Where the Marques of Suffolke, as procurator to king Henry, espoused the sayde Lady, in the Church of saint Martins. At which mariage were present, the father and mother of the bride, the French king himselfe, which was Vncle to the husbande, and the French Quene also, which was Awnte to the wyfe. There were also the Dukes of Orleaunce, of Calaber, of Alaunson, and of Britayne, seauen Erles. xij. Barons. xx. Bishops, beside knightes and gentlemen. There were triumphant lustes, costly feastes, and delicate banquets: but all pleasure hath an ende, and euery ioye is not continuall. So that after these high solempnities finished, and these honorable ceremonies ended, the Marques had the Lady Margaret to him delyuered, which in great estate, he conueyed through Normandy to Deepe, and so transported her into Englande, where she landed at Portesmouth, in the Moneth of Aprill. This woman excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour, as in wyt and pollicie, and was of stomacke and courage, more lyke to a man, then a woman. Sone after her arriuall, she was conueyed to the towne of Southwike in Hamshire, where she with all nupciall ceremonies, was coupled in matrimonie to king Henry the sixt of that name. After which mariage, she was with great triumph, conueyed to London, and so to Westminster, where vpon the. xxx. day of May, she with all solemnitie therevnto apperteyning, was crowned Queene of this Noble realme of Englande.

1444
23

A mariage made betweene the Lady Margaret daughter to Reyner king of Sicill and Ierusalem, and the King of Englande.

This mariage seemed to many, both infortunate and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that for many causes. First the king had with her not one pennie, and for the fetchyng of her, the Marques of Suffolke demaunded a whole fiftene in open Parliament: also for her mariage, the Duchie of Aniow, the Citie of Mauns, and the whole Countie of Mayne, were deliuered and released to king Reyner her father, which Countries were the very stayes, and backestandes to the Duchie of Normandie. Furthermore for this mariage, the Erle of Arminacke tooke such great displeasure, that he became vtter enemie to the realme of England, and was the chiefe cause, that the Englishmen were expulsed out of the whole Duchie of Aquitain, and lost both the Countries of Gascoyne and Guyen. But most of all it should seme, that God with this matrimonie was not content. For after this spousage, the kinges friendes fell from him, both in England and in Fraunce, the Lordes of his Realme fell in diuision among themselues, the Commons rebelled agaynst

their souereigne Lorde, and naturall Prince, fieldes were foughten, many thousandes slaine, and finally the king deposed, and his sonne slaine, and this Queene sent home againe, with as much miserie and sorowe, as she was receyued with pompe and triumph, such is worldly vnstablenesse, and so wauerynge is false flatteryng fortune.

All soulen College. Barnarde College.

Duryng the tyme of this truce, Richard Duke of Yorke, and diuers other Captaynes, repayred into England, both to visite their wiues, children and friends, and also to consult what should be done, if the truce ended.

This yere, as I finde noted by George Lilye, Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Cauntorbury dyed, who in his life time builded two houses, for studentes in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, the one called all Soules College, and the other Barnard College.

1445

24

And nowe to consult for some good order to be taken for Fraunce, the king called his high Court of Parliament, in the which aboue all thinges, it was concluded, diligently to foresee, that Normandie should be well furnished and strongly defended, before the terme of the truce should be expired: for it was openly knowen, that the French king was redie in all thinges, to make open warre, if no peace or abstinence of warre, were agreed or concluded. For which consideracion, money was graunted, men were appoynted, and a great armie gathered together, and the Duke of Sommerset was appoynted Regent of Normandie, and the Duke of Yorke thereof discharged. In which Parliament, to please the people withal, it was enacted, that when wheate was solde for six shillynges. viij. pence the quarter, and Rie for foure shillynges, and Barlie for three shillynges, it should be lawfull to euery man to cary the sayde kindes of corne into the parties beyond the Sea, without licence, so it were not to the kings enemies or rebelles: which Act king Edwarde the fourth for the vtilitie of his people, approued and confirmed.

The Duke of Somerset made Regent of Fraunce.

The Marques of Suffolk is highly fauoured of the Queene.

The Marques of Suffolke, beyng in high fauour with the king, and in no lesse grace with Queene Margaret, for concludyng the maryage betwene them two, somewhat infected with the seede of vainglorie, and thinking that his proceedynges and doynges in Fraunce (duryng the tyme of his legacion) had as well pleased all men, as they pleased himselfe, the seconde day of Iune, in the first session of this Parliament, before all the Lordes spirituall, and temporall, in the higher house assembled, openly, eloquently, and boldely, declared his paine trauaile and diligence, which he had taken and susteyned of late tyme, in the realme of Fraunce, aswell for the takyng and concludyng a truce or abstinence of warre, betwene the realmes of England and Fraunce, as in makyng of the mariage betwene the king his souereigne Lorde and theirs, and the noble Princes Ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Sicile and Hierusalem: Openyng also to them, that the sayde truce should expire the first day of Aprill next commyng, except a finall peace or a further truce were concluded in the meane season: aduisyng them to prouide and foresee all thinges necessary for the warre (as though no concord should succeede, nor agreement could take place) least the French men perceiuyng them vnprouided, would take their aduauntage, and agree neyther to reason nor amitie: saiyng vnto them, that sithe he had admonished the king, & them, accordyng to his dutie and allegeaunce, if any thing quayled, or if daunger ensued, he was thereof innocent and guiltlesse, and had acquited himselfe like a lonyng subiect, and a faythfull counsaylor, praiyng the Lordes to haue it in remembraunce. Likewise the morowe after, he with certeyne Lordes, discended into the common house, where he declared agayn all the sayd matters, to the Knightes, Citizens, and Burgesses, omittyng nothing that might sound to his glorie, nor openyng any thing which might redound to his disprayse: praiyng the Commons for his discharge, that aswell all his doyngs and proceedynges in the kinges affayres beyonde the Sea, as also his aduertisement and counsaile, opened to the Lordes and commons now together assembled, might be by the king and them, enacted and enrolled in the Recordes of the Parliament: Wherevpon the morowe after, William Burley, speaker for the Commons, and all the companie of the neyther house, repayred to the kinges presence, sittyng in his throne, amongest his Lordes in the Parliament Chamber, where the sayde William Burley, by the counsaile of the Commons (whether they did it more for feare then for loue, or were therevnto entised by

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the Marques friendes, as some men doubted) most humblie commended to the kinges highnesse, the foresayd Marques of Suffolke, and all his actes and notable workes, which he had done, to the pleasure of almightie God, the honour of the king, and the vtilitie of the Realme: as in takyng the truce, concludyng the mariage, and the good admonicion geuen by him in open Parliament, for prouision of warre to be made, duryng the time of truce, least to much trusting of peace, might encourage the Frenche men, the sooner to begin warre and inuasion: besechyng the kinges highnesse, in the name of the Commons, to imprint in his heart and remembraunce the sayd Marques, and his labors and actes, to his honour and renoume, which should be an example to all other, which the king should call to like seruice, to employ themselues in like endeuor, faythfully and honourably to serue their king and souereigne Lorde: praiyng also the Lordes spiritual and temporal, that they for the considerations before rehersed, woulde vouchsafe to make like peticion to the kinges Maiestie, and that all the actes and demeanor of the sayde Marques, might by aucthoritie of Parliament, be to his honour, and perpetuall fame, in the rolles of the same Parliament, recorded and substancially regestred.

At which humble intercession, the Lords, aswell spirituall as temporal, rose from their seates, and on their knees made to the king like request and peticion, as they of the commons before were desired: wherevpon the king by the mouth of the Archebishop of Cauntorbury his Chauncelor, made aunswere, that their requestes were so reasonable and so honourable, that he in no wise could but louyngly accept, & gently allowe the same, saiyng also: that their desyres were to him a singuler pleasure, and an especiall comfort, and that he would from thenceforth accept and take the sayd Marques to his benigne grace, and especiall fauour, as a person which hath done both true, faythfull, and notable seruice to him and to his Realme, to the entent that all men put in like trust, should enforce themselues to do like or better seruice to their souereigne Lorde or Mayster: agreeyng also (accordyng to their requestes and peticions) that the labors, demeanors, diligences, and declaracions of the sayd Marques of Suffolke, and the sayd commendacions and desyres, not onely of the Lordes, but also of the Commons, aswell for the honour of him and his posteritie, as for his acquitall and discharge, should be enacted and enrolled in the Recordes of the same Parliament, which was so done. This Marques thus gotten vp into fortunes trone, not content with his degree, by the meanes of the Queene was shortly erected to the estate and degree of a Duke, & ruled the king at his pleasure, in somuch that he obteyned the wardeshippes, both of body and landes of the Countesse of Warwike, and of the Ladie Margaret sole heyre to Iohn Duke of Sommerset (which Ladie was after mother to king Henry the seuenth) and besyde that, caused the king to create Iohn de Foys, sonne to Gaston de Foys, Erle of Longuile, and Capdawe of Bueffe, Erle of Kendale: which Iohn had maried his niece, and by his procurement, the king elected into the order of the Garter, the sayd Gaston, and Iohn his sonne, geuyng to the sonne, towardes the maintenaunce of his degre and estate, landes and Castelles in the Duchy of Guien, amountyng to the somme of one thousande pounds by the yere, which landes, name, and stile, the issue and line of the sayd Erle of Kendall at this day haue, and enioy.

The Marques of Suffolke made Duke of Suffolk.

Here a man may beholde, what securitie is in worldly glory, and what constancie is in fortunes smylyng: for this Duke of Suffolke, in open Parliament of the Lords praised, of the commons thanked, and into the kings fauour entierly receiued, within foure yeres after, was in the same place, by the commons of the Realme accused of many treasons, misprisions, and offences, done and committed agaynst the king, and the common welth of his realme, and in conclusion, beyng exiled the realme, he was taken vpon the Sea, and made shorter by the head, which chaunce had not happened to him, if he had remembred the counsaile of the Popyngay, saiyng: when thou thinkest thy selfe in Court most surest, then is it high tyme to get the home to rest.

These thinges beyng in doyng, the French king seyng that the towne of Manns, and diuers fortresses in Mayne, were not to him deliuered, accordyng to the appoyntment

made, gathered together a great number of people, for to recouer the same: whereof the king of England beyng aduertised (least the breche of truce should begin by him) caused the towne to be deliuered, without any force.

A combat betwene a Master and his seruaunt.

This yere an Armorers seruaunt of London, appeled his Master of treason, which offered to be tried by battaile. At the day assigned, the frends of the master, brought him Malmesye and Aqua vite, to comforte him with all, but it was the cause of his and their discomfort: for he poured in so much, that when he came into the place in Smithfelde, where he should fight, both his witte and strength fayled him: and so hee being a tall and hardie personage, ouerladed with hote drinkes, was vanquished of his seruaunt, being but a cowarde and a wretch, whose body was drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and beheadded.

An insurrection in Norwiche.

In which yere was a great insurrection in Norwiche, against the Prior of the place, in so much that the Citezens kept the gates, against the Duke of Norfolke, which came thether to appease the matter: but in conclusion, they opened the gates, and submitted themselues. The chiefe offenders, were (according to their desertes) straightly punished, and executed, and the Maior was discharged of his office, and sir Iohn Clifton was made gouernoure there, till the King had restored the Citezens to their auncient lyberties, and franchises. This commocion was for certaine newe exactions, which the Prior claymed and toke of the Citezens, contrarie to their auncient freedoms and vsages: but this was not the dewe meane to come to their right and purpose, and therefore because they erred and went out of the path, they were by punishment brought againe to a very straight trade, and the right way.

This yeere Symon Eyre Alderman of London, whoe also had beene Maior of the same, builded at his owne costs and charges, the Leaden hall, in the saide Citie, and a faire Chapell ioyning to the same, chefely to haue the same made a store house in Sommer, for Wood and Cole to be bought, and there layd vp, and in the winter to be solde vnto the poore people at a reasonable rate, without gaine, the stocke beyng saued, and he left in stocke there one thousand pounde, which afterward was borowed by King Edward the fourth, and neuer payd againe (as it is said) and so that prouision decayed.

1446
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During the time of this truce or abstinence of warre, while there was nothing to vexe or trouble the mindes of men within the Realme, a sodayne mischiefe, and a long discorde, sprange out, by the meanes of a woman: for king Henry, which raigned at this tyme, was a man of a meeke spirite, and of a simple witte, preferring peace before warre, rest before businesse, honestie before profite, and quietnesse before laboure. And to the intent, that all men might perceiue, that there coulde be none, more chaste, more meeke, more holye, nor a better creature: In him raigned shamefastnesse, modesty, integritie, and pacience to be maruayled at, taking and suffering all losses, chaunces, displeasures, and such worldly tormentes, in good parte, and wyth a pacient maner, as though they had chaunced by his owne faulte, or negligent ouersight: and he was gouerned of them whome he shoulde haue ruled: and brideled of such, whom he sharpely shoulde haue spurred: He gaped not for honor, nor thristed for riches, but studied onelye for the health of hys soule: the sauing whereof, he esteemed to be the greatest wisedome, and the loss thereof, the extremest folie that coulde be. But on the other parte, the Queene his wife was a woman of a great witte, and yet of no greater wit, then of haute stomacke, desirous of glory, and couetous of honor, and of reason, pollicye, counsaill, and other giftes, and talentes of nature, she lacked nothing, nor of diligence, studie, and businesse, she was not vnexpert: but yet she had one pointe of a very woman: for often times, when she was vehement & fully bent in a matter, she was sodainly like to a wethercock, mutable and turning. This woman perceyuing that her husbande did not frankely rule as he would, but did all thing by the aduise and counsayle of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, and that he passed not much on the auctboritie and gouernaunce of the realme, determined wyth her selfe, to take vppon her the rule and regiment, both of the king and his kingdome, and to depriue

A description of king Henry the sixt.

The description of the wife of king Henry.

and remoue out of all rule and auctho̅ritie the sayde Duke, then called the Lord Protectour of the realme: least men should say and report, that she had neyther wyt nor stomack, which would permit and suffer her husband, being of perfite age and mans estate, like a yong Scholer or innocent Pupile, to be gouerned by the disposition of an other man.

This manly woman, this courageous Queene, ceased not to prosecute forthwith, her inuented imagination and purpose, and practised daylie the furtheraunce of the same. And although this inuention came first of her awne high minde and courage, yet it was furthered and set forward by such as of long time had borne malice to the Duke, for declaring their vntruth as you before haue heard. Which venemous Serpents, and malicious Tigers, perswaded, incensed and exhorted the Quene, to loke well vpon the expences and reuenewes of the realme, and thereof to call an accompt: affirming plainely that she should euidently perceyue, that the Duke of Gloucester, had not so much aduaunced and preferred the common wealth, and publique vtilitie, as his awne priuate things and peculiar estate. Beside this, Reyner king of Sicile, wrote to his daughter, that she and her husbande should take vpon them the rule and gouernaunce of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, lyke yong wardes and desolate Orphans. The Queene perswaded and encouraged by these meanes, tooke vpon her and her husband, the high power and auctho̅ritie ouer the people and subiectes. And although she ioyned her husbande with her in name for a countenaunce, yet she did all, she sayde all, and she bare the whole swinge, as the strong Oxe doth, when he is yoked in the plough with a poore siely asse: and first of all she excluded the Duke of Gloucester, from all rule and gouernaunce, not prohibityng suche as she knewe to be his mortall enemies, to inuent and imagine causes and griefes agaynst him and hys: so that by her permission and fauour, dyuers noble men conspired against him, of the which, dyuers wryters affirme, the Duke of Suffolke, and the Duke of Buckyngham to be the chiefe, not vnprocured by the Cardinall of Winchester, and the Archebishop of Yorke. Dyuers articles both heynous and odious were layde to hys charge in open counsayle, and in especiall one, that he had caused men adiudged to dye, to be put to other execution, then the law of the land had ordered or assigned: for surely the Duke being very well learned in the law ciuill, detesting malefactors, and punishyng their offences, gat great malice and hatred of such as feared to haue condigne reward for their vngracious actes and mischieuous doyngs. Although the Duke (not without great laude and prayse) sufficiently answered to all things to him obiected, yet because his death was determined, his wisedome little helped, nor his truth small auayled: but of this vnquietnesse of minde, he deliuered himselfe, because he thought neyther of death, nor of condempnation to die: such affiaunce had he in his strong truth, and suche confidence had he in indifferent iustice. But his Capitall enemies and mortall foes, fearing that some tumult or commocion might arise, if a Prince so well beloued of the people, should be openly executed, and put to death, determined to trap and vndoe him, or he thereof should haue knowledge or warning. So for the furtheraunce of their purpose, a parliament was sommoned to be kept at Bury, whether resorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongst them the Duke Gloucester, which on the second day of the session, was by the Lorde Beamonde then high Constable of Englande, accompanied with the Duke of Buckyngham and other, arrested, apprehended, and put in warde, and all his seruaunts sequestred from him and xxxij. of the chiefe of his retinue, were sent to diuers prisons, to ỹ great admiration of the common people. The Duke the night after his imprisonment, was found dead in his bed, being the. xxiiij. day of Februarij, and his bodye shewed to the Lordes and commons, as though he had died of a palsey or impostume: but all indifferent persons well knewe, that he dyed of no naturall death, but of some violent force: some iudged him to be strangled: some affirme that a hote spit was put in at his fundament: other write, that he was stiffeled or smoldered betwene two feather beds. After whose death, none of his seruauntes (although they were arraigned and attainted) were put to death: for the Duke of Suffolke, when they should haue beene executed, shewed openly their pardon, but thi

The Duke of Gloucester remoued from all rule and gouernment.

A parliamẽt kept at Burie.

The Duke of Gloucester sodainely arrested of treson.

The Duke of Gloucester sodainely murdered.

this doyng appeased not the grudge of the people, which sayde that the pardon of the seruaunts was no amendes for murdreing of their master. The dead corps of this Duke was caryed to saint Albons, and there honorably buryed. Thus thys noble Prince, Sonne, brother, and Vncle to kinges, which had valiauntly and politiquely by the space of. xxv. yeares gouerned this realme, and for his demerites, called the good Duke of Gloucester, was by a bone cast by his enimies, choked and brought to his fatall fine, and last ende. So all men may openly see, that to men in aucthoritie, no place, no not the Courte the chiefe refuge of all, nor the dwelling house, nor yet a mans priuie Castell, or his bed ordeyned for his quietnesse, is out of the daunger of deaths dart.

This Humffrey Duke of Gloucester, descending of the blood royal, was not onely noble and valyant in all his actes and doings, but sage, pollitique, and notably well learned in the Ciuile lawe. And among other his worthy prayses, this followyng is not to be forgotten, which most liuely and plainely declareth him to be both prudent and wise, & to his great laude and praise is written and set forth by Sir Thomas Moore knight, in a booke of hys, entituled, a Dialogue concerning heresies and matters of religion, and in the. xiiij. chapter of the same booke, in this wise followyng. In the time of King Henry the sixt (sayeth he) as he roade in Progresse, there came to the towne of Saint Albons a certaine begger with hys wyfe, and there was walking about the towne begging fiue or sixe dayes before the kinges comming thether, sayeng that he was borne blinde and neuer sawe in all his life, and was warned in his dreame that he should come out of Berwike, where he sayd that he had euer dwelled, to seke Saint Albon, and that he had bene at his Shrine, and was not holpen, and therefore he would go seeke him at some other place: For he had heard some saye sence he came, that Saint Albons body should be at Colyn, and in dede such a contention hath there bene. But of truth as I am certainly informed (sayth Sir Thomas Moore) he lyeth here at saint Albones, sauing some reliques of him, which they there shewe shryned. But to tell you foorth, when the King was come, and the towne full of people, sodainely this blind man at saint Albones Shryne had his sight, & the same was solempnly rong for a miracle, and *Te deum* songen, so that nothing was talked of in all the towne, but this miracle. So happened it then that Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, a man no lesse wise, then also well learned, hauing great ioy to see suche a miracle, called the poore man vnto him, and first shewyng himselfe ioyous of Gods glorie, so shewed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to mekenesse, and to no ascribyng of any part of the worship to himselfe, not to be prowde of the peoples praise, which would call him a good & a godly man therby, at the last he looked well vpon his eien, & asked whether he could euer see any thing at al in all his life before. And when as well his wife as himselfe affirmed fastly, no, then he looked aduisedly vpon his eyen agayne, and sayde, I beleue you very well, for me thinketh that ye can not see well yet. Yes Sir quoth he, I thanke God and his holy Martir, I can see now as well as any man: yea can, quod the Duke, what colour is my Gowne? Then anone the begger tolde him. What colour quod he is this mans Gowne? he tolde him also without anye stayeng or stomblyng, and tolde the names of all the colours that coulde be shewed him. And when the Duke sawe that, he bade him walke * Faytoure, and made him to be set openly in the stockes: For though he could haue sene sodaynely by miracle the difference betwene dyuers coloures, yet could he not by sight, so sodainely tell the names of all these coloures, except he had knowne them before, no more then he coulde name all the men whome he should sodainely see, thus farre mayster Moore. And thus much for the noble prowesse and vertue, ioyned with lyke Ornamentes of knowledge and learning shyning in this Duke: For the which as before hath appered, he was both loued of the commons, and well spoken of of all men, and no lesse deseruing the same, being called the good Duke of Gloucester: so neyther yet wanted he backbiters and priuie enuyers, as before hath bene expressed.

* Faytour, is as much to say as loyterer, vagabod, or begger. A false miracle wisely found out.

When the rumor of the Dukes death, was blowen through the realme, many men were sodainely amased for feare: many abhorred and detested the fact, but all men reputed it an

abhominable

abhominable crueltie, and a shamefull tyranny. But the publique wealth of the realme of Englande, by the vnworthy death of this pollitique prince, sustayned great losse, and ran into ruine, for surely the whole waight and burden of the realme, rested and depended vpon him, as the experience afterward did declare. For after his death, good and sage men fearing themselues, fled out of the flattering court, into whose places entered such, as desiring their awne promocion, set open the gates to newe factions, which could neuer be extinct, till all the seignories beyonde the sea (except Calice and the Marches) were lost, and king Henry in conclusion spoyled of his realme and lyfe. There is an olde sayde sawe, that a man entending to auoyde the smoke, falleth into the fyre: so here, the Quene minding to preserue her husband in honor, and her selfe in auctboritie, procured and consented to the death of this noble man, whose only deth brought to passe that thing, which she would most fayne haue eschewed, and tooke from her that Iewell, which she most desired: for if this Duke had lyued, the Duke of Yorke durst not haue made title to the crowne: if this Duke had lyued, the nobles had not conspired agaynst the king, nor yet the commons had not rebelled: if this Duke had lyued, the house of Lancaster had not bene defaced and destroyed, which things happened all contrary, by the destruction of this good man. This is the worldly iudgement, but God knoweth what he had predestinate, & what he had ordeyned before, against whose ordinaunce preuayleth no counsayle, and agaynst whose wyll auayleth no stryuing.

And it is written of this good Duke of Gloucester, that he builded the diuinitie Schole in Oxford, which is a rare pece of worke. And at this time also, William Wanyflet a man of great deuocion, wisedome, and iustice, was made Bishop of Winchester, and Chauncelor of England, who to the furtheraunce of learnyng, buylded Mary Magdalene College in Oxford.

In this. xxvj. yere of the reigne of this king: But in the first yere of the rule of the Queene, I finde nothing done worthie to be rehersed, within the realme of England, but that Richard Duke of Yorke, beyng greatly alyed by his wife, to the chiefe peres and potentates of the Realme, ouer and besyde his awne progenie and great consanguinitie, perceiuyng the king to be a ruler not rulyng, and the whole burden of the realme to depende in the ordinaunce of the Queene and the Duke of Suffolke, began secretly to breake to his friends of the Nobilitie, and priuatly declared to them, his title and right to the Crowne, and likewise did he to certeine wise and sage gouernours and Rulers of diuers Cities and townes: which priuie attempt was so pollitikely handled, and so secretly kept, that his prouision was redie, before his purpose was openly published, and his friendes opened themselues or the contrary part could them espie: but in conclusion time reueled truth, and olde hatred openly sprang out, as you shall hereafter both lament and here. 1447 26

Duryng these doynges, Henry Beaufford, Bishop of Winchester, and called the riche Cardinall, departed out of this worlde, and was buryed at Winchester. This man was sonne to Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, discended of an honourable linage, but borne in Baste, more noble of blood, then notable in learnyng, haute in stomake, and highe in countenaunce, riche aboue measure of all men, and to fewe liberall, disdainefull to his kinne, and dreadfull to his louers, preferryng money before friendship, many thinges beginnyng, & nothyng performyng. His couetousnes insaciable, and hope of long life, made him both to forget God, his Prince, and himselfe, in his latter dayes: For Doctor Iohn Baker his priuie counsaylor and his Chapleyne, wrote, that he lyyng on his death bed, sayd these wordes. Why should I die, hauyng so much ryches: if the whole realme would saue my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by riches to bie it. Fye, will not death be hyred, nor will money doe nothyng? When my Nephewe of Bedforde died, I thought my selfe halfe vp the wheele, but when I sawe mine other nephew of Gloucester disceased, then I thought my selfe able to be equall with kings, & so thought to encrease my treasure, in hope to haue worne a triple Crowne. But I see nowe the worlde fayleth me, and so I am deceyued: praiyng you all to pray for me. Of the gettyng of this mans goodes, The death of Henry Beaufford Bishop of Winchester. The fond and folishe talke of the bishop of Winchester.

goodes, both by power Legantine, or spirituall bribery, I will not speake, but the kepyng of them for his ambicious purpose, aspiryng to ascend to the Papisticall Sea, was both great losse to his naturall Prince, and native Country: for his hidden riches might well haue holpen the king, and his secrete treasure might haue relieued the Commonaltie, when money was scant, and importunate charges were dayly imminent.

After the death of this Prelate, which was a great stay to the king and the realme, the affayres in Fraunce, were neyther well loked to, nor the gouernours of the Countrie were well aduised. For an Englishe Capteyn, called Sir Fraunces Surrien the Arrogonoys, a man for his wit and actiuity, admitted to the order of the Garter, tooke by scalyng so-
Fongiers taken. dainly in the night, a Towne on the Frontiers of Normandie, belongyng to the Duke of Briteyn, called Fongiers, spoilyng the same, and killyng the inhabitauntes to the great destruction of the people, and more displeasure to the Duke of Briteyn, their soueraigne Lorde. The Duke beyng thereof aduertised, sent worde to the French king, declaryng to him that in the tyme of truce (in the which, he as his allye and vassall was comprehended) he was spoyled and bereued of his towne of Fongiers: besechyng the Frenche king, in that cause to see a recompence and amendment: Wherevpon he sent Iohn Haruart his Caruer, and Iohn Cosinet one of the Maysters of his requestes to the king of England: and to the Duke of Sommerset, he dispatched Peter de Fountaynes Esquier, and one of the chiefe of his stable, to whome by both the Princes, as it was aunswered, that the fact and enterprice was both done, contrary to their minde, will and knowledge. And for the truce to be kept not onely restitucion, but also amendes to be made to the Duke of Briteyn, a day of dyet and assembly was appoynted to be kept at the towne of Louiers. At the tyme appoynted both the parties assembled: the French part demaunded amendes with no little recompence: The English Orators aunswered, that without offence, nothing by iustice ought to be satisfied: affirmyng the doing of Sir Fraunces Surrien, to be his onely act, without the consent or counsaile, eyther of the king of England, or the Duke of Sommerset his Lieutenant and Regent. Duryng this dayly communicacion and long delay, certaine Frenchmen, friendes to the Duke of Briteyn, desiryng to be reuenged of the iniurie done to him at Fongiers, and also imaginyng howe to do some newe displeasure to the Englishemen, were aduertised by a wagoner of Louiers, that the towne of Pountlarche, was but meanly manned and slenderly furnished, & the watch was but negligently loked to: with which saiynges the French men beyng somewhat encouraged, deuised a waye how by pollecie to take the towne: so the wagoner laded his Wagon, and passed forwarde, hauing in his companie two strong varlettes clad like Carpenters, wyth great Axes in their neckes. And for the furtheraunce of their purpose, the Lorde of Bressy with a chosen company of men of Armes, lodged himselfe in a bushement nere to the gate of Saint Andrewe. And Captayn Floquet, accompanied with Sir Iames of Cleremount, and another great companie, priuily lurked vnder a wood toward Louiers. When al things were appoynted, early in the mornyng in the beginning of the moneth of October, the wagoner came to the gate, and called the Porter by name, praiyng him to open the gate, that he might passe to Roan, and returne againe the same night. The Porter (which well knewe the voyce of his customer) tooke litle hede to the other two companions, and so opened the one gate, and sent another felowe of his, to open the formost gate. When the Chariot was on the draw Bridge, betwene both the gates, the Chariotmaister gaue the Porter money and for the nonce, let one peece fall to the ground, and while the Porter stoup-
A subtile sleight. ed to take it vp, the wagoner with his Dagger stroke him in at his throte, so that he cryed for no helpe, and the two great Lubbers slue the other Porters, and with their Axes cut the Axeltree of the Wagon, so that the drawe Bridge could not be shortly drawen vp. Which thinges done, they made a signe to Capteyne Floquet, which without delay or tract of tyme, entered the towne, and slue and tooke the English men, which neyther heard nor thought of any such enterprice: amongest whome the Lorde Fauconbridge, Captein of the sayde towne, was apprehended as a prisoner: by this pretie cautele and sleight impos

ture,

ture, was the towne of Pountlarche taken and surprised, which towne was the key and passage ouer the Riuer of Some, from Fraunce to Normandie, beyng distant from Roan, onely foure leagues: Thus wrong was added to wrong, and iniury heaped to iniury, whereby the terme of truce was violated, and mortall warre was reuiued. But because the taking of this fortresse had a certein colour of breakyng of truce: The Duke of Sommerset by Ambassadors, and not by force of Armes, deuised to recouer again this pretie towne, & sent for the restitution of the same, diuers Ambassadors to the French king and his counsaile, which made aunswere againe, that if the Englishemen restored to the Duke of Briteyn, the towne of Fongiers with condigne amendes, for the dammages done and committed within the same, the towne of Pountlarche should againe be rendered and deliuered: for the Frenche king and his counsaile beganne nowe to perceyue and smell, that the affayres of England by the death of the Duke of Gloucester, were sore minished and decayed, and that good counsaile began to waxe faint and decay, and sedicion freshly began to spring and rise: By reason whereof they thought that Normandy might sone be conquered and recouered, and that the Englishe nacion out of that region might easely be expulsed and driuen: wherefore they determined to take the good occasion to them openly offered, and to lose no tyme in so good a Bargaine. Whereupon king Charles diuided his armie into three partes, not doubtyng of victorye, by reason that the fame of the conquest of Pountlarche, was blowen and spread abrõad ouer all the Countrie. So after diuers assaultes (not without losse of diuers of his men) he had rendered to him by composicion, the townes of Louiers and Gerbory, whereof William Harper was Captaine. Thus prosperous victorie dayly succedyng to the Frenche kinges armie, he augmentyng hys hoste, determined to get the Towne of Vernoyle in Perche, and gyrde it round about with a strong siege. The inhabitauntes whereof, although with the sodaine chaunce they were somewhat abashed, yet hauyng some succors, and hopyng of more reliefe, toke to them good courage, and manfully defended the towne. But when their ayde taryed longer then they eyther thought or desyred, they were compelled to compound with their enemies, vpon this condicion: that if the siege were not raysed within xx. dayes, that then they should depart with bagge and baggage, which condicion was accepted: and because no rescues came, the towne, Castell and the great Tower, were deliuered. The french Historians affirme, the towne to be taken by assault, and the Castell by composicion, but all writers agre, that the frenchmen obteyned it. Thus was warre reuiued before the full terme of the truce expired, which was the most detestable and vnprofitable chaunce, that eyther could or might haue happened or come to the realme of England. For by this sodaine dammage and losse, without thought arisyng, the Englishe Captaynes were so busied and vnquieted, that with appeasyng dayly rumors within townes, and what with studie how to recouer Castels lost and taken, that they scarce wist what way to take: for while they studied how to kepe and defend one Citie, foure or fiue other, folowyng fortunes chaunce, turned to the Frenche part, and became their enemies. The chiefe cause of which reuoltyng and turnyng was this: It was blowen throughout all Fraunce, that the realme of England, after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, by the seuerall faction of Princes, was diuided into two partes, and that William de la Poole, late created Duke of Suffolke, and diuers other, were the occasion of the death of the sayd Duke of Gloucester, which was the very father of the Countrie, and the shielde and defence of the poore Commonaltie, and that the forenamed Duke of Suffolke, onely for lucre of mõney, vexed, oppressed, and molested the poore people, so that mens mindes were not intentiue, nor geuen to outward affayres and foren Conquestes, but all their studie was, howe to driue backe and defende domesticall iniuries, and dayly wronges done at home: by reason whereof men of warre were vnpayed, and no armie for resistence was eyther gathered or assembled together: which mischiefes whyle the king (as thinges of the worlde, and of no great moment) did neglect and omit, as he which preferred and extolled godly thinges, aboue all worldly affayres and mortall cures, and thought them most to be phantasied and labored: And while Queene Margaret his wife, in whome the whole rule

Pountelarch taken by the Frenchmen.

of the realme consisted, beyng a woman of to much credence geuyng to euill and flatteryng counsaylors, that by no meanes after they coulde be eyther ouercome or resisted: so that by this meanes, the French-Nacion knewe in what case the state of the realme of England stood in, which elated and encouraged their heartes, and daunted the courages of the Normanes and Gascoynes, so much, that for lacke of ayde and relefe, they turned to the French part, and forsoke their very soueraigne Lorde, the king of England in short space, as you shall after here.

1448

It was not enough, the realme of England this season thus to be vexed and vnquieted with the businesse of Normandy, but also a new rebellyon began in Ireland, to the great displeasure of the King and his counsaill: for repressing whereof, Richard Duke of yorke, with a conuenient number of men, was sent thether, as lieutenant to the king, which not onely appeased the fury of the wilde & sauage people there, but also gat him such loue and fauor of the countrey and the inhabitaunts, that their sincere loue, and friendly affection coulde neuer be separated from him and his lignage, as in the sequele of this storie you shall more plainely perceiue.

27 A rebellion in Irelande.

The Frenchemen hauing perfite vnderstanding of the infirmitye and vnreadinesse of the realme of Englande, displayed their Banners, and set forth their armies, and in short space gat by yelding, Constaunce, Gysors, Castel Gayllarde, Pontean du mere, sainct Lo, Feseampe, Newchastle, Alanson, Toncque, Manleon argenton, Lisiaux argenton, and diuerse other townes in Normandy: Likewise in Guien was the towne of Maulissone rendered to the Erle of Foys. These townes were not yelded voluntaryly by the English souldiors, but they were therevnto compelled by the Citezens and the inhabitauntes of the townes, which apparauntly perceiuing, that the great flame of the English force, was extinct and consumed, rose against the Capitaines, & other opened the gates to their enimies, or constrained them to render vpon a composicion. By which enforcement was the rich Citie of Roan deliuered: for surely the Duke of Somerset and the lord Talbot Erle of Shrowesbury, had well kept and defended this Citie, if they had bene no more vexed with the Citizens, then they were with their enimies. For after the French king had once by his Herault sommoned the citie, the inhabitants not onely sought wayes and inuented fraude, how to betraye the same, but also put on harnesse and rebelled against their Capitaines, menacing the death, and destruction of all the English people. The captaines perceiuing their vntrouth, and trayterous demeanour, retraited themselues into the Castell or Palaice, where by a certaine space with arowes and handgonnes, they sore molested & vexed the vntrue citezens. But when they considered the great puissaunce of the French king, and that they were in dispaire of all aide or relefe, and that their victaile and artillerie beganne sore to minishe, they thought it better to compounde and agree with their enimies, rather then wilfully to be destroyed or die for famine: and so vpon condicion that all they should safely depart to Caen with all their goods and armure, and that certayne townes shoulde be deliuered by a daye, they were permitted to depart: leauing behinde them for hostages, till the saide townes (which were agreed to be rendred) should be deliuered, the Erle of Shrewsburie and the Lorde Butler, son to the Erle of Ormond, which were sent to the Castel of Eureux, because they sore feared the malice of the Citezens of Roan. The Frenchmen folowing still the steps of victory, & elated with the bruit and fame of getting of Roan, determined, eyther by force or offer to get the towne of Harfflew, & shortly assauted the same, wherof was captain sir Thomas Coneson, a man of a great wit & of no lesse force: which hauing knowlege of the heuy tidings brought from Roan, was therwith nothing abashed, but coragiously set vpon his enimies, & them to their great hurt, manfully repulsed & draue from the walles. The Frenchmen learning wit by this great perill, left their scaling, and deuised dayly, how to batter and break the walles & fortifications. This siege long continued, to the great losse of both parties. When sir Thomas saw small likelihode of ayd or gayn, but much apparaunce of losse & ieopardy, he toke a conuencion with his enimies, and so departed with all his goods.

Englande loseth all that was gotten in Fraunce.

Rhoandelyuered to the French.

After

After which towne rendred, the fortresse of Hunflew, vpon the same composicion was yeelded. Thus you may perceiue that Fortune is euer without measure, for eyther she to much fauoreth or to much hateth, for beside these townes surrendered in Normandy, the Duke of Britaine recouered againe Fongiers, saint Iohn de Buerne, & diuers other townes. In the meane season, the king of England sent into Normandie with a crue of a M. v. C. men, a valiant Capteyn called Sir Thomas Kiriell: a man of great stomack, if he had had a great army, but his power was to small, eyther to recouer ỳ which was lost, either to saue that which yet remayned vngotten: but surely in him lacked neither good will nor corage, for with his small number, he recouered againe the townes of Lyseaux, and Valongues. After which feate, he ioyned himselfe with Sir Henry Norbery, Sir Robert Veere, Mathew Gough, and other Capteynes, so that they were aboue fiue thousand men of valiaunt heartes, and haute courages. After long consultacion, they determined to fight with the French men, which were goyng to the siege of Cane, but in their iourney, they were encountered at a place called Formigny, betweene Carentyne and Bayeux, by the Erle of Cleremont, Lieutenant to the French king, the Steward of Poyton, and the Lord of Rays, Admiral of Fraunce, with six hundreth men of armes, and sixe thousand other, which skirmished with the Englishe men a great season. Duryng which skirmishe, there arryued Arthur Esle of Richmond, highe Constable of Fraunce, Iames of Luxenbrough, Erle of Lauall, with a great number of horsemen, and fresh footmen. After his commyng, he and all the Frenchemen set on the Englishmen beyng fayut and wery with the long skirmishe. This battail was sore fought, but in conclusion the Englishe men were discomfited, and put to flight, and of them slaine aboue foure thousand, and viij. hundreth taken prisoners, whereof Sir Thomas Kiriell, Sir Henry Norbery, and Sir Thomas Dreue were the chiefe, Sir Robert Veere and Mathew Gough saued themselues. This was the first foughten fielde, that the French men gat on the Englishe men in many yeres, wherefore I blame them not though they of a little make much, and set forth all, and hide nothing, that may sound to their glory. They declare what number they slue, but they write not howe many of them were slaine or destroyed.

1449 28

A great discomfiture geuen to the Englishmen.

After this victorie obtayned, the French king hearing that the Duke of Somerset was in the towne of Caen, thought that he had nothing done, if he permitted the Duke, still to tarie in Normandy, which by newe ayde and freshe succours might turne the wheele of Fortune into a contrary part, and peraduenture recouer all ỳ hath bene lost, or put the realme of Fraunce in a ieoperdie: wherefore like a wise prince, entending to preuent thinges, imminent and at hande, assembled an armie royall, and in his awne person, hauing in his campe Reyner, called king of Sicile, father to the Quene of Englande, the Dukes of Calaber and Alaunson, the Erles of Cleremont, Richemonde, Mayne, Dumoys, Sent Polle, and Dampmartyne, beside many noble Barons and valyaunt knightes, when all things were readie, as oportunitie of time serued: He caused the towne to be enuironed on euery side, assigning to his Capitaynes seuerall places of the towne to be assauted, and there to proue their manhood. The Erle of Dumoys, with more losse then gaine entered into a bulwarke, and was beaten back. The Englishe men within the towne kept silence, as though they knewe not of their enimies approchyng, but euery man kept his loupe, and euery Capitayne well ouerloked his warde. The French men with querels, morispikes, slynges, and other engines, beganne to assault the walles: but of the Englishe men within, some shot fiercely with long bowes, other cast dartes, and rolled downe great stones and barres of Yron: other cast downe Iauelyns, fyrebrands, hote leade, and blockes with pitch and brimstone, lyke burning fyre flaming: so that neyther courage lacked in the assault, nor manhood, nor pollicie in the defence: for on the embattlements of the walles were set great rolles of timber, so moning and vnstedfast, that neyther scaling ladder could catche any holde, nor no person that should clime vp, could set any sure footyng. The French king perceyuing that this assault litle or naught pre-

Caen besieged by the French men.

uayled him, sent for all his great ordinaunce to Paris, determining neuer to departe, till he had conquered the towne, eyther with sworde or famine. When the ordinaunce was brought, he daylie shot at the walles, and did some hurt: but to the Castell, which stood on a rock, and in it a dongeon vnhable to be beaten downe, he did no harme at all. In this towne was the Duke of Somerset, his wife and children, but he was not Capitaine, for the Duke of Yorke owner of the towne, by the kings gift, had appointed there his Capitaine generall, Sir Dauy Halle, and of the Castell, Sir Robert Veer, and of the Dongeon, syr Henry Radford. Daylie the shot was great, but more terrible then hurtfull. Sauing one day, a stone shot into the towne, fell betwene the Duches of Somerset, and her children, which being amased with this chaunce, prayed on her knees her husband, to haue mercy and compassion of his small infants, & that they might be deliuered out of the towne in sauegarde. The Duke more piteous then hardie, moued with the dolour of his wyfe, and loue of his children, assembled the Capitaines and Magistrates of the towne, declaryng to them, the power and puyssaunce of the French king, and their debilitie and weakenesse, perswading them rather to yeeld and render vpon honest conditions, then obstinately to resist, and foolishely to perishe. Sir Dauy Halle, Capitayne of the towne, aunswered to him, saiyng: my Lorde, althoughe you be the kings Lieutenaunt generall, within thys countrie and dominion, and may by force of your auctho[r]itie, deliuer, sell or geue, any of the kings townes, to suche persons, eyther friends or enemies, as shall please you: yet I am sure that you cut your leather to large, to intreate or speake of the rendering of thys towne, apperteynyng to my Lorde and mayster, Rychard Duke of Yorke, which thereof hath geuen me both the charge and custody, with other of my trusty friends and felowes, and which with the helpe of almightie God, I shall well defende, both agaynst the Frenche king and all hys puyssaunce, till the Duke my master come to succour me, for of men, money and municious, I trust I haue sufficient. Why sayd the Duke, am not I here the kings Deputie, representing his person, and may commaunde all thinges according to my discretion? Yea sayde the Capitaine, so that you geue away no mans right but his, whose authoritie you haue for the same: as for this towne, I assure you, without my Lordes assent, you shall neyther render nor yeelde, by my consent or agreement. The Duke was sore moued with thys saying, and so departed, and after sent for the rulers of the towne, and the poorest people of the same, declaring to them, that their lyues and goodes were in the french kings hands, and if they loked not shortly to their sauegarde, of death they were sure, and of mercie farre vncertaine: exhorting them to follow his louing monicion, rather then the hardened hart, of their to hardie Capitaine. The people of the towne thus perswaded (whose harts were rather French then English) beganne to rise against syr Dauy, boldely affirming, that if he tooke no composition within three dayes, they would open the gates, and let in the French king: and of this opinion were all the common souldiours. What should the poore Hare saye, when she is enuironned with a hundred houndes, or the silly Larke crie, when she is in the middle of a hundred Hawks, but take pacience, and seeke a way to escape? so this Capitaine perceyuing, that neyther his wordes serued, nor his truth towarde his Master preuayled, bad the Duke of Somerset doe what he list, for he would in no wise be named in the composition. Then the Duke partly to please the townes men, but more desirous to please the Duches his wyfe, made an agreement with the french king, that he would render the towne, so that he and all his, might departe in sauegarde with all their goodes and substaunce: which offer, the French king gladly accepted and allowed, knowing that by force, he might lenger haue longed for the strong towne, then to haue possessed the same so sone. After this conclusion taken, Syr Dauy Hall, with diuers other of his trustie friendes departed to Chierburge, and from thence sayled into Irelande to the Duke of Yorke, making relacion to him of all these doings: which thing kindled so great a rancour in his harte and stomack, that he neuer left persecuting of the Duke of Somerset, till he had brought him to his fatall point, and extreme confusion.

The Citie of Caen yelded to the french.

After the obtayning of this strong towne of Caen, the Erle of Cleremount besieged the City of Lyseux, wherof was Captein Mathew Gough, with three hundreth Englishe men. The Capteyne perceiuyng that when Cane was not rescued, that poore Lyseux was in dispayre of all succour, agreed to abandon and deliuer the Citie, so that he and his people might depart to Chierburge, hauyng no yron weapon nor armure, but onely theyr goodes, & whyte staues in their handes. After the deliuerance of this towne, the Frenche men still like good begles, folowyng theyr pray, besieged the towne of Fallayse, appertainyng to the Lord Talbot, Erle of Shrewsbury: whereof were Capteynes for the sayd Erle, Andrew Trollop, and Thomas Cotton squiers, which beyng desperate of succors, and consideryng the puissaunce of their enemies, agreed to deliuer the towne vpon two condicions, the one was, that the Erle their mayster, which remayned in pledge for certeyne condicions, agreed to be perfourmed at the deliueraunce of Roan, (as you haue heard before) should be dismissed and set at libertie: the other, that if they were not rescued within. xij. dayes, that then they and theirs to depart with armure, and all their goods moueable whether it pleased them. After this agreement at the day prefixed, no rescues came, and so the towne was rendered, and incontinent after, the fortresse of Dampforde was deliuered vpon like agreement. For the Frenchmen bragged, that they regarded neyther golde nor siluer, but desired rule, glory and fame: With which lightnesse, the other townes of Normandie beyng perswaded, voluntarily rendered themselues, vassalles and subiectes to the Frenche nacion.

Nowe rested Englishe, onely the towne of Chierburge, whereof was Capteyn, Thomas Gonuile, which surely and valiauntly defended the towne as long as vitaile and municion serued: but when these two handes were spent and consumed, he destitute of all comfort and ayde, vpon a reasonable composicion yelded the towne, & went to Calice, where the Duke of Sommerset and many Englishe men then soiourned: lamentyng their losse, and desperate of all recouery. Thus was the riche Duchie of Normandie lost, the which had continued in the Englishe mens possession. xxx. yeres, by the conquest of king Henry the fift. In the which Duchie were a hundred strōg townes and fortresses, able to be kept and holden, besyde them which were destroyed by the warres, and in the same was one Archebishoprike, and sixe Bishoprikes. Some say, that the Englishemen were not of puissaunce, eyther to man the townes as they should be, or to inhabite the Countrie, which was the cause that they could not kepe it: accordyng to the Frenchmens Adage, which sayth: A man can not long holde that, which he cannot grype. Other say, that the Duke of Sommerset, for his awne peculiar profite, kept not halfe his number of Souldiors, and put their wages in his purse. These be mens imaginations and coniectures, but surely the losse of it, was the domesticall diuision within the Realme, euery great man desiryng rather to be reuenged on his fo at home, then on his outward enemie, as you nowe shall manifestly see and perceyue.

Al Normandie is lost.

For while these conquestes were obteyned in the partes beyond the sea, with sworde, speare, and target, by the aduersaries of the Englishmen, three mischieuous Captaines, set the people of the realme (as well of the Nobility as of the meane sort) in a ciuile warre and intestine diuision: For among the high Princes and peeres, reigned inward grudge: among the Clergie flaterie, and among the Commonaltie disdaine of lasciuious souereigntie, which the Queene with her Minions, and vnprofitable Counsaylors dayly tooke and vsurped vpon them. Wherefore they (not mindyng to be more charged, then their backes would beare, and perceiuyng that by negligent prouision and improuident pollicie, the affayres and businesse in the partes beyonde the sea, dayly decayed, and more were like to do) began first to make exclamacion agaynst the Duke of Suffolke, affirmyng him, to be the onely cause of the deliuery of Aniow, and Main, the chiefe procurer of the death of the good Duke of Glocester, the very occasion of ẏ losse of Normandie, the most swallower vp & consumer of the kings treasure (by reason whereof, the warres in Frañce were not mainteyned) the expeller from the king of all good & vertuous-

1450
28

The cōmons exclayme against the Duke of Suffolk.

tuous counsailors, and the bringer in & aduauncer of vicious persons, common enemies, and apparaunt aduersaries to the publike wealth: So that the Duke was called in euery mans mouth a traytor, a murtherer, a robber of the kinges treasure, and worthy to be put to most cruell punishement: By reason of this exclamacion, the Queene somewhat fearyng the destruction of the Duke, but more the confusion of herselfe, caused the Parliament, before begon at the black Friers in London, to be adiourned to Leycester, thinkyng there by force and rigor of the lawe, to subdue and represse all the malice and euill will, conceyued agaynst the Duke and her: at which place fewe of the Nobility would appere, wherefore it was againe adiourned to Westminster, where was a whole companie and a full apperaunce. In the which session, the Commons of the nether house, put vp to the king and the Lordes, many articles of treason, misprision and misdemeanour, agaynst the Duke of Suffolke: the effect whereof, with his aunsweres, hereafter ensueth.

The parliament adiourned from Westmister to Leycester.

Articles proponed by the commons against the Duke of Suffolke.

1 First, they alleged, that he had trayterously excited, prouoked, and counsayled, Iohn Erle of Dunoys Bastard of Orleaunce, Bertram Lorde Presigny, Willyam Cosynet, enemies to the king, and friendes and Ambassadors to Charles, calling himselfe French king, to enter into this realme, and to leuie warre agaynst the king and his realme, to the entent to destroy the king and his friends, & to make Iohn his sonne king of this realme, maryyng him to Margaret, sole heire to Iohn Duke of Somerset, pretending and declaring her, to be next heire inheritable to the crowne, for lack of issue of the kings body lawfully begotten.

2 Item, the sayde Duke, being of the kings priuie and neere counsayle, allured by great rewardes, and fayre promises, made by the foresayde Erle of Dunoys, caused the king to deliuer and set at libertie, Charles Duke of Orleaunce, enemie to the King, and the Kings noble father, which delyueraunce, was prohibited by expresse wordes, in the last will of the kings most victorious father.

3 Item, that before the departure of the sayde Duke of Orleaunce, the aforenamed Duke of Suffolke, traytorously fast cleauing to Charles called the French king, counsayled, prouoked and entised the sayde Duke of Orleaunce, to moue the same King, to make warre agaynst England, both in Fraunce and Normandy: accordyng to which procurement and counsaile, the sayde French king, hath recouered the whole realme of Fraunce, and all the Duchie of Normandie, and taken prisoners the Erle of Shrewesburie, the Lorde Fauconbridge, and many other valiaunt Capitaines.

¶ These three articles aforenamed he denied either for fact or thought.

4 Farther, it was alleged, that he being Ambassador for the King of Englande, to Charles calling himselfe French King, promised to Reyner King of Sicile, and to Charles Dangiers his brother, enimies to the King, the relese of Angeow, with the deliueraunce of the Countie of Mayne, and the Citie of Maunt or Mauns, without the knowledge of the other Ambassadors, which him accompanied; which promise after his returne, he caused to be performed, to the kings disenheritaunce, and losse irrecuperable, and to the strength of his enemies and feblishement of the Duchy of Normandy.

¶ To this article he aunswered, that hys commission was to conclude, and doe all things according to his discretion, for the obtayning of a peace, and because without deliuerie of those Countries, he perceyued that truce could not be obteyned, he agreed to the relese and deliueraunce of them.

5 Also, they surmised that the sayde Duke being in Fraunce in the Kings seruice, and one of the priuiest of his counsayle there, traytorously declared and opened to the Capitaines and conduiters of warre, appertayning to the Kings enemies, the kings counsayle, purueiaunce of his armies, furniture of his townes, and all other ordinaunces, whereby the Kings enimies (enformed by his traiterous informacion) haue gotten townes and fortresses, and the King by that meane depriued of his enheritaunce.

6 Item, the sayde Duke declared to the Erle of Dunoys, to the Lorde Presigny, and Wylliam Cosynet, Ambassadors for the French King, lyeng in London, the priuities of

the

the Kings counsayle, both for the prouision of farther warre, and also for defence of the Duchy of Normandy: by the disclosing whereof, the Frenchmen knowyng the Kinges secretes, preuented the tyme, and obtayned their purpose.

7 Item, that the sayde Duke at such tyme as the king sent Ambassadors to the French king, for the entreating of peace, trayterously before their comming to the French Court, certefied king Charles of their commission, auctoritie and instructions, by reason whereof, neyther peace nor amitie succeded, and the kings enheritaunce lost, and by his enemies possessed.

8 Item, the same Duke sayde openly in the Starre chamber, before the Lordes of the counsayle, that he had as high a place in the counsayle house of the French king, as he had there, and was as well trusted there as here, and could remoue from the French king, the priuiest man of his counsayle, if he would.

9 Item, when armies haue bene prepared, and souldiours ready waged, to passe ouer the sea, to resist the kings enemies: the sayde Duke corrupted by rewards of the French king, hath restrayned and stayed the sayde armies to passe any farther.

10 Item, the sayde Duke being Ambassadour for the King, comprised not in the league as the kinges Alies, neyther the king of Arragon, neither the Duke of Briteine, but suffered them to be comprised on the contrary part, by reason whereof, the olde amitie of the king of Aragon, is estraunged from this realme, and the Duke of Britein become enemie to the same: Gyles his brother the kinges sure friend, cast in strong prison, and there like to ende and finishe his dayes.

All these obiections he vtterly denied, or faintly anoyded, but none fully excused. Diuers other crimes were laide to his charge, as enryching hymselfe with the Kings goods, and landes, gathering together, and making a Monopoly of officies, fees, wards, and fermes, by reason wherof, the kings estate was greatly mynished and decayed, and he and his kin highly exalted and enriched, with many other pointes, which, because they be not notable, nor of great force or strength, I omit and ouerpasse.

The Duke of Suffolke committed to the Towre.

The Queene which entirely loued the Duke, fearing that some commocion and trouble might rise, if he were let goe vnpunished, caused him to be committed to the Towre, where he was kept with as much pleasure, as he that was at large, and out of all captiuitie. But after that a moneth was expired, she imagening the people to be pacified with this open emprisonment, caused him both to be delyuered, and also to be restored to the Kynges fauour and grace, as much as euer he was before that tyme. But thys doing incensed the furye of the mutable commons, muche more then before: openly denouncing and saying, that it was a shame to all the Realme, to see such a person, infected with so many misdeeds, either to rule aboute a Prince or to be had in honor. Of these wordes sprange dedes, and of this talking, rose displeasure, which had growne to great mischief, if pollitique prouision had not with all celerity resisted the first furye: for the commons in sundrye places of the Realme assembled together, gathered great companies, and elected a Captayne, whome they called, Blew berde: but or they had attempted any enterprise, their heades were apprehended, and so the members sodainely were dispersed, without any hurt committed.

Blew beard a Capitaine of rebels.

After this litle rage was asswaged, a new Parliament was holden at Leycester, whither came the King and the Queene in great estate, and wyth them the Duke of Suffolke, as chefe counsailor. The commons of the lower house, not forgetting their olde grudge, beseched the King, that such persons, as assented to the relese of Angeow, and deliueraunce of Maine, might be extremely punished, and tormented: and to be priuie to this fact, they accused, as principall, the Duke of Suffolke, with Iohn Bishop of Salisbury, and sir Iames Fynes, Lord Say, and diuers other. When King Henrye perceiued that the cōmons were thus stomacked & bent, against the quenes dearling William Duke of Suffolke, he plainely sawe that neyther glosing woulde serue, nor dissimulation coulde appease the continuall clamor of the importunate commons: Wherefore to begin a short

Wyllyam Duke of Suffolke.

pacification

pacification in so long a broyle: First he sequestred the Lorde Say, beyng threasorer of England, and other the Dukes adherentes, from their offices, and authoritie, and after banyshed and put in exile the Duke of Suffolke, for the terme of fyue yeres: meaning by this exile, to appease the furious rage of the outragious people, and that pacified, to reuocate him to his olde estate, as the Queenes chefe frend and counsailer. But fortune would not, that he should so escape, for when he was shipped in Suffolke, entending to be transported into Fraunce, he was encountered with a shippe of warre, appertayning to the Duke of Excester, the Constable of the Towre of London, being capitaine of the same barke with small fight, entered into the Dukes shippe, and perceiuing his person present, brought him to Douer Rode, & there on the one syde of a cocke bote, caused his heade to be striken off, & left his body with the heade vpon the sandes of Douer, which corps was there founde by a Chaplayne of his, & conueied to Wingefelde colledge in Suffolke, and there buryed. This ende had William de la Pole the first duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Goddes punishement: for aboue all thinges he was noted to be the very organ, engine, and deuiser of the destruction of Humfrey the good duke of Gloucester, and so the blood of the innocent man was with his dolorous death, recompensed and punished. But the death of this froward person, brought not the realme to quiet, nor deliuered it from all inward grudge and intestine diuision, which to all Realmes is more pestiferous and noysome, then outward warre, dayly famine, or extreme pestilence. For although Richard Duke of Yorke was in person (as the kings Deputie) in the realm of Ireland, continually resiant ther: yet his breath puffed, and his winde blewe dayly, in many partes of this realme. For many of the nobilitie, and more of the meane estate, wisely ponderyng the estate and condicion of the Realme, perceiuyng more losse then encrease, ruyne then aduauncemente, daylye to ensue: remembryng also that Fraunce was conquered, and Normandye was gayned by the Frenche people in short space, thought with them selues and imagined, that the fault of all these miserable chaunces happened, either because the king was not the true enheritor to the Crowne, or that he or his counsaile were not able of wit, pollecie or circumspection, to rule and gouerne so noble a Realme, or so famous a Region. Vpon this coniecture, the friendes, kinsmen, and allies of the Duke of Yorke, which were of no small number, began to practise the gouernaunce of his title: Infusyng and puttyng into mens heades secretly his right to the Crowne, his politique gouernaunce, his gentle behauiour too all the Irishe Nacion, affirmyng, that he which had brought that rude and sauage nacion to ciuile fashion, and English maners, would (if he once ruled in the realme of England) depose euill Counsaylors, correct euill Iudges, and reforme all matters amisse, and vnamended. And to set open the flood gates of these deuises, it was thought necessary, to cause some great commocion, and ỹ risyng of people to be made agaynst the king: so that if they preuayled, then had the Duke of Yorke and his complices, their appetite and desyre. And because the Kentishemen be impacient in wronges, disdeynyng of to much oppression, and euer desirous of newe chaunge, and newe fanglenesse: The ouerture of this matter was put foorth in Kent, and to the entent that it should not be knowen, that the Duke of Yorke or his friendes were the cause of the sodaine risyng: A certaine yong man of a goodly stature, and pregnant wit, was entysed to take vpō him the name of Iohn Mortimer, although his name were Iohn Cade, and not for a small pollicie, thinkyng that by that surname, the lyne and lynage of the assistent house of the Erle of Marche, which were no small number, should be to him both adherent and fauourable. This Capteine not only suborned by teachers, but also enforced by priuie Scholemaisters, assembled together a great company of tall personages: assuryng them that their attempt was both honourable to God and the king, and also profitable to the common wealth, promisyng them, that if either by force or pollicy they might once take the king, the Queene, and other their Counsaylors, into their handes and gouernaunce, that they would honourably entreat the king, and so sharpely handle his Counsaylors, that neither fiftenes should here-

Wyllyam de la pole Duke of Suffolke beheded.

A rebellion in Kent, wherof Iack Cade who named himself Iohn Mortimer was Chiefeteyne.

after

after be demaunded, nor once any imposicions or tax should be spoken of. These perswasions, with many other faire promises of libertie (which the common people more affect and desyre, rather then reasonable obedience, and due conformitie) so animated the Kentishe people, that they with their Capteine abouenamed, in good order of battaile (not in great number) came to the plain of Blackheath, betweene Eldham and Greenewich. And to the entent that the cause of this glorious Captaynes comnyng thether, might be shadowed from the king and his Counsail, he sent to him an humble supplicacion, with louyng wordes, but with malicious entent: affirmyng his commyng, not to be against him, but against diuers of his counsaile, louers of themselues, and oppressors of the poore Commonaltie, flatterers to the King, and enemies to his honor, suckers of his pursse, and robbers of his subiectes, parciall to their friendes, and extreme to their enemies, for rewardes corrupted, and for indifferencie nothyng doyng. This prowde Bill, was both of the king, and his Counsaile disdeinfully taken, and therevpon great consultacion had, and after long debatyng it was concluded, that such prowde rebelles should rather be suppressed and tamed, with violence and force, then with fayre wordes or friendly or gentle aunswere. John Mortymer sheweth the cause of his rebellion.

Wherevpon the king assembled a great army, & marched toward them, which had lyen on black Heath, by the space of. vij. dayes. This subtill Capitaine named Iack Cade, entending to bring the king farther within the compasse of his nette, brake vp his campe, and retyred backeward to the towne of Seuenock in Kent, and there expecting his pray, encamped himselfe, and made his abode. The Queene, which bare the rule, being of hys retraite well aduertised, sent syr Humfrey Stafforde knight, and Wylliam his brother, with many other Gentlemen, to follow the chace of the Kentish men, thinking that they had fled, but verily they were deceaued: for at the first skirmishe, both the Staffordes were slayne, and all their companie shamefully discomfited. The kings armie, being at this time come to black Heath, hearing of this discomfiture, beganne to grudge and murmoure amongst themselues, some wishing the Duke of Yorke at home, to ayde the Capitayne his Cosyn: Some desiring the ouerthrow of the king and his counsayle: other openly cryed out on the Queene and her complices. Thys rumour openly spoken, and commonly published, caused the king and certaine of his counsayle not ledde by fauour, nor corrupted by rewardes (to the intent to appease the furious rage of the inconstant multitude) to commit the Lorde Say, Threasorer of Englande to the Towre of London: and if other agaynst whome like displeasure was borne had bene present, they had likewise bene serued. But it was necessary that one should suffer, rather then all the nobilitie then should perishe. When the Kentishe Capitaine, or the couetous Cade, had thus obtained victorie, and slayne the two valyant Staffordes, he appareled himselfe in their riche armure, and so with pompe and glorie returned agayne towarde London: in the which retraite, dyuers ydle and vacabond persons, resorted to him from Sussex and Surrey, and from other partes to a great a number. Thus this glorious Capitaine, compassed about, and inuironed with a multitude of euill, rude, and rusticall persons, came againe to the plaine of Blackheath, and there strongly encamped himselfe: to whome were sent by the king, the Archebishop of Caunterbury, and Humfrey Duke of Buckyngham, to common with him of his greeues and requestes. These Lordes found him sober in communication, wise in disputyng, arrogant in hart, and stiffe in his opinion, and by no wayes possible, to be perswaded to dissolue his armie, except the king in person would come to him, and assent to all things which he should require. These Lordes perceyuing the wilfull pertinacie, and manifest contumacie of this rebellious Villeyn, departed to the King, declaring to him his stoute and presumpteous requestes. The king somewhat hearing, and more marking the sayengs of this outrageous losell, hauing daylie reporte of the concurse and accesse of people, which continually resorted to him, doubting as much his familier seruaunts, as his vnknowen subiectes (which spared not to speake, that the Capitaines cause was profitable for the common wealth) departed in all haste to the

Castell of Kylyngworth in Warwikeshire, leauing onely behinde him the Lorde Scales to keepe the Towre of London. The Capitaine being aduertised of the Kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the whyte Hart, prohibyting to all men, murder, rape, or robbery: by which coulour he allured to him the harts of the common people. But after that he entered into London, and cut the ropes of the draw bridge, striking his sworde on London stone, saiyng: now is Mortimer Lorde of this Citie, and rode in euery streete lyke a Lordly Capitayne. And after a flattering declaration made to the Mayre of the Citie of his thether comming, he departed againe into Southwarke. And vpon the third day of Iulij, he caused syr Iames Fynes Lorde Say, & Threasorer of England, to be brought to the Gylde hall of London, and there to be arrayned: which being before the kings Iustices put to aunswere, desyred to be tryed by his peeres, for the lenger delay of his lyfe. The Capitaine perceiuing his dilatorie ple, by force tooke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Chepe, and there caused his head to be striken off, and pitched it on a high pole, which was openly borne before him through the streete. And this cruell tyraunt not content with the murder of the Lorde Say, went to Myle ende, and there apprehended syr Iames Cromer, then Shriefe of Kent, and sonne in lawe to the sayde Lorde Say, and caused him there likewise to be hedded, and his head to be fixed on a Pole, and with these two heades, thys blooddy Butcher entred into the Citie agayne, and in dispite caused them in euery strete, to kisse together.

The Lorde Say Treasorer of Englande, behedded at the Standerd in Cheape.

After this shamefull murder, succeded open rapyne, and manifest robbery in dyuers houses, within the Citie, and in especiall in the house of Philip Malpas, Alderman of London, and diuers other: ouer and besyde raunsomyng, and finyng of dyuers notable Marchantes, for the tuicion and securitie of their lyues and goodes, as Robert Horne Alderman, which payed fiue hundreth markes, and yet neyther he, nor no other person was either of life or substaunce in a suretie or sauegarde. He also put to execucion in Southwarke diuers persons, some for enfringyng his rules and preceptes, because he would be sene indifferent, other he tormented of his old acquaintaunce, least they should blase and declare his base birth, and lowsy lynage, disparagyng him from his vsurped surname of Mortimer, for the which, he thought and doubted not, both to haue friendes and fautors, both in London, Kent, and Essex. The wise Maior, and sage Magistrates of the Citie of London, perceiuyng themselues neyther to be sure of goodes, nor of lyfe well warranted, determined with force to repell and expulse this mischieuous heade, and hys vngracious company. And because the Lorde Scales was ordeyned keeper of the Towre of London, with Mathew Gough, the often named Capitaine in Normandie (as you haue heard before) they purposed to make them priuie, both of their entent and enterprise. The Lord Scales promised to them his ayde, with shooting of ordinaunce, and Mathew Gough was by him appointed, to assist the Mayre and the Londoners: because he was both of manhode, and experience greatly renoumed and noysed. So the Capitaynes of the Citie appointed, toke vpon them in the night to keepe the bridge of London, prohibityng the Kentish men eyther to passe or approche. The rebels, which neuer soundly slept, for feare of sodayne chaunces, hearing the bridge to be kept and manned, ran with great haste to open that passage, where betwene both parties was a fierce and cruell encounter. Mathew Gough, more expert in Marciall feates, then the other Chiefetaynes of the Citie, perceyuing the Kentish men, better to stand to their tacling, then his imaginacion expected, aduised his company no farther to procede toward Southwarke, till the day appered: to the intent, that the Citizens hearing where the place of the ieopardie rested, might occurre their enimies and relieue their friendes and companions. But this counsayle caine to small effect: for the multitude of the rebels draue the Citezens from the stoulpes at the bridge foote, to the drawe bridge, and beganne to set fyre in dyuers houses. Alas what sorrowe it was to beholde that miserable chaunce: for some desyring to eschewe the fyre, lept on his enimies weapon, and so died: fearefull women with children

Philip Malpas Alderman of London.

children in their armes, amased and appalled, lept into the riuer: other doubting how to saue themselues betweene fyre, water, and sworde, were in their houses suffocat and smoldered. Yet the Capteynes nothing regarding these chaunces, fought on the drawe bridge all the night valyauntly, but in conclusion, the rebels gate the drawe bridge, and drowned many, and slue Iohn Sutton Alderman, and Robert Heysande a hardy Citizen, with many other, beside Mathew Gough, a man of great wyt, and of muche experience in feates of chiualrie, the which in continuall warres, had valyauntly serued the king, and his father, in the partes beyonde the sea (as before you haue heard.) But it is often seene, that he which many times hath vanquished his enimies in straunge Countries, and returned againe as a conquerour, hath of his awne nacion afterward bene shamefully murdered, and brought to confusion, as in this skirmishe and bickeryng the sayde Mathewe Gough was. This hard and sore conflict endured on the Bridge till. ix. of the clocke in the mornyng, in doubtfull chaunce, and fortunes balaunce: for sometyme the Londoners were bet backe to the stulpes at Saint Magnus corner, and sodainly agayne the rebels were repulsed and driuen backe to the stulpes in Southwarke, so that both partes beyng faynt, werie and fatigate, agreed to desist from fight, and to leane battayle till the next day, vpon condition: that neyther Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor the Kentishe men into London.

After this abstinence of warre agreed, the lustie Kentishe Capitayne, hoping on more friends, brake vp the gayles of the kings Bench and Marshalsea, and set at libertie a swarme of Gallants, both meete for his seruice and apt for his enterprise. The Archebishop of Caunterbury, beyng then Chauncellor of England, and for his suretie lyeng in the Towre of London, called to him the Byshop of Wynchester, which also for feare, lurked at Haliwell. These two prelates seyng the furie of the Kentishe people, by reason of their beating back, to be mitigated and minished, passed the ryuer of Thames from the Towre, into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kings great seale, a generall pardon vnto all the offenders: which they caused to be openly proclamed and published. Lorde, howe glad the people were of this pardon (ye more then of the great Iubile of Rome) and how they accepted the same, in so much that the whole multitude, without bydding farewell to their Capitaine, retired the same night, euery man to his awne home, as men amased and striken with feare. But Iohn Cade desperate of succours, which by the friendes of the Duke of Yorke were to him promised, and seyng his company thus without his knowledge sodainely departe, mistrusting the sequele of the matter, departed secretly in habite disguysed, into Sussex: but all his Metamorphosis or transfiguration little preuayled, for after a proclamation made, that whosoeuer could apprehend the sayde Iack Cade, should haue for his paine a thousande Markes, many sought for hym, but fewe espied hym, till one Alexander Iden Esquire of Kent, founde him in a garden, and there in his defence, manfully slue the caytife Cade, and brought his dead bodie to London, whose head was set on London bridge. Thys is the ende of all rebelles, and thys fortune chaunceth euer to traytors. For where men striue agaynst the streame, their vote neuer commeth to his pretensed porte. The vnseable ende of Iacke Cade.

After this commocion, the king himselfe came into Kent, and there sat in iudgement vpon the offendors, and if he had not mitigaged his iustice, with mercie and compassion, more then fiue hundred by the rigor of his lawe had bene iustely put to execution: but he considered both their simplicitie and innocencie, and howe they with peruerse people were seduced and deceyued: and so punished the stubburne heades, and deliuered the ignorant and miserable people, to the great reioysing of all his subiectes.

During this commocion about London, Raufe Bishop of Salisbury, was by his awne tenaunts and seruaunts murdered at Edington, and so from thence forth daylie succeded murther, slaughter, and dissention. And the cause, as some write, was for consenting to the geuing vp of the Duchie of Angeow and Mayne into the handes of the French king.

And about this time Quene Margaret beganne the foundation of the Queenes Colledge in Cambridge.

1451 — 29

These variable chaunces in Englande were not vnknowne to the French King, wherfore he making foundation vpon the English discord, determined to get into his possession, the Duchie of Aquitayne, while the princes of England were in controuersie for their titles and superioritie: & therefore lyke a speedy Purueior, which slacketh not time, he sent the Erles of Ponthieure, & Perigot, with many valyaunt Capitaynes to lay siege to the towne of Bergerac set vpon the ryuer of Dordone, of which towne was capitayne, Iohn Geddyng, which heering of the yeelding of Roan, and conquest of Normandie, considering the puyssaunce of the French armie, vpon reasonable conditions rendered the towne: yet all this notwithstanding, the Lorde Cameyse, syr George Seymour, syr Iohn Arondell, and other valyaunt Capitaines, which had the gouernaunce of this countrie, manned townes, gathered people, and animated the colde stomackes of the fearfull Gascones: requiring them to be constant in their fidelitie, true to their naturall Prince, and vndoubted souereigne Lorde, sending daylie letters to the king of Englande and his counsayle, declaring to him the weakenesse of his subiectes, and the strength of his enimies, asserteyning him for a suretie, that without speedye ayde, and ready succours, the whole Countrey was like to be gotten from his possession. Many letters were sent, and many faire aunsweres were brought, but reliefe neither appered, nor one man of warre was thether shipped. By reason whereof, the Gascoynes perceyuing their enemies at hande, intending as well to destroy the countrey, as to subdue the people, beganne euery man for himselfe, to regarde nothing, but the sauing of their townes, goodes, and corne: neglecting defence, and fearefull of assaultes, least by small resistence, they might receyue more detriment, then after they could recouer agayne, eyther with great force, or much labour. But the Englishe men (whose natures are not to be faynt hearted, euen at the very ieopardie of death) with all their wits studied, both how to repulse and conuince their enemies, and to turne away the euill chaunces which they sawe lykely (if pollicie did not helpe) sodaynely to fall, and shortly to insue. But all their pollicies little preuayled in conclusion, because succours fayled, and force wanted. For after the Frenchmen had the towne of Bergerac to them rendered, the fortresses of Ionsac, of Bonefoy, and dyuers other places, wyllingly and freely yeelded themselues to the French subiection. During which time, the Lorde Doruall, thirde sonne to the Lorde Delabreth, with a great number of men, as well on horsback as on foote, departed from Basas, to conquere and destroy the Isle of Madoce: whereof hearing the Maire of Burdeaux, with a conuenient crewe of men, issued out of the Citie, and encountered with his enimies, betwene whome was a harde fight and a deadly battayle: but the French men more with multitude then with force, vanquished the Englishe men, and killed and tooke prisoners aboue six hundred English men and Gascoynes, but of the frenchmen which were in double number, aboue their aduersaries (as wryters affirme) there were slayne eyght hundred persons. For which cause, the Capitaynes folowed no farther the chase, least the Englishe people would agayne returne. Thys slaughter of the Englishe parte, the French wryters set foorth with the most, but of their awne losse they speake not one worde. Such indifferency, is in their Chronographiers. This discomfiture so amased the wits, and daunted the harts of the meane Gascons, that they offred many townes to the French parte, before the same were of them demaunded.

After this, the Bastard of Orleaunce, Erle of Dumoys, and Longuile, Lieutenaunt generall for the Frenche king, accompanied with his brother, Iohn Erle of Angulesme, which had bene long prisoner in England, and many valyaunt Capitaynes, and expert men of warre, besieged the Castell of Montguyon, which to them was rendered. After this, the sayde army besieged the fortresse of Blay, standing on the ryuer of Gyronde, which towne is the very Key of the porte of Burdeaux, and this towne was besieged both by water and by lande, and fiercely assaulted and manfully defended, and in conclusion by

by very force, for lack of resistence, conquered and gayned. The Bastarde of Kendale Capitayne of the Castell, seeing the towne lost, vpon certayne conditions deliuered his fortresse, into the possession of the Lorde Lieutenaunt.

After this towne gayned, the fortresses of Bourge & Liburne yelded but not without fiue weekes besiegyng. The wittie Captaynes perceiuyng fortunes fauour was not towardes them, thought it necessary to take the tyme while their good planet reigned. Wherefore to preuent the ayde of the Englishe men, whom they dayly looked for to come to the succor of their people: they appoynted foure armies, to make warre in foure seuerall partes. The Lord Charles Delabreth, accompanied with Iohn Lorde Tartas and Aymon, Lord of Doruall his sonnes, and the Erle of Foys, and the Viscount Lawtrec his brother, and many noble men of Guyen, layd siege to the towne of Arques, in the which be diuers hote bathes. The Erle of Arminacke extreme enemie to the realme of England, for breakyng the maryage concluded betwene king Henry and his daughter (as before you haue heard) besieged with a great puyssaunce, the strong towne of Rion. The Erle of Ponthieur, with many noble barons, besieged the towne of Chastillon in Perigot, and the Erle of Dumoys, enuironed with a great puyssaunce the towne of Fronsacke. The Englishemen within this towne, perceiuyng the great ordinaunce on the Frenche part, and the small prouision on their syde, couenanted with the sayd Erle, that if the towne were not succored, & the Frenchmen foughtē withal, before the feast of the natiuity of S. Iohn Baptist next ensuyng, ỳ then the towne of Fronsacke should be yelded to them, which was the strongest fortresse of all that Country, and the very key of Guien, & cheif Chamber of Burdeaux: and for performaunce hereof, pledges were deliuered, and writynges autentique sealed. This agrement once blowen through the Countrie, the Citie of Burdeaux and all other townes (except Bayon) made like agreement, and deliuered pledges. So did all the noble men and Gentlemen, which were subiectes and vassalles to the Crowne of England. Alacke, alacke, euery day was lookyng for reliefe, and euery houre was gapyng for comfort, but wishyng serued not, nor hopyng nothing helped: for the pestiferous diuision which reigned in England, so inueigled the braynes of the noble men there, that the honour of the realme was cleerely forgotten, and nothing earthly, but their priuate phantasies looked on and remembred. Now to conclude, the day appoynted came, but succor looked for came not: so that all the townes of Aquitaine (except Bayon) deliuered their keyes, and became vassalles to the frenche Nacion, yet the Citezens of Burdeaux, hopyng of rescues, offered themselues to fight with the Frenchmen, and desyred a day of battaile to be appoynted, which request was to them graunted. But at the day assigned, they beyng in dispayre of all refuge and succor, rendered themselues and the towne, to their aduersaryes, their lyues and goodes reserued, with licence and safeconduite to all persons which would depart and sayle into England. When the Cities and townes of Gascoyne were set in good order, the Erle of Dumoys and Foys, with great preparacion of vittaile, municion, and men, came before the Citie of Bayon, where with mines and battery, they so dismayed the feareful Inhabitauntes, that neyther the Captaine nor the Souldiours, could kepe them from yeeldyng: so by force they deliuered the towne, and their Captayne as a prisoner, offred a great somme of money for the sauegarde of their liues and goodes. Besides these agreementes taken with townes, diuers noble men made seuerall composicions, as Gaston de Foys, Capdaw of Buesz, whom king Henry the fift made Erle of Longuile, and knight of the Garter, whose auncestours were euer true to England, which agreed that he, and Iohn de Foys his son, whome king Henry the sixt created Erle of Kendale, and made also knight of the Garter, should enioy all their landes in Aquitaine, geuen to them by the kinges of England, or by the Dukes of Aquitaine, And because their entent was still to serue the king of Englande their souereigne Lorde, they agreed, to deliuer into the custodie of the Erle of Foys, their Cosyn, the sonne and heyre of the sayd Erle of Kendale, beyng of the age of three yeres, to the entent, that if he at his full age denied to become subiect and vassall to the French king, or before that tyme deceassed, that then

after

after the death of his father, and grandfather, all the sayde landes should wholy remaine to the next heyre of their blood, eyther Male, or Female, beyng vnder the obeysaunce of the Frenche king, or his heyres. Many noble men, whose hartes were good Englishe, made like composicions, and some came into England, and other went to Calice, and were great officers there: as the Lorde Duras, which was Marshall there, and Monsire Vaudere, which was there Deputie, vnder the Erle of Warwike (as after shall be shewed.) Now haue I declared to you, the losse of Fraunce, Normandie, and Acquitain: wherefore, hauyng no more cause yet to speake of them, I will returne to the great trouble, dissencion and diuision, which long was cloaked, and nowe openly set abrode, and burst out in the realme of England.

1452 30 You haue heard before, howe the Duke of Yorke, as heyre to Lionell Duke of Clarence, pretended priuily, a title to the Crowne, and howe hys friendes commoned secretly with diuers persons of that matter, and excited them to set forward, and aduaunce that part to the vttermost: and howe the sayde Duke was sent into Ireland, where he was dayly aduertised by hys assured friendes, of all thinges done in England, and by them knew in what estate he stoode, both with the Nobilitie, and Commonaltie. Wherefore, he mindyng no lenger to dreame in his waightie matter, nor to kepe secrete his right title, returned out of Ireland, and came to London in the Parliament tyme, where he deliberately consulted, with his especiall friendes: as Iohn Duke of Norffolke, Richarde Erle of Sarisbury, and Lorde Richarde his sonne, which after was Erle of Warwike, Thomas Courtney, Erle of Deuonshire, and Edwarde Broke Lorde Cobham, a man of great wit and much experience: requiryng them, both of aduice and counsaile, howe hee might without spot of treason, or colour of vsurpacion, set forth his title, and obteyne his right.

After long consultation, it was thought expedient, first to seeke some occasion and picke some quarell to the Duke of Somerset, which ruled the King, ordered the realme, and most might doe with the Queene: Whome the commons, for the losse of Normandy, worse then a Tode or Scorpion hated, disdained, and abhorred, in so much that diuerse euill ruled persons, brake his house, and spoyled his goods, within the blacke Friers of the Cytie of London: which malefactors, according to their desertes, were iustlye executed and punished. For well knewe the Duke of Yorke and his adherentes, that if the Duke of Somerset sawe or smelled any point of their purposed enterprise, that hee woulde with speare and shielde, with might and mayne, wythstande and repell the same, to the extreme point of death, and to their vtter confusion. Wherefore to abridge his power and to minishe hys auctoritie, [redacted] they determined to brynge him into the hatred of the people, and into the disdayne of the Nobylitie. And to be the stronger in the setting foorth of their feate, they, what wyth rewards and faire promises, and what wyth declaration of great enormyties, committed by the kyngs counsailors, agaynst the common wealth, allected and allured to them, lustye bachelars, and actyue persons, of a great number, protesting and declaring, that they nether ment euill, nor thought harme, eyther to the kynges person, or to hys dignitie: but that their intent was, for the reuenging of great iniuries done to the publique wealth, and to persecute and reforme diuers rulers about the kyng, which dayly contrary to right and equitie, vexed and pilled the english people, without reason or measure: so that no man was in suretie, eyther of his owne goodes, or sure of his proper lands or possessions. These great enormities, they caused to be published to the intent that their chefe purpose shoulde not be espied or perceiued.

The Duke of Yorke rebelleth, and claymeth tytle to the Crowne.

When the Duke of Yorke had thus framed the entry into hys long entended iorney, he with helpe of his friendes, assembled a great armye in the Marches of Wales, publishing openly, that the cause of his mocion was, for the publique wealth of the realme, and great profite of the commons: which faire tolde tale, allured to him much people, aswell of the chiualrye, as of the mean sort. The king much astonnied w this sodain commocion, by the aduise of his counsail, raysed a great host, and marched forward toward the Duke: but he being of his approch, credibly aduertised, by his espials, diuerted from the kings

wayes, and toke his iorney towarde London: and hauing knowledge, that he might not be suffered with his army, to passe through London, he crossed ouer the Thamese at Kingston bridge, and so set foorth towarde Kent, where he knewe that he had both friends, and good willers, and there on Brentheath, a Mile from Derford, and. x. miles from London, he embattayled himselfe, and encamped his armye very stronglye, both with trenches and artillery. The king being therof aduertised, with great diligēce brought his army to Blackheath, and there pight his tentes. While both the armies lay thus embattayled, the king by the aduise of his counsaill, sent the byshops of Winchester and Elie to the Duke, both to know, what was the cause of so great a tumult and commocion, and also to make a concord, if the requestes of the Duke and his company semed to them consonant to reason, or profytable to the people. The Duke hearing the message of the two bishops, eyther doubting the variable chaunce of mortall battaill, or loking for a better occasion, or a more luckey daye, aunswered the prelates, that his comming was neyther to dampnifie the king, neyther in honor, nor in person, nor yet any good man, but his intent was to remoue from him certaine euill disposed persons of hys counsayle, which were the bludsuckers of the nobilitie, the pollers of the cleargie, and oppressors of the pore people: amongst whom he chiefly named, Edmound Duke of Somerset, whome if the king would commit to ward, to answere to such articles as agaynst him in open Parliament should be both proponed and proued, he promised not onely to dissolue hys armie and dispatche his people, but also offred himselfe like an obedient subiect to come to the kinges presence, and to do him true and faythfull seruice, accordyng to his truth and bounden dutie. When the Messengers were returned with this reasonable aunswere: The king perceiuyng, that without great bloodshed, he could not bridle the Duke of Yorke, nor without war he could not appease the furious rage of the common people, beyng once set on fire, except he folowed their mindes, and graunted their requestes, caused the Duke of Somerset to be committed to warde, as some say: or to kepe himselfe priuie in his awne house, as other write, till the furye of the people were somewhat asswaged and pacified. Which thing done, the Duke of York the first day of Marche, dissolued his armie, and brake vp his campe, and came to the kinges tent, where besyde his expectacion, and contrary to the promise made by the king, he found the Duke of Sommerset set at large and at libertie, whome the Duke of Yorke boldely accused of treason, of briberie, oppression and many other crymes. The Duke of Sommerset not onely made aunswere to the Dukes obiections, but also accused him of high treason towarde the king his souereigne Lorde, affirmyng, that he with his fautors, and complices had consulted together, how to obteyne the Crowne and Scepter of the Realme. By meane of which wordes, the King remoued straight to London, and the Duke of Yorke as prisoner rode before him, and so was kept a while. The King assembled together a great counsail at Westminstor, to heere the accusacions of the two Dukes, the one obiectyng to the other, shamefull actes, and detestable crymes. But the Duke of Sommerset, which nowe conceiued in his minde the thing that shortly folowed, incessantly exhorted the Counsaile, that the Duke of Yorke, by compulsion or otherwise might be compelled to confesse his offence, and so beyng attaynted of treason, to be put to execucion, and his children to be taken enemies and aduersaries to their natiue Countrie: to the entent that by the losse of this onely Prince and his sequele, all ciuile warre, and inwarde diuision might ceasse and be repressed: beseechyng almightie God, that so great an enemie to the king and his blood, might neuer escape punishement, nor continue long in life. The Duke of Sommerset set forth this matter the more vehemently, because he knewe perfectly, that the Duke of Yorke dayly studied, how to get the Crowne, and obteyne the gouernaunce, and to depose and destroy both the king and him. But the necessitie of destinie cannot by any mans deuise, be eyther letted or interrupted: for many thinges (to common iudgements) declared the Duke of Yorkes truth and innocencie in this case. First, his free and voluntary commyng to the king, when he with his power was able to encounter with the kinges puissaunce, which was

Brent heath.

Black heath.

One Duke accuseth another.

an open token and manifest argument, that he neyther ment treason, nor yet fraude. Secondarily, his humble submission, his reasonable requestes, and profitable peticions for the poore commons, were iudged no poyntes of a man, that desyred souereigntie or rule aboue other, which thinges he did onely for a cautele (as afterwarde openly appered.) While the Counsaile treated of sauyng or losyng of thys Duke of Yorke, A rumor sprang throughout London, that Edward Erle of Marche, sonne and heyre apparaunt to the sayde Duke, a yong Prince of great wit and much stomacke, accompanied with a strong armie of Marchemen, was commyng towarde London, which tydinges sore astonyed the Queene and the whole counsaile. Beside this, the same very day came Ambassadors from the heddes and Magistrates of the City of Burdeaux, wherof the chiefe were, the Erle of Kendale, and the Lorde Lespar, which signifyed to the Counsaile, that if they would send an armie into Gascoyn, the Gascoynes would reuert and turne againe to the Englishe part: aduertisyng them, that there was in those partes no puyssaunce or garrison of Frenche men, to withstand them, and therefore there was no doubt of the regainyng or reconquest: requiryng them with all diligent celeritie, to take so fayre a pray so openly to them offered, and to minde nothing before the regainyng of so fruitfull a Countrie. These two thinges sore troubled the heades of the Kinges counsaile, which least this dissencion betwene two persons, might be the let of outward conquest, they first agreed to set the Duke of Yorke at libertie, and permitted him to returne to his fayre Castell of Wigmore in the Marches of Wales, where he studyed, both howe to displease his enemies, and to obteyne his purpose: And so by meanes of the absence of the Duke of Yorke, which was in maner banished the Court, and the Kings presence, the Duke of Sommerset rose vp in high fauour with the king and the Queene, and his worde onely ruled, and his voyce was onely heard.

1453. 31 The Counsayle of Englande, not forgetting the offer of the Gascons, and that they might nowe haue the Citie of Burdeaux, with the Countrie round about, by offer and request, which with great charge and long warre they could scant againe recouer or repossesse, appointed the noble souldiour, and valyaunt Capitayne Iohn Lorde Talbot, and Erle of Shrewsburie, to be Chiefetaine of the armie, which should in all haste be transported and conueyed into Aquitayne. The Lordes of Gascoyne, both well pleased and glad of their aunswere, returned into their Countrie, in as secret maner as they from thence departed, declaring to their Nation, the Capitaynes and the power, that was to them comming: exhorting euery man to be firme and stable to the king of England and his heyres, vnder whose liberty and freedome they had prospered and reioysed, aboue three hundred yeres, rather then now to fall *into* the French captiuity: whose taxes were vnreasonable, and whose daylie exactions were to them importable.

When all things were shipped, and winde and weather serued, the Erle of Shrewsbury toke his chaunce, and sayled into Gascoyne, where without resistence, he peaceably arryued in the Isle of Madre, where he reposed his armie, being scant three thousand men, and destroyed all the Countrey, betwene Burdeaux and Blay, and toke the strong towne and Castell of Fronsac, and diuers other townes and fortresses. The inhabitaunts of Burdeaux hearing of the Erles arriuall, sent to hym messengers in the darke night, thanking and congratulating him for his thether comming, and also requiring him to hasten, and speede his iourney towarde their Citie, enforming him, that now the time serued for his purpose: and time not taken, was labor misspent. This auncient Fox, and pollitique Capitayne loste not one houre, nor spared one minut, till he came before the Citie of Burdeaux. The Citizens glad of his comming, made not the French Capitaynes, which had the gouernaunce of the towne, eyther parties or priuies of their intent: yet some of them would, that the French men, in securitie both of lyues and goodes should departe out of the towne, but their wyll was no will: for the multitude, abhorring the French seruitude, and embracing the Englishe libertie, which they and their auncestors of many yeres had tasted, opened one gate, and let in a great parte of the Englishe armie. The

French

French Capitaines entending to escape secretly by a posterne, were slayne and taken by the Lorde Lesper, and other of the Englishe army. After the regayning of Burdeaux, arriued at Blay the Bastarde of Sommerset, Sir Iohn Talbot Lorde Lisle, by his wyfe sonne to the sayde Erle of Shrewsbury, the Lorde Molyns, the Lordes Harington and Cameus, syr Iohn Haward, Syr Iohn Montgomerie, syr Iohn Vernon with. xxij.C. men with vittayles and munitions. When the Erle of Shrewsbury was thus according to his entent of all things furnished and adorned: first he fortified Burdeaux with English men and vittayle: after that he rode into the Countrey abroad, where he obteyned Cities, & gat townes without stroke or dent of sworde: for the poore and needie people being wearied with the oppression of their new Landlords rendered their townes, before they were of them requyred, and beside thys the townes and Cities farre distaunt from Burdeaux, sent messengers to the Erle, promising to him both seruice and obeysaunce. And among other the towne and Castell of Chastillon in Perigot, was to him deliuered by the Frenchmen vpon composition, that they might with their liues safely depart: which towne, the Erle strongly fortified both with men and ordinaunce. The French king lyeng at Towers in Towrayne, being of the Erles actes in Gascoyn credibly enformed, was not a little exasperate and quickned: wherfore he minding to resist the first stormie & repulse the first surge, assembled a great army to the number of. xxij. thousand men, and entering into Aquitayne came to Lusigneum, and from thence accompanied with the Erle of Ponthyure, the Lordes of saint Seuere and Boucat, marched towarde Calice in Gascoyn, and with fayre promises obteyned the towne. And after that towne gayned, the French king diuided his armie into two parties, whereof the one was gouerned by the Erle of Clermont, sonne in lawe to King Charles, and heyre to the Duke of Burbon, in the which were. xv. thousand men, in whom consisted the waight and peyse of the whole enterprise. This army he appointed to take the next way toward Burdeaux: the other armie whereof he was Capitayn and leader himselfe, accompanied with the peeres and noble men of his realme, he kept and reteyned still beside Caleys, and sent the two Marshalles of Fraunce with. xviij.C. men of armes, beside Archers, to besiege the towne of Chastillon in Perigot, & in going thether, they gat a fortresse, which they manned, and so departed to Chastillon, which they enuyroned with a strong siege, and cast high trenches, and made deepe diches on euery side: and in a place where their enimies must come, they layde ordinaunce both great and small, whereof so great a number was neuer before seene in Fraunce. The Erle of Shrewesbury hearing of these newes, and perceyuing that he must of necessitie encounter and fight with two armies, determined with himselfe, first to assay the least power and weaker puissaunce: wherfore without longer delay, he assembled together eyght. C. horsemen, whereof the Lorde Lisle his sonne, the Lorde Molyns, the Lord Cameus, Syr Edward Hull, syr Iohn Haward, and Syr Iohn Vernon were chiefe, and so marched forward toward Chastylon, appoynting. v. M. foote men vnder the conduyt of the Erle of Kendalle, and the Lorde Lespar to followe him with all spede. In his way he assauted the Towre, which the French men had taken, and by force entered, and slue all that he found within, and by the way he met fiue hundred Frenchmen, goynga forragyng, of whome he slue the greatest parte, and chased the other to the campe. The french men knowing by these good runners away of the Erles approching, with all diligence left the siege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with ordenaunce. They within the towne seing the siege remoued, sent out worde to the Englishe men that the French men fled. The courageous Erle hearing these newes, and fearing least through long taryeng the birdes might be flowen awaye, not tariyng till his footemen were come, set forward toward his enimies, which were in minde surely to haue fled, as they confessed afterward, if the feare of the French kings rebuke, which was not farre of, had not caused them to tarie, and yet in this armie were present, the Marshalles and great Master of Fraunce, the Erle of Ponthyeure, the Senescal of Poythiew, the Lorde Bessire, and many valyaunt Barons and

The Citie of Burdeaux recouered by the Englishmen.

knights. When the Englishe men were come to the place where the French men were encamped, in the which (as Eneas Siluius testifieth) were three hundred peeces of Brasse, beside diuers other small peces, and subtill engines to the English men vnknowne, and nothing suspected, they lighted all on foote, the Erle of Shrewsburie onely except, which because of his age, rode on a little Hackeny, and fought fiercely with the French men, and gat the entrie of their Campe, and by fine force entered into the same. Thys conflict continued in doubtfull iudgement of victorie two long houres: during which fight, the Lords of Montamban and Humadayre, with a great company of French men entered the battayle, and began a newe fielde, and sodainely the Gonners perceyuing the English men to approch neere, discharged their ordinaunce, and slue three hundred persons, nere to the Erle, who perceyuing the imminent ieopardie, and subtile labirynth, in the which he and his people were enclosed and wrapped, dispising his awne sauegarde, and desiring the lyfe of his entierly and welbeloued sonne the Lorde Lisle, willed, aduertised, and counsayled him to departe out of the fielde, and to saue himselfe. But when the sonne had answered that it was neyther honest nor naturall for him, to leaue his father in the extreme ieopardie of his lyfe, and that he would taste of that draught, which his father and Parent should assay and beginne: The noble Erle and comfortable Capitaine sayde to him: Oh sonne, sonne, I thy father, which onely hath bene the terror and scourge to the French people so many yeres, which hath subuerted so many townes, and discomfited so manye of them in open battayle, and marciall conflict, neyther can here die, for the honour of my Countrey, without great laude and perpetuall fame, nor flie or depart without perpetuall shame and continuall infamy. But because this is thy first iourney and enterprise, neyther thy flyeng shall redounde to thy shame, nor thy death to thy glorie: for as hardie a man wisely flyeth, as a rashe person folishely abideth, therefore the flyeng of me shall be the dishonor, not onely of me and my progenie, but also a discomfiture of all my company: thy departure shall saue thy lyfe, and make thee able another tyme, if I be slayne to reuenge my death, and to do honor to thy prince, and profite to his realme. But nature so wrought in the sonne, that neyther desire of lyfe, nor thought of securitie, could withdraw or pluck him from his naturall father: Who considering the constancie of his childe, and the great daunger that they stood in, comforted his souldiours, cheared his Capytaynes, and valiauntly set on his enimies, and slue of them more in number then he had in his company. But his enimies hauing a greater company of men, and more abundaunce of ordinaunce then before had bene sene in a battayle, first shot him through the thighe with a handgonne, and slue his horse, and cowardly kylled hym, lyeng on the ground, whome they neuer durst looke in the face, while he stoode on his feete, and with him there dyed manfully his sonne the Lorde Lisle, his bastard sonne Henry Talbot, and syr Edward Hull, elect to the noble order of the Garter, and xxx. valyaunt personages of the Englishe nacion, and the Lorde Molyns was there taken prisoner with ix. other. The residew of the Englishe people fled to Burdeaux and other places, whereof in the flight, were slayne, aboue a thousand persons. At this battayle of Chastillon, fought the xiij. day of Iulij, in this yere ended his lyfe Iohn Lorde Talbot, & of his progenie the first Erle of Shrewsburie, after that he with muche fame, more glorie, and most victorie had for his Prince and Countrey, by the space of xxiiij. yeres and more, valyauntly made warre, and serued the king, in the partes beyonde the sea, whose corps was left on the grounde, and after was found by his friendes, and conueyed to Whitchurch in Shropshyre, where it is intumulate. This man was to the French people a very scourge, and a daylie terror, in so much that as his person was fearefull and terrible to his aduersaries present: so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadfull to the common people absent, in so much that women in Fraunce to feare their yong children, would crie, the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth. After this discomfiture, diuers Lordes fled to Burdeaux, but the Erle of Kendall, the Lordes of Montferrant, of Rosayne, and of Dangladas, entered into the Castell of Chastillon, which they by the space of.

Iohn Lorde Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury slaine.

Battaile of Chastillon.

of. x. dayes manfully defended, but in conclusion being desperate of all succours rendered the fortresse, and came safe to Burdeaux. After thys towne was yeelded, the townes of Saint Million, Bybourne and all other, which the Erle of Shrewesbury had conquered, rendered themselues to the Frenche obeysaunce, Burdeaux onely except. The which City being the last refuge, and onely consolation of the Englishe people in Gascoyn, the french king in person with all his puyssaunce strongly besieged and daylie assauted, in the which he more lost then gayned: beside thys, the Englishe men issued out, and courageously fought with their enimies: lykewise did the Citezens, which looking for no fauour at the French kings hande, because of their late coniuration agaynst him, manfully defended themselues, and sore noyed and hurt their enemies. But in conclusion both garrisons and the inhabitants oppressed with much penurie, & extreme famine were enforced to render the Citie vpon reasonable conditions, to them by the French king sent and offered: the effect whereof was that no offence, before time committed or done by any of the Citezens should hereafter be imputed, or layde to the charge of any of them. Also that all Englishe men and Gascons might safely depart into Englande, or to Caleys with all their substance, and that the Lordes Lespar Duras, and. xxx. other, should neuer vpon payne of death be found within any of the French kings dominions, which Lord Lesparre after being taken disguised in Gascoyne, was made shorter by the head. When this composition was agreed and sealed, the Englishe men had their shippes and all things necessary for their iourney to them deliuered, which when winde and weather serued, were shortly transported into Englande, in the month of October this present yere.

Thus was the Duchy of Acquytaine, which had contynued in the Englisi possession from the yere of our Lorde. M. Iv. which is. iii. C. and odde yeres, by the maryage of Elynor, daughter and heyre to Wyllyam Duke of Aquitaine, wife to king Henry the seconde, finallye reduced, and brought agayne to the Frenche obedience and seruitude. The keping of which duchy was neyther costly, nor troublesome to the Realme of Englande, but both pleasaunt and profitable: for by the soueraigne of that country, yong gentlemen learned the experience of warre, & expert men were promoted to many ryche offices, and great liuinges within the same. For within that onelye Duchye, are foure Archebishoppes. xxiiii. Bishoppes. xv. Erledoms, two. C. and two Barones, and aboue a Thousande Capytaineshippes and Baylywickes.

The losse of the whole Duchy of Aquitaine.

A declaracio of the dignities in ye Duchie of Aquitaine.

Although this great losse chaunced, this yere to the English nacyon, yet a greater detriment hapned the same season to the whole flocke of Christen people. For Mahomet, called the great Turke, beseged the Citye of Constantynople in Greece, wyth an innumerable number of Turkes, and fiftye daies together gaue to it a continuall assault, and on the fourth daye of Iune, toke it perforce, sleiyng man, woman, and chyldren, except the Emperour Palealogus, and diuers other of the bloode Royall, whome he toke prisoners, and after caused them to be beheaded. If I shoulde write the detestable murder of men, the abhominable and cruell slaughter of children, the shamefull rauishment of women and Virgins, which were perpetrate and done by the vnmercifull Pagans and cruell Turkes, I assure you that your eares would abhorre the hering, and your eyes would not abyde the readyng, and therfore I passe them ouer.

The winning of Constantinople by the great Turke.

In this troublous season on the. xiij. day of October, was the Quene delyuered at Westmynster of a fayre sonne, which was christened and named Edward, and after grew to a goodly and perfite man, as you shall here: whose mother susteyned not a little slaunder and obloquye of the common people, sayeng that the king was not able to get a childe, and that this was not his sonne, with many slaunderous wordes, to the Queenes dishonor, which here neede not to be rehersed. After the birth of this childe, the king highly aduaunced his two brethren, on his mothers side. For Edmond he created Erle of Richemond, which was father to king Henry the seuenth, and Iasper he created Erle of Penbroke, which died without issue.

The birth of prince Edwarde, sonne to king Henry the sixt.

The kinges two brethren created erles.

Now when foren warre and outward battailes were brought to an ende, and finall conclusion:

1454

The diuision betwene the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke.

clusion: domesticall dyscorde, and cyuill discencion began againe to renewe and aryse, within the Realme of Englande, for when the care of outwarde hostilytie (which kepte the myndes of the Princes, in the realme occupied, & in exercise) was taken away and vanished, desire of soueraintie & ambicion of preheminence, sodainely sprang out so farre, that the whole Realme was diuided into two seuerall factions, and priuat parts. For kyng Henry, discended of the house of Lancastre, claimyng the croune from king Henry the fourth, his graund father, first auchor of this diuision: and Rycharde Duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionell, the thirde sonne to kyng Edwarde the thirde, wresteled for the game, and stroue for the wager. By reason whereof, the Nobles, aswell as the common people, were into parts diuided, to the destruction of manye a man, and to the great ruyne and decay of this regyon. For whyle the one parte studyed to vanquishe and suppresse the other, all common wealth was set asyde, and iustice & equitie was cleerelye exiled. For the Duke of Yorke, which sore gaped and more thirsted for the superioritie and preheminence, studied, deuysed, and practised all wayes, and meanes, by the which he myght attayne to hys pretensed purpose, and long hoped desire. And amongest all imaginations, one seemed most necssarye for his purpose, which yet againe was to stirre and prouoke the malyce of all the people, against the Duke of Somerset, who onely ruled the King, and ordered all things at hys pleasure and will: Imaginyng, that he beyng made out of the way, his purpose shoulde shortly come to a good conclusion. Wherefore, to the nobles of the Realme he complayned, & lamented the miserable state and dayly ruine of this noble countrey: noting and affirming, the Duke of Somerset to be the very roote, & cause of the same, whome he named, and called, an vniust man, a mischeuous person, a tirannicall gouernor, and a couetous counsailor: laiyng also great offences to king Henry, saiyng, that he was a man, neyther of wit, nor stomacke, neyther meete to be a king, nor apt to gouerne a common wealth, and therefore it was the dutie of the noble men, and great Princes, not onelye to thinke on this weightie matter, but speedely to prouide a remedy, and to set the Realme in an other stay. By which complaints, and perswasions, the Duke of Yorke, so altered the minds of many persons of highe estate, that they liked not the worlde, as it then wauered, nor approued the actes of the king or his counsaile. And because that ambicion and auarice was newly entred into their hartes, they studied sodainly to chaunge all things, and tourne the worlde vpsedowne. When the Duke saw mens appetites, and felt well their mindes, he chieflye entertayned two Richardes, and both Neuelles, the one of Salisburye, the other of Werwike beyng Erles, the first the father, the second the sonne. This Erle of Salisburie was second sonne to Raufe Neuell, Erle of Westmerland, whose daughter the Duke of Yorke had maried, and the sayde Richarde was espoused to Lady Alice, the only childe and sole heire of Thomas Montacute Erle of Salisburie, slaine at the siege of Orleaunce (as before I haue declared) of which woman he engendered Richard, Iohn and George: Rycharde the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the sister and heire of the entire blood to Lorde Henry Beauchampe Erle, and after Duke of Warwike, in whose right and tytle he was created and named Erle of Warwike, and not by his awne progeny or parentage. This Richard was not only a man of excellent qualities, but also from his youth, by a certaine practise or naturall inclination, to set himselfe forwarde with wittie and gentle demeanour, to all persons of high and of lowe degree, that among all sortes of people, he obteyned great loue, fauour and credence: which things daylie more and more encreased, by his abundant liberalitie, and plentifull house keeping, then by his riches, auctoritie, or high parentage: by reason of which doings, he was in suche fauour and estimation amongst the common people, that they iudged him able to doe all things, and that without him, nothing to be well done. For which causes his auctoritie shortly so fast increased, that which way he bowed, that way ranne the streame, and what parte he aduaunced, that side gat the superioritie.

1455

33

When the Duke of Yorke had fastened his Chaine, betwene these two strong pillers, he with his friendes, so seriously wrought, and so pollitiquely handled his businesse, that the

Duke

Duke of Sommerset was arrested in the Quenes great Chamber, and sent to the Towre of London, where he without great solempnitie kept a heaule Christmasse: agaynst whome in open Parliament, were layd diuers & heynous articles of high treason, aswell for the losse of Normandie, as for the late mischaunce which happened in Guien. The king at this tyme was sicke at Clarendon, and so conueyed to London, by reason whereof, no finall determinacion proceded, in this great & waightie cause, but it was put in suspence, till the next assemble of the high Court of Parliament. Duryng which tyme the king either of his awne minde, or by the Queenes procurement, caused the Duke of Sommerset, to be set at libertie: by which doyng, grewe great enuy and displeasure, betwene the king and diuers of his Lordes, and in especiall, betwene the Duke of Yorke and the kinges linage. And to aggrauate more the malice newe begon, the Queene, which then ruled the rost, and bare the whole rule, caused the Duke of Sommerset to be preferred to the Captainship of Calice, wherewith, not onely the Commons, but also many of the Nobilitie, were greatly grieued and offended, saiyng: that he had lost Normandie, and so would he doe Calice. The Duke of Yorke and his adherentes perceiuyng, that neyther exhortacion serued, nor accusement preuayled agaynst the Duke of Sommerset, determined to reuenge their quarrell, and obteyne their purpose, by open warre and Marciall aduenture, and no lenger to slepe in so waightie a businesse. So he beyng in the Marches of Wales, associate with his speciall friendes, the Erles of Sarisbury, and Warwike, the Lorde Cobham, and other, assembled an army, and gathered a great power, and like warlike persons, marched toward London. The Londoners heeryng of so great a multitude, commyng toward the Citie, were greatly astonied and much abashed: for euery person considered his awne part, that eyther with holdyng with the one side, or beyng contrariant to the other, or medlyng with no part, he should incurre indignacion or displeasure. The King beyng credibly enformed, of the great armie commyng toward him, assembled an host, intendyng to mete with the Duke in the North part, because he had to many friendes aboute the Citie of London, and for that cause with great speede and small lucke, he beyng accompanied with the Dukes of Sommerset and Buckingham, the Erles of Stafford, Northumberland, and Wilshire, with the Lorde Clifford, and diuers other Barons, departed out of Westminster, the. xx. day of May, toward the towne of Saint Albones: of whose doynges the Duke of Yorke beyng aduertised by his espials, with all his power coasted the Countries, and came to the same towne, the third day next ensuyng. The king heryng of their approchyng, sent to him messengers, straightly chargyng and cõmaundyng him, as an obedient subiect, to kepe the peace, and not as an enemie to his naturall Countrie, to murder and slea his awne Countrimen and proper Nacion. While king Henry, more desyrous of peace than of warre, was sendyng foorth his Orators, at the one ende of the towne: the Erle of Warwike with the Marchemen, entered at the other ende of the towne, and fiercely set on the Kinges forwarde, and them shortly discomfited. Then came the Duke of Sommerset, and all the other Lordes with the kinges power, which fought a sore and cruell battaile, in the which many a tall man lost his life: but the Duke of Yorke sent euer fresh men, to succor the werie, and put new men in places of the hurt persons, by which onely pollecie, the kinges armie was ouerthrowne and dispersed, and all the Chieftaynes of the fielde almost slaine and brought to confusion. For there dyed vnder the signe of the Castel, Edmond Duke of Sommerset, who long before was warned to eschew all Castelles, and besyde him, lay Henry the second Erle of Northumberlande, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, sonne to the Duke of Buckingham, Iohn Lord Clifford, and. viij. thousand men and more. Humfrey Duke of Buckingham beyng wounded, and Iames Butler Erle of Wilshire and Ormond, seyng Fortunes lowryng chaunce, left the King post alone, and with a great number fled away. This was the ende of the first battaile at Saint Albones, which was fought on the Thursday before the feast of Pentecost, beyng the. xxiij. day of May. In this. xxxiij. yere of the kinges reigne, the bodyes of the noble men were buried in the Monasterye, and the meane people in other places. This Edmond Duke of Sommerset

The Duke of Sommerset arrested of Treason.

The Duke of Sommerset againe released.

The first battayle at S. Albons.

merset left behinde him three sonnes, Henry, Edmond, and Iohn, which to the extremitie of death, tooke part with the line of King Henry.

After this victorie obteyned by the Duke of Yorke and his companions, he remembred that he had oftentymes declared and published abrode, the only cause of his warre to be, for the aduauncement of the publike wealth, and to set the realme in a more commodious estate, and a better condicion. Wherfore, he vsyng all lenitie, mercie, and bounteousnesse would not once touch or apprehende the body of King Henry, whome he might both haue slaine, and vtterly destroyed, considering that he had him in his warde and gouernance. But with great honor and due reuerence conueyed him to London, and so to Westminster, to the which place was sommoned and appoynted a great assemble of the three estates, commonly called a Parliament, which beganne the. ix. day of Iuly, in the which session, the Duke of Gloucester was openly declared a true Prince, both to the king and the realme. Besyde this it was enacted, that no person should eyther iudge or reporte, any poynt of vntruth, of the Duke of Yorke, the Erles of Sarisbury, and Warwike, for commyng in warlike maner agaynst the king at Saint Albones, consideryng that their attempt and enterprice, was onely to see the kinges person in safegarde and sure kepyng, and to put and aliene from him, the publique oppressors of the common wealth: by whose misgouernaunce, his life might be in hazard, and his auctboritie hang in a very small threede. In which Parliament also the Duke of Yorke was made Protector of the Realme, and the Erle of Sarisbury was appoynted to be Chauncelor, & had the great Seale to him deliuered: and the Erle of Warwike was elected to the office of the Capteyne of Calice, and territories of the same. As this deuice was pollitiquely inuented and so was the sequele therof to the first auethors, both honourable and profitable, if fortunes ship had sayled all one way. For by this practice, the rule and regiment of the whole realme, consisted onely in the heades and orders of the Duke and the Chauncelor, and all the warlike affayres and businesse, rested principally in the Erle of Warwike, and so among them it was agreed that king Henry should stil reigne, in name & dignity, but neyther in dede, nor in auethoritie: not myndyng eyther to depose or destroy the sayde king, least they might sodainely prouoke and stirre the fury and yre of the common people against them: which for his holinesse of life and abundant clemencie, was of the simple sort much fauoured, and highly estemed. After which auethoritie geuen, these three persons ruled the realme, and did all thinges after their awne discrecions (which without battail or manslaughter, might haue easely depriued the sayde king both of life and land.) And first they amoued from the priuie counsaile, all such persons as the King loued, or the Queene fauored, puttyng in their places men of their sect and confederacie, & chaunging officers throughout the realme at their will and disposition: so that the olde spoken prouerbe here tooke place: New Lordes, newe lawes: such lippes, such lettuce. And yet in all their rule, I finde no mencion made of differryng iustice, or of their pollyng, or their brybery, as was openly proued by suche as gouerned before their time: sauyng that they toke out of ŷ Sanctuary of Westminster, Iohn Holland Duke of Exceter, being repugnant to the order taken and concluded, in the last Parliament, and conueyed him to Pomfret Castell. Which takyng out, was accoumpted an execrable and a dampnable offence, of diuerse of the spiritualtie, and especially of the Abbot of Westminster, and his Monkes, and this is the most spot that was (as I could read) euer most to be cast in the Dukes fame, duryng his Protectorshippe, or of his connsayle.

A parliamēt holden at Westminster.

1456

34

But that venemous worme, that dreadfull Dragon, called disdaine of superioritie, which hath consumed the blood of so many noble Princes, and destroyed the linage of so many gouernors, in all Realmes and kingdomes, aswell Pagan as Christian, could not abstaine from incensyng the hartes of Lorde Henry Beauford, newly come to the Duchie of Somerset, by the death of Duke Edmond his father, which at the battaile of Saint Albons, (as you haue hearde before rehersed) lost his life, and of Humfrey Duke of Buckingham, whose sonne and heyre named Humfrey, Erle of Stafforde, tasted the same cup, at the

forenamed

forenamed conflict, and of other Lordes and men of authoritye, fauouryng and folowyng the part of King Henrye, whiche not onely bewayled and had compassion of the vnsure condicion, and waueryng estate of hys rule and Lordeshippe, perceiuyng openly, wherevnto the cloked gentlenesse, and subornate fashion of the Duke of Yorke tended and crept vppe: But also thought it necessarye and conuenient, to purucy for a remedy, or the mischiefe happened. Wherefore with open mouthes and fierce courages, they came to Quene Margaret, informing her that it was not honorable, but a reproche and infamy to the king, to haue one to be a Protector and gouernor of him and his realme, as who woulde say: that he was eyther a childe, which had neede of a Norice to feede him with pappe, or an innocent creature, which must be ruled by a Tutor, asserteyning her father, that the Duke of Yorkes onely intent was, vnder the colour of his Protectorship, sodainely to destroy and depose the king, when he least thought of it, and therefore willed her in so quick a mischiefe, to prouide a hastie remedie, if she loued the safegarde of her husbande, or the tuition of her selfe. The Quene hauing a wit, more then the common sort of women haue, and considering the estate of her husband, the condition of her selfe, and the perill of her onelye sonne, thought it necessarye to plucke the sworde of authoritie out of their handes, which vnder colour of rulyng vnder others, desired to be gouernors, and superiors themselues. Wherfore, a great counsaile was called at Grenewich, where the Duke of Yorke was discharged of his Protectorship, & the Erle of Sarisbury also, was dismissed of his office: which malicious mutacion among the Nobilitie, caused sodaine alteracions and sedicious commocions to spring and aryse in the commonaltie, and in especiall within the Citie of London.

For a yong Merchaunt, which before tyme had bene in diuers Cityes, within the Countrie of Italy, and there prohibited by the Magistrates and rulers, to vse or weare any weapon, eyther innasyue or defensiue, chalenged an Italian in Chepeside, for wearing of a dagger, confutyng him with the lawes of his awne Countrey, which like a colerick knaue and presumpteous person, so disdainefully and with suche tauntes and checkes answered the Marchaunt, that he not wylling to suffer so open a reproche, in so publique a streete, and that of so proude a villeyne, toke by force from him his dagger, and with the same a little cut his crowne, and cracked his pate. This Italian in great haste, complayned to the Mayre of this offence, which at the next Courte, holden at the Guyldhall, by the consent of the whole senate, sent for the offender, and declaryng to him his cryme, commaunded him to warde, whereof diuers other light Marchauntes within the Citie, sore abhorring the Italian nation, for licking the fat from their beardes, and taking from them their accustomed lyuing, by reason that the sayde straungers imported and transported into and out of this realme, all such marchaundises, commodities, and necessaries, as the Englishe men onely were accustomed to doe, assembled together in great plumpes, and by force compelled the Maior to deliuer the prisoner out of Newegate: and yet this multitude, with thys doyng nothing saciate nor appeased, like madde persons and frantique foles, ranne to the seuerall houses of dyuers Venecians, Lucases, and Florentines, and them spoyled, robbed and rifled, without reason or measure. The Maire perceyuing this great enormitie, assembled a great number of substanciall & graue Citezens, which not without great blodshed, & mayming of sundrie persons, finally appeased their rage, and caused the people to depart to their houses. The beginner of this commocion, and sodaine vprore, eyther perswaded by his friendes or fearing his chaunce, which for his first fact might sodainely ensue, departed to Westminster, and there regestred himselfe as a sanctuary man. The Quene which ruled all things, hearing of this great riote and vnlawfull misdemeanour, sent the Dukes of Excester and Buckyngham, accompanied with many other noble men to London, with a commission of oyer and determiner, for the punishement of thys outragious offence, and sedicious crime. When the Maior of the Citie, the two Dukes, and the two chiefe Iustices, were set in Guyldhall for the performance of their commission, and began to call the empanels for the enquirie, as the vse and order is, diuers

A lewde riot in the Citie of London.

uers light witted, and lesse brayned persons of the citie, priuely armed them, and by the ringing of Bow bell, thought to assemble together a great multitude of their minde and opinion, and so by force and might to take from the kepers all such prisoners, as were before apprehended, for the late committed robbery and riot, as they were goyng to their triall or arreignment. But thys great tumult and sodaine furie was by discreete and sage Citezens a little and little appeased, and finally quenched, but in the meane season, the Dukes and other commissioners, beyng vntruely aduertised, that they were in ieopardie of their lyfes, sodaynely departed from the Guyldhall, and left their inquirie for that day. The Maior on the next day perceyuing how the grudge rose, called a common counsaile, wherof the number was, one hundred, foure score and odde persons, and by auctboritie of the same, ordeyned that all Wardeyns of misteries should assemble their felowship in their particular Halles, where they should exhort them to the obseruation of the kings peace, and keeping of good order within the Citie: and if they espied any man, eyther prone or redie to rayse a rumour or desirous of the delineraunce of such as were accused, and in captiue custody, that their names should be secretly written, and couertly delyuered to the Lorde Maior: which pollitique doyng, finally ended the outragious doing of the insolent people, after which appeasing the commissioners returned to the Guyldhall, where many of the robbers were attainted, and after condignely put to execution, beside diuers great fynes and raunsomes payde, which were set vpon many Marchaunts, for winking at these doings, or assenting to the same.

1457
35

The French nacion, hearyng of this domesticall diuision, and ciuill dissencion, within the realme of Englande, much desiryng to be reuenged of old displeasures, and great damages, which they had so many yeres borne, and sustayned by the englishe people, appointed two Nauies to inuade and destroy the townes and portes, adioyning to the riuage of the Sea. The Capitayne of the one armye was William Lorde Pomiers, and of the other, sir Piers Bressy, a great ruler in Normandy. These two Captaynes, when opportunitie of wether serued, set vp their sayles at the mouth of Sayn, & there seuered themselues, the one Westward, & the other Eastward, which was sir Peter de Bressy. This lusty captayne sailyng al the cost of Sussex, and Kent, durst not once take lande, till he arriued in the downes, and there hauing by a certayne espial perfite notice, that the towne of Sandwich was neyther peopled, nor fortifyed, because that a little before, the chiefe rulers of the towne, were from thence departed, for to auoyde the pestilenciall plague, which sore there infected, and slew the people, entred the hauen, spoyled the towne, and after such poore stuffe as he there founde, riffled and taken, he fearing an assemble of the countrey, shortly returned. The Lorde Pomiers likewise toke his course Westwarde, and by night brent certayne houses in Foulnay, and with a little pillage retired into Brittayn. These two aduentures and fortunate chaunces, which to them in comparison of their great expences, in their iorneys were scant worth one poore mite, or single farthing: The Frenche writers delate, setforth, and paint with penne, as thoughe they had gotten Cresus riches, and Alexanders kingdoms: forgetting how manye hundred thousande pounds they had lost in few yeres before preceding, as to all men, being indifferent readers of this History, playnely appereth. But verelye some breade is better to the hungrye persone, then no breade, and a small gayne of him, which desireth recouery, is a great pleasure, and therefore the French auctbors make of a litle, much, and yet their much, (all things consydered) is in effect nothing at all.

The French men inuade the coastes of Englande.

The Scottes also not degenerating from their olde mutabilitie, nor altering their auncient conditions, from their accustomed and vsuall vntruth, entered into Northumberland, king Iames the second, then beyng there in person, and burned small houses, & little cotages: but in the very middes of their great enterprise, they hearing of the Duke of Yorke, marching towarde them with a great armie, with much paine, and no gaine in all haste reuerted to their Countrey. Let vs passe ouer for a time all outward inuasions, and returne to our owne domesticall debate and daylie discorde.

The Scots inuade Englande.

First not forgetting, that whyle forreyn enimies inuaded the outwarde partes, and extreme confines of thys troublous realme, a great conflict was attempted betweene the Lorde Egremond, and the sonnes of the Erles of Salisburie: in the which fray, many persons were slayne, and a great number hurt. The Lorde Egremond in thys great tumult could not escape, but by force was taken and brought before the kinges counsayle, and there the king and the Quene to shew themselues to all persons indifferent, adiudged him to pay to the Erle of Salisburie a great summe of money, and for his heynous offence, done agaynst the kinges lawes, he was committed to the Gayle of Newgate, within the citie of London, out of the which prison, by helpe of his fautors, he secretly escaped, and sodainely departed, to the great vexation of the Shriefes of London, at the time being.

Quene Margaret whose breath ruled, and whose word was obeyed aboue the king and his counsayle, wythin the realme of Englande, entending the destruction of the Duke of Yorke and his friendes, which deuise shee thought not meete to be practised neere to the Citie of London, because she well perceyued the Duke of Yorke to be had in more estimation among the Citezens and commonaltie, then the king her husband, or her awne person: caused the king to make a progresse into Warwikeshire, for hys health and recreation, and so with Hawking and hunting, came to the Citie of Couentrey, where were diuers wayes studied priuely, to bring the Queene to her hartes ease, and long desired purpose: which was the death and destruction of the Duke of Yorke, the Erles of Salisburie and Warwick. And for the furniture of thys matter, all these three noble men were sent for to Couentre by the kings letters vnder his priuie seale, to which place the foresayde Lordes, suspecting no treason, nor putting diffidence in any creature, obediently resorted, but in the Serpent lurcking vnder the grasse, and vnder sugred speeche, was hid pestyferous poyson, so that if these noble men admonished by their friends, had not sodaynely departed, theyr lyues had bene shortned, but by secret admonicion of their good wyllers (to whom no earthly treasure is comparable) they auoyded this net, and narowly escaped the snare, wherevpon for the securitie and tuition of their lyues, the Duke of Yorke departed to Wygmore in the Marches of Wales, the Erle of Salisburie resorted to his fayre Castell of Middelham in the Northcountrie, and the Erle of Warwike sayled to the towne of Caleys. Although the bodies of these noble personages were by this seditious and fraudulent meanes a sunder separated as ye haue heard: yet their hartes were knit and coupled in one, neuer forgettyng, but daylie studyeng, both howe to be reuenged of the olde dispites and malicious attempts, agaynst them committed and imagened, and also howe to compasse their purposes, and to get the superioritie and ouer hand aboue their euill wyllers, and apparaunt enemies: for which causes their letters neuer ceased, their messengers neuer slept, nor their pursses were at no time shut, what for entertayning olde friends, and obtayning of newe confederates, till king Henry and his alyes were driuen away, and expelled clerely out of this realme, as after shall appere.

Because you haue bene long troubled with reding of diuers diuisions and sedicions wyn the realme, among the temporalty, I will now a little digresse from my continued purpose, to declare to you an ouerthwart iudgement geuen among the fathers of the spiritualtie agaynst Reynolde Pecocke, then Bishop of Chichester. This man somewhat learned, but better stomacked, began to moue questions, not priuately, but openly in the Vniuersities, concerning the Annates, Peterpence, & other iurisdictions and authorities, apperteinyng to the Sea of Rome, and not onely put foorth the questions, but declared his minde and opinion in the same: wherefore he was for this cause abiured at Paules Crosse, and all his bookes brent, and he himselfe kept in his awne house, duryng his naturall lyfe. Some say that his opinion was that spirituall persons by Gods law, ought to haue no temporall possessions. Other write, that he sayd, that personall tythes were not due by Gods lawe: 1458 36

Reynold Pecock bishop of Chichester, abiured at Paules Crosse

lawe: but whatsoeuer the cause was, in suche sorte as before I haue declared, he was vsed. *Thus much Hall.*

King Henry and his adherentes, perceiuyng that the Duke of Yorke lay still, and made no open apparaunce of assemble or commocion, returned to London, and there called a great counsaile, openly declaring how the French king perceiuyng the realme of England vexed, and troubled with ciuile dissencion, and mutuall discord, was not afeard to sende his Admiralles on the coastes of Kent, and Deuonshire, and there to spoyle townes, burne houses, and murder the Englishe people: which cause also animated the Scottes to make Rodes and incursions, into the confines and Marches of the realme, to the great losse and detriment of the kinges liege people: which two Nations were set continually to grieue and vexe this his realme of Englande, till they perceyued a perfite concorde, and an vnfayned amitie to be concluded and knit together, betwene him and his consanguinitie, and the other sort of the contrary part and confederacie. And to the entent that he would be the chiefe auethor of peace, and principall styrrer of this vertuous concorde, he promised so gently to entertaine the Duke of Yorke, and his fautors, that all olde grudges, beyng not onely inwardly forgotten, but also outwardly forgeuen, should be the cause of perpetuall loue, betwene them & their friendes: of which concorde should ensue familiaritie among the Lordes, and concorde among the Commons, which to all vtter enemies shoulde be an inwarde grudge, and to this realme a great glorie and profite. This deuice was of all men present well taken and adiudged, both honourable to the king, and profitable to his realme. Wherevpon diuers graue and sad persons were sent to the Duke of Yorke, and al other the great estates of the realme, which sence the battaile of Saint Albones neuer met, came, nor commoned together, commaundyng them for reasonable causes, and great consideracions, to resort vnto the kinges Palayce, without delay. At this commaundement came to London Richard Duke of Yorke, and Richard Erle of Sarisburie, accompanied with a great number of meniall seruauntes, and friendes, least peraduenture they for lacke of ayde, might haue bene betrapped, or they had knowlege, or were warned. After them came from Calice to London, the Erle of Warwike, whose seruitures were apparailed in red Cotes, embraudered with white ragged staues. These three Lordes were lodged within the Citie: the Duke, at Baynardes Castell, the Erle of Sarisbury at the Herber, and the Erle of warwike at his place besyde the Gray friers. About the same season, with no lesse companie of men, came to the Citie, the yong Duke of Sommerset, the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford, whose fathers were slain at S. Albons: and after them resorted the Dukes of Excester and Buckingham, the Lorde Egremond, and most of all the nobilitie of this realme. The Duke of Yorke and his mates were lodged within the Citie, and the Duke of Sommerset and all his friendes, soiourned without Temple barre, Holborne, and other places of the Suburbes: as who sayde, that as the Iewes disdayned the company of the Samaritans, so the Lancastrians abhorred the familiaritie of the Yorkishe linage. After the commyng of these Lordes to the Citie, the king, the Quene, with all their familie shortly folowed, & were lodged in the Bishoppes Palayce of London. These Lordes had such great companies attendyng on them (for one had fiue hundreth, other had fiue hundreth, and diuers foure hundreth persons in a band) that continuall watch was kept by the Maior and senate of London, aswell by day as by nyght, for the preseruacion of the peace, and continuance of good order. The Lordes which lodged within the Citie, kept a dayly cōsaile at the black Friers, within the Citie. The other part soiournyng without the walles, assembled likewise in the Chapter house of Westminster. Thus euery part both studyed his awne profite and aduauncement, and also howe to reuenge thinges done to them, by their foes and aduersaryes. But the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and other vertuous prelates, so exhorted, applyed, and perswaded both the parties (although a great while they were neyther heard, nor regarded) that in conclusion, they brought them to a communicacion, where after long altercation, aswell of olde iniuries, and newe displeasures, by the one

The deuise for the concord and vnitie of the realme.

The mortall hatred betwene the two lineages of Lancaster and Yorke.

faction, agaynst the other cõmitted, the feare of outward hostilitie, and foren inuasion so mollefyed their indurate heartes, that they outwardly promisyng to forget all olde rancors, and auncient displeasures, sealed and signed writynges, the one euer after to be friend to the other, and altogether to be obedient to the king, and fauorers to his friendes, and enemies to his enemies. This concorde was so ioyfull to the superiors, and so embraced of the common people (who euer beare the burthen when Princes be at controuersy) that for the open apparaunce, and demonstracion of this godly concord, publike Processions were appoynted, to be solempnly celebrate within the Church of Saint Paule, in the Citie of London, on the day of the Conception of our Ladie, in the Moneth of Marche. At which solempne feast, the king in habite royall hauyng his Diademe on his heade, kept his estate in Procession, before whome went hande in hande, the Duke of Sommerset, the Erle of Sarisburie, the Duke of Excester and the Erle of Warwike, and so one of the one faction, and another of the other sect, and behinde the king the Duke of Yorke led the Queene, with great familiaritie to all mens sight. But wo worth dissimulacion, and false flattering countenaunce: fye on double entendement, and cloked adulacion, which hath bene the common seruitures in all Palaces, aswell Emperiall, and Regall, and by their onely pestiferous venime, and secrete malice, hath bene the destruction of many a noble man, and the confusion of a great number of true meanyng and faythfull persons. But the wise man, whiche sayth: Wo to the that hast a double heart, meant, that dissimulacion once espyed, should be the arrowe wherewith the dissembler should be wounded. As by this cloked Pageant, and dissemblyng Procession, hereafter shall plainely be declared. For their bodies were ioyned by hande in hande, whose heartes were farre asunder: their mouthes louingly smyled, whose courages were enflamed with malice: their wordes were swete as suger, and their thoughtes were all enuenomed: but all these dissimulyng persons, tasted the vessell of wo, as the wise man seyd: and fewe or none of this companie were vnblotted, or vndestroyed by this dolorous drinke of dissimulacion. But this cancard worme and pestiferous Coccatrice, not onely at this tyme reigned in England, but also did much harme in the Court of Fraunce: for Iohn Duke of Alaunson, which before had bene prisoner, and well enterteyned in the realme of England, and after Captain generall of the warres in Fraunce against the Englishe men, highly fauoured, and of great estimacion in the Frenche kinges house, was by such as he most trusted, and vsed most familiaritie withall, and whom he had greatly promoted, and highly exalted, accused of high treason, as enemie to his king, and traytor to his Countrie, allegyng that he long before that tyme had conspired with the Englishe men, to cause them once againe to recouer the Duchie of Normandie: wherevpon by the order of the lawe, he there suffered death very vniustly, as diuers Aucthours affirme, whereof one sayth: that kinges seekyng treason, shall finde lande, and the deniall of a princes desyre, was the inuented destruction of the innocent Naboth. Well let vs nowe leaue the cloked collusion, that remayned in Fraūce, and returne to the open dissimulacion, which nowe appered in England.

A generall procession at Paules by the King and y Peres of the realme.

A dissimulyng procession.

Iohn Duke of Alaunson executed in Fraunce.

As fier being enclosed in a straight place, will by force vtter his flame, and as the course of water astricted and letted, will flow and brust out in continuaunce of tyme; so this cancard Crocodile, and subtile serpent, could not long lurke in malicious heartes, but in conclusion she must (accordyng to her nature) appere and shewe her selfe. For after this apparant concord (accordyng to the very nature of dissimulacion) diuerse noble men of birth, but not stable of worde, puttyng from them honour, truth, and honestie, forgat their oth, and brake their promise, and aduaunced forth the Banner of displeasure, and the flagge of malice. So a man may see, that such persons regarde neyther their awne peculiar profite, nor the publique wealth of theyr natiue Countrie, nor yet passe of an othe, or promise breakyng, to whome discorde is pleasant, and dissencion is dilectable. For not long after this dissimuled amitie, a certeine fray, eyther by chaunce, or of a thing prepensed, was made vpon a yoman of the Erles of Warwike, by a seruiture of the kings,

1459

37

A fray made vpon the Erle of Warwikes seruaunt.

in the which the Assaylant was sore hurte, but the Erles man fled. The kings meyniall seruauntes, seing their felow hurt, and the offendor escaped, assembled in great number, and watched the Erle, returnyng from the Coũsaile towarde his Barge, and sodainly set on him the yomen with swordes, and the Blacke garde with spittes, and fyre forkes. After long fight and many of the Erles men maymed and wounded, by helpe of his friendes, he toke a Whirry, and so escaped to London: whome the Queene incontinent commaunded to be apprehended, and as a captiue and prisoner, to be sent to the Tower of London, where (if he had bene then taken) he had shortly ended his dayes. By this vnhappy fray, and sodaine chaunce of malice, there arose such dayly and terryble warre, that euery man was in trouble, and no person was in quiet. For after this displeasure done to the Erle, and the Queenes good minde toward him, by his secrete friendes priuily reueled, he with all diligence, tooke his iourney to Warwike, and after into Yorkeshire, where he found the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Salisbury, declaryng to them the assault of the Kinges seruauntes, and the pretensed purpose of the fraudulent Queene. After which complaint made, he fearyng least by long absence, he might be deposed or defrauded of his Captainship of Calice, wyth great speede embarked himselfe, and sayled thither, dayly expectyng and lokyng what waye the Duke of Yorke would take, for atchieuyng his long intended purpose. After whose departure, the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Salisbury, somewhat styrred and moued with his double dealyng, began to grudge and murmure: affyrmyng that in the Queene rested nothing but fraude and feminine malice, which rulyng the king at her pleasure and will, studyed nothing so much, as the destruction of the nobilitie, and peeres of the realme. After long consultacion had, it was agreed, that the Erle with a warlike company, should march toward the king, & complaine both to him of the manifest iniury done to his sonne, and also of the vnkinde breache of the sworne amitie and late agreement, in which sute, if he did preuaile, he then should not omit the occasion to him geuen, in reuengyng the displeasures to him done, by the Queene and her sinister Counsaylors, which euill and vngodly ordered the subiectes of the whole Realme.

After this deuise made and concluded, the Erle of Salisburye remoued from Middleham castell, accompanied with foure or fiue thousand men, and toke his way through Lancashire, and Shropshire, towarde London. In the meane season the Queene, which was assisted and ruled, by the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, hauing the vigilant eie and circumspect braine, of a politique gouernor: imagyned that the Erle of Warwicke had kindeled this fire, and begun this tumult, to the entent (according to his pretensed purpose) to set the Duke of Yorke in the siege royall, and high throne of the realme: For which causes, she beyng a woman of no small wit, nor litle politecie, conceiuyng in her opinion, that it was no boote to make any farther concord or league with her aduersaries, and hearyng of the Erle of Salisburies setting forwarde, wyth a company of armed men and archers: assembled together a great coũsail, to prouide a remedie, for that inminent mischiefe, and (as in a multitude oftentimes it happeneth, so many heades, so many wits) so dyuers were in opinion, that neyther people nor weapon should be stirred, till the Erle approched: doubting whether he came to demaunde warre or peace, or to aske iustice, and to reforme wrong. Other, otherwise thought, and were of a contrary opinion, making the foundation of their argument, that the raysing of people, and assemble of Souldiours by him, could signifie *no* peace, nor treatie of concorde: except a man should saye, that intreating for fauour with naked swerde in hande, were an humble submission and a meeke request: which onely consideration, moued them to say, that as force with force, ought to be repelled, so he with a great power, or he came into the middest of the realme, should of necessitie be encountered and (if fortune would serue) vtterly destroyed. This sentence toke place, and without delay, Syr Iames Twichet Lorde Awdeley, because his seignorie and power lay in those partes, where the Erle should passe, was appointed to meete with him, and to geue him battayle, if he sawe cause or place conuenient, and the Queene followed after. The Lorde Awdeley, according to his commission,

sion, assembled aboue ten thousand men, and knowyng by his Espials, which way the Erle kept, approched neere to him on a faire plaine, called Blore heath, within a myle of the towne of Drayton, in the countye of Salope, commonly called Shropshire. The Erle perceyuing by the liuerie of the Souldiours, that he was circumuented and likely to be trapped wyth the Queenes power, determined rather there to abide the aduenture with fame and honor, then farther to flie, with losse and reproche: and so encamped himselfe all the night, on the side of a little brooke, not very brode, but somewhat deepe. In the mornyng early, beyng the day of Saint Tecle, he caused his Souldiors to shoote their flightes, towarde the Lorde Awdeleys company, which lay on the other syde of the sayd water, and then he and all his company made a signe of retraite. The Lord Awdeley, remembryng not onely the trust that he was put in, but also the Queenes terrible commaundement, (which was to bring to her presence the Erle of Salisbury, quicke or deade) blew vp his trumpet, and did set foorth his vaward, and sodainely passed the water. The Erle of Salisbury which knewe the sleightes and pollicies of warlike affayres, sodainly returned, and shortlye encountered with the Lorde Awdeley and his chiefe Captaynes, or the residue of his armie coulde passe the water. The fight was sore and dreadfull. The Erle desiryng the sauyng of his lyfe, and his aduersaryes couetyng his destruction, fought sore for the obteinyng of their purpose, but in conclusion, the Erles army, as men desperate of ayde and succor, so egerly fought, that they slue the Lorde Audeley, and all his Captaynes, and discomfited all the remnant of his people. In this battaile were slaine. xxiiij. hundreth persons, but the greatest plague lighted on the Chesshire men, because one halfe of the shire, was on the one part, and the other on the other part, of the which number were sir Thomas Dutton, sir Iohn Dunne, & sir Hugh Venables. But the Erles two sonnes, the one called sir Iohn Neuell, and the other sir Thomas, were sore wounded, which soberly iourneiyng into the North Countrie, thinkyng there to repose themselues, were in their iorney apprehended by the Quenes friendes, and conueyed to Chester: but their kepers deliuered them shortly, or else the Marche men had destroyed the Gayles. Such fauour had the Commons of Wales, to the Duke of Yorkes band and his affinitie, that they could suffer no wrong to be done, nor euill worde to be spoken of him or his friendes. Blore heath fight.

Also this yere one named Iohannes Fauscius, a Germain, first found out the noble science of Imprintyng in the Citie of Mentz. But Polidore sayth, it was first inuented by one Iohannes Euthenlergius, a knight, who also within. xvj. yeres after did inuent the ynke which the Printers now vse. Printing.

After this battayle, the Duke of Yorke not only perceyuing that the destraction of him and his friendes was intended (as by this last conflict was apparauntly declared) but also remembring, that al his counsailes and priuie intents, were nowe opened to the king and the Quene, thought it meete neyther lenger to dissimule, nor farther to keepe scilence: did therefore with a courageous hart, as well for the obteyning of the crowne, as for the tuition and safegard of him & his friendes, determine no lenger to sleepe in hys den, but with all diligence to set forth his businesse and auaunce forth his banner. And therefore sending for the Erle of Salisbury his felow and compere in all his doings, counsailes, and fortunes (after long communication had of the Queenes misgouernaunce, and how she without their assent, did all things at her will and pleasure) determined to raise a great armie, and by fine force eyther to die or win their purpose. What should I say, men were assembled, friends were sent for, and a puyssaunt armie was gathered, both of Northren men and Welshmen, which in good order came into the Marches of Wales, adioyning to Shropshire, where they determined eyther to abide their enimies, or to meete them if they marched forward. 1460

The king was not ignoraunt of this assemble, nor yet vnaduertised of the Dukes intent: wherefore to resist the mischiefe at the beginning, he caused commissioners to be made, and sent into euery parte of the realme, where he suspected eyther to haue assured friendes,

friendes, or indifferent fauorers, for men and money: by reason of which commaundement, a great number was assembled. Many for the loue they bare to the king, but more for the feare that they had of the Queene, whose countenance was so fearefull, and whose looke was so terrible, that to all men, agaynst whome shee tooke a small displeasure, her frowning was their vndoing, and her indignation was their death. The king accompanied with the Dukes of Sommerset & Excester, and other of the lyne of Lancaster, determined cleerely to set on the Duke of Yorke and his confederates, and them by force eyther vtterly to vanquishe, or by pollecie to attrap, and bring to confusion, wherevpon in hope of good luck, the king with his armie by long marching, came neere to the Duke of Yorke, which was strongly incamped, a little from the towne of Ludlow, neere adioyning to the confines of Wales, to whome not long before, was come his trustie friend Richarde Erle of Warwike, with a great number of expert men in marciall feates, whom he had brought with him from Calice, whereof two were men of approued pollecy, in the warres of Normandie and Guyen, the one called Andrew Trollop, and the other Iohn Blunt. These armies thus lying, the one in the vewe and sight of the other, studied all meanes and pollecies, how to take aduauntage eche of other, and how with lesse ieoperdy, the one might set on the other. The Duke perceyuing by reason of his expert Capitaynes, a way how he might easely dampnifie and discomfite his enemies, thought no lenger to sleepe his purpose, but manfully to geue the onset and so with his secret friends and Captaines, determined the next morning early to beginne the battayle, and set on the king and his armie, or he were readie or in aray. But of this deuise succeeded nothing, nor of this imagination proceded any effect: For Andrew Trollop and other the Calicians, which were men of great knowledge and of much experience, and had liued by the kings wages, more then a few yeres, perceyuing now ỹ they should fight agaynst their souereine Lorde himselfe (whose friend they esteemed before that time, the Erle of Warwike ever to haue bene taken and reputed, and not his enemie or destroyer) in the dead of the night, before the day of battayle secretly departed from the Dukes Campe, & submitted themselues to the King, admonishing him of all things prepared and deuised, for his losse and destruction. If these auncient Capitaynes were welcome to the king, or if he ioyously them receyued, I referre that to all men, which haue reliefe in their destresse, or haue a sodaine good chaunce, when they thinke least vpon it. When the Duke of Yorke was aduertised of their departing, no maruayle though his senses were moued, and his wittes disturbed, as a man that sodainely ryseth out of a traunce, woteth not what to doe or say: For he first considered the power and auctoritie of the king, and sawe that Andrew Trollop of his friend was sodainely transformed into the image of his extreme enemie, whose force and pollecie, as muche nowe discomforted hym, as by the trust which he put in hym, he was before incouraged: wherefore he euydently perceyuing, that all his counsayle, and purpose, was by the fore named Andrewe, reueled and disclosed thought it better for him and hys to depart in surety, then to abide the chaūce, of mutable Fortune, which turneth the wheele at her wyll and pleasure: whervpon he with his yonger sonne Edmond Erle of Rutlande, secretly departed into Wales, and so passed into Irelande, where he was with all ioy and honor gladly receyued. The Erle of Marche, sonne and heire apparant to the foresayde Duke, accompanied with the Erles of Salisbury and Warwike, and syr Iohn Wenlock, stale away the same night, and came into Deuonshire: where by the meanes of Iohn Dinham Esquire (which after was high Treasorer of Englande, in the time of king Henry the. vij.) they bought a ship, which cost. C. x. Markes at Exmouth, and sayled to Gernsay, and after came to Calice, and were let in at the posterne, and ioyfully welcomed of their friendes.

The next day in the morning, the king beyng aduertised of the departing of the Duke of Yorke and his partakers, caused all his horsemen to follow them by euery passage, but they were neyther seene nor espied, as they that folowed made report. The king perceyuing that the Lordes were escaped, pardoned all the poore souldiours, sauing certaine Ryng

leaders

leaders, whereof some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this, he remoued to Ludlowe, and there dispatched his hoste, and spoyled the towne and the Castell, and sent the Duches of Yorke, with her two yonger sonnes, to be kept in warde, with the Duches of Buckyngham her sister, where she continued a certayne space. After this, he proclaymed these Lordes traytors to him, enemies to their Countrie, and rebels to the Crowne: confiscating all their landes, goodes and offices, committing the gouernaunce of the North partes, to the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde Clifford, as to his trustie and most faithfull friends, and of his towne of Calice, he made Capitaine Henry the newe Duke of Sommerset: but the olde husband man sayeth, that as to hastie sowing often time deceaueth, so to late, neuer well proueth. For in this businesse, protracting of time onely, hurted and harmed the king and his sequele. For if he at the beginning, had dispossessed his aduersaries of that refuge and hold, no doubt but that he had eyther tamed or vanquished them, with little labor and small daunger.

The Duke of Sommerset, reioysing much in his newe office, elected dyuers hardie and valyant souldiours, and with great pompe sayled toward Calice, and when he thought surely to haue entred into the Hauen, the artilerie shot so fiercely, both out of the towne and Risebanke, that he suffering there a sore repulse, was faine to lande at Whitsandbay, and sent worde to the Capitaynes of the towne, to receyue him as the kings Lieuetenaunt, and shewed to them his letters patents, but neyther he nor hys wryting was once regarded or loked on: so of necessitie he resorted to the Castell of Guysnes, daylie skirmishing with the garrison of Calice, more to his losse than gaine. After his arriuall, as is aforesayde, diuers of these Mariners, owyng more good wyll to the Erle of Warwike, than to this yong Duke, conueyed their shippes into the Hauen of Calice, and in them diuers of the Erle of Warwickes enemies, as Ianyn Fendill, Iohn Felowe, and dyuers other, and presented them to the sayde Erle, which incontinent caused their heades to be striken off. Thys daylie conflict still continuing betweene the Lordes, which soiorned at Calice, and the Duke of Sommerset, lyng at Guisnes, no small number of the commonaltie, daylie resorted to the Erle of Marche and his confederates: by reason whereof, although they daylie lost people, and had slaine many, yet their number was restored, and the gap euer filled, which was the continuall losse, and daylie detriment to the Duke of Sommerset. Yet he like a valyant Prince, nothing lesse minding, then for lacke of ayde to be expelled from the great office and renoumed auctoritie, which the king had to him giuen, in the partes beyonde the sea, sent letters to the king, and messengers to the Queene, desiring of them ayde and succor, in defence of the quarell and lawfull assistance. His postes were not vnheard, nor hys requestes vnprouided. For without delay Richarde Lorde Riuers, and syr Anthony Wooduile his valyaunt sonne, which after was Lorde Scales, accompanied withfoure hundred warlike persons, were appointed to passe the Seas, and to be coadiutors to the Duke of Sommerset. These martiall Capitaynes endeuoring themselues to the point, for the which they were assigned came to the porte of Sandwiche, and there abode the winde and the weather, which obeyeth neyther king, nor serueth Emperour.

The Erles of Marche and Warwike, and other being at Calice, had knowledge of all these doings, and secret conuenticles: wherfore to preuent the Dukes purpose, they sent Iohn Dinham the valyaunt Esquire, with a small number of men, but with a multitude of courageous hartes, to the towne of Sandwiche, which sodainely entred the same, and tooke the Lorde Riuers in his bed, and his sonne also: robbing houses, and spoyling shippes of great ryches and marchaundise, and beside this, they tooke the principall ships of the kings nauy then lyng at the Port, wel furnished with ordinance & artilerie, but not without the fauor of the Mariners, which fauored more the one parte then the other. But although Iohn Dinham, Capitaine of the Lordes parte, was sore hurt and maymed on his legge, by reason whereof he euer after halted, and somewhat limped: yet his courage and pollecy was so much, that he vanquished his enimies, and brought the shippes royall laded with pray and prisoners, to the towne of Calice, and them presented to the Erle of Marche, not knowyng then that the Lorde Riuers daugh

The towne of Sandwich with certaine Lordes is taken.

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ter should be the Erles wife, which then had an husband lyuing, nor thinking that her father for her sake, should after be destroyed. But who can knowe the secrets of God, or without him, declare the chaunce that after shall ensue.

After this bootie gotten, and good luck obteyned, diuers of the best ships taken in the hauen of Sandwich, were wel victualled and manned, and with them the Erle of Warwike, transfreted and sayled into Ireland, to common with the Duke of Yorke, of his great affayres and businesse. The weather was so fayre, and the winde so fauourable to the Erles purpose, that within lesse then. xxx. dayes, he passed and repassed from Calice to Deueline, and asserteyned the Erles of Marche and of Salisbury, what was the Duke of Yorkes deuise and intent, both for his entrie and theirs, into the realme of England. The Erle of Warwike had come to short home to tell these tydings, if the Duke of Exceter, which being admirall of the sea, laye in the west Countrie to stop the Erles passage, might haue had his awne will: but the Capitaines of his Nauie murmoured agaynst him, and the Mariners dispraysed and disdayned him, glad to heare of the Erle of Warwikes good succesce, by which occasion he neyther would nor durst once meddle or cope with the Erles Nauie.

A Parliament holden at Couentry.

During thys tyme, the king called a Parliament, in the Citie of Couentre, in the which the Duke of Yorke, and all his confederates were attaynted of high treason, and their goodes and landes confiscate and forfeted: and to prohibite their landing in al portes, hauen townes were watched, and the sea costes were garnished with Bekons. And syr Simon Mountfort with a great crew was appointed to keepe the downes, and the fiue Portes, and all men passing into Flaundyrs, were vpon payne of death prohibited to passe by Calice, least the Lordes there should borowe of them any money, as they did prest of the Marchaunts of the Staple. xviij. M. pound late before, which was a great displeasure to the king, and a more corrosey to ỹ Quene. The Lordes lyng at Calice were not ignorant of all these doynges and prouisions, but dayly were assertayned what was done in the kings priuy chamber: wherefore first they sent a companie to Sandwiche, which conquered the towne, and apprehended sir Simond Mountfort, and brought him with all his Mates to the hauen of Calice, where incontinent he with. xij. of his chiefe felowes, lost their heades on the Sandes, before Risebanke. After the Kinges nauie gayned, and his Captaines on the arriuall of the Sea taken and destroyed, the Lordes lyng at Calice, hopyng in their friendes within the Realme, determined to passe the sea, and to lande in England. And after they had put the Castell and towne of Calice, in sure and safe custodie to their onely vse, they passed the sea and landed at Sandwiche. And so passyng through Kent, there came to them the Lorde Cobham, Iohn Guildeforde, William Peche, Robert Horne, and many other gentlemen, which conueyed them to the Citie of London. But the fame of their landyng once knowen, gentlemen repayred, and yomen resorted out of all the South partes of the Realme: vpon which rumor, Thomas Lorde Scales, a man in great fauor with the King and Queene, accompanied with the Erle of Kendall a Gascoyne, and the Lord Louell, resorted to London, with a great company of armed men: declaryng to the Maior of the Citie, that their repayre onely was to defende, and kepe the Citie, from the spoyle and robbery of such traytors, as the king was credibly informed, would thether make accesse: to whome the Maior aunswered, that he well knewe both his othe, and bounden dutie towarde his souereigne Lorde and Prince, and neded neither of promter, nor yet of coadiutor, eyther to defende or gouerne the Citie, to him committed in charge. With which aunswere, the Lorde Scales and his associates not a little displeased, entered into the Towre of London, dayly with new inuencions, doyng displeasures and domages to the Citizens of the Citie, whome they sore suspected, rather to fauor then to hate, the Erles of March, and Warwike, and other of their band and affinitie. Which Erles with a great armie came shortly to London, and were of the Maior and Citezens ioyously receyued, to whome resorted the Archbishop of Cantorbury, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Excester, with many Prelates and religious persons.

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These Lordes nothing slackyng the purpose, that they came for, dayly consulted and assembled together in the house of the gray Friers within the Citie. And after long debating, and secret consultacion had, it was agreed, that they with theyr whole puissance should marche forward, toward the King: determining eyther by force or fayre meanes, to bring their purpose to a cõclusion. When this counsaile was dissolued, the Erles of Marche & Warwike, Thomas Lord Fauconbridge, Henry Lord Borchier, called Erle of Ewe, with a great nũber of men, which came out of Kent, Essex, Surrey & Sussex, to the number as some writers affirme of. xxv. M. persons departed from London, toward the King, liyng at Couentre, then called the Quẽenes secrete arbor, leauyng behinde them to kepe the Londoners in their fidelitie, from reuertyng from theyr part the Erle of Sarisbury, the Lorde Cobham, and Sir Iohn Wenlocke: which Lorde Cobham, with certaine Aldermen of the Citie so kept the West syde against the Towre, and Sir Iohn Wenlocke with other, so vigilantly watched the East part toward Saint Katherynes, that no person eyther could issue out, or enter in, to the great displeasure of the Lorde Scales and his companie, which dayly shot their ordenaunce out, and had likewise great ordenaunce shot at them, to the hurt, and no pleasure of both partes. The king not ignoraunt of all these doynges, assembled a great armie, and accompanied with the Duke of Sommerset, which was lately come from Guisnes, and the Duke of Buckingham, and diuers other great Lordes of his part and faction, came to the towne of Northhampton, where the Queene encouraged her friendes, and promised great rewardes to her helpers: for the king studied nothing but of peace, quiet and solitarie lyfe.

When the kinges hoste was assembled, and that the Queene perceyued that her power was able to matche with the force of her aduersaries, shee caused her armie to issue out of the towne, and to passe the riuer of Sene, and there in the newe fielde, betwene Harsyngton and Sandifforde, the Capitaines strongly emparked themselues with high bankes, and depe trenches. The Erle of March beyng lustie, and in the flower of his couragious youth, liyng betwene Towceter and Northampton, determined to set on the kings armie, without longer protractyng of tyme. And in the night season he remoued his campe towarde Northampton, and in marchyng forwarde set hys men in good order of battaile, whereof the vawewarde was conducted by the Erle of Warwike, which either by strenght or stealth Mauger the Lord Beamond, which kept a straite goyng towarde the kinges campe, entred freshely, and began the battaile about. vij. of the clocke, the. ix. day of Iulye. After whome folowed the Erle of Marche, with the banner of his father. This fight continued in doubtfull iudgement, till the houre of nine, at which tyme the Kinges armie was scattered, and discomfited, and of the same slain, and drowned in the riuer, fewe lesse then ten thousand tall Englishe men, and the king himselfe left alone disconsolate, was taken and apprehended, as a man borne, and predestinate to trouble, miserie, and calamitie. At this battaile were slaine, Humfrey Duke of Buckingham, Iohn Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury, a valiaunt person, and not degeneratyng from his noble parent: Thomas Lorde Egremond, Iohn Viscont Beaumond, and Sir William Lucie, which made great hast to come to part of the fight, and at his first approche was striken in the head with an Axe. Diuers other Gentlemen were slaine in this ciuil battaile, whose names are not remembred nor published by any author that I haue read. Beside these dead persons, many were taken prisoners, because they left their horses, and discended to fight on foote. The Duke of Sommerset and other, which narowly escaped, fled with the Quene and prince Edward, into the Bishoprike of Durham, in which place they determined to gather a newe armie and power, and if no hope were of recouery, then they agreed to flie into Scotland: there to abide a time of better lucke. The Erles beyng victors in this bloody battaile, conueyed the king that night againe to the towne of Northhampton, and the next day with great solemnitie and small comfort, they set forwarde the king, and by easie iourneys brought him to London the. xvj. day of Iuly, where he was faintly receyued, and feebly welcomed, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace. After whose

The battaile of Northãpton.

commyng to the Citie, the Tower of London was deliuered to the Erle of Marche, vpon a certaine composicion. But the Lorde Scales, suspectyng the sequele of the deliuery of the same, tooke a Whirry priuily, entendyng to haue fled to the Queene. But he was espyed by diuerse watermen belongyng to the Erle of Warwike, which wayted for his foorthcommyng on the Thamys, and sodainly taken, and shortly slaine with many dartes and daggers, and his bodie left all bloody and naked at the gate of the Clynke, which after was buryed in the Church adioinyng. Then were dyuers persons apprehended, and endited of treason, whereof some were pardoned, and some executed: But Thomas Thorpe, seconde Baron of the Exchequer, great friend to the house of Lancaster, and extreme enemie to the familie of Yorke, was taken disguysed in a Monkes apparell, with a shauen crowne, and so brought to the Erle of Warwike, which sent him to the tower of London, where he long remayned. Duryng this trouble was a Parliament sommoned to begin at Westminster in the moneth of October next folowyng. Before which tyme, Richard Duke of Yorke beyng in Ireland, by swift currers, and flyng postes, was aduertised of the great victory, gayned by his part at the fielde of Northhampton, and also knewe that the king was nowe in case to be kept, and ordered at his pleasure and will: Wherefore losyng no tyme, nor sluggyng one houre, he sayled from Deuelyn to Chester with no small companie, and by long iourneys came to the Citie of London, which he entered the friday next before the feast of Saint Edward the Confessor, with a sworde borne naked before him, and tooke his lodgyng in the Kinges awne Palace, whervpon the common people babbled, that he should be King, and that King Henry should no longer reigne. Duryng the time of this Parliament, the Duke of Yorke, with a bolde countenaunce, entered into the Chamber of the peeres, and sate downe in the trone royall vnder the cloth of estate (which is the Kinges peculier seate) and in the presence aswell of the Nobilitie, as of the spiritualtie (after a pause made) sayde these wordes in effect. My singuler good Lordes, marualle not that I approche vnto this throne. For I sit here as in the place to me by verye iustice lawfully belongyng, and here I rest, as he to whome this Chayre of right apperteyneth, not as he, which requyreth of you fauour, parcialitie, or bearyng, but egall right, friendly indifferencie, and true administracion of iustice: for I beyng the partie grieued, and complaynant, can not minister to my selfe the Medicine, that should helpe me (as expert Leches and Chirurgians may) except you be to me both faythfull ayders, and also true Counsaylers. Nor yet this noble realme, and our naturall Countrie shall neuer be vnbuckeled from her dayly feuer, except I (as the principall Phisition, and you as true and trusty Appothecaryes) consult together, in makyng of the pocion, and trie out the cleane and pure stuffe, from the olde, corrupt and putrifyed drugges. For vndoubtedly, the roote and bottome of this long festured canker, is not yet extirpate, nor the feble foundacion of this fallible buyldyng, is not yet espyed, which hath bene, and is, the dayly destruction of the Nobilitie, and the continuall confusion of the poore Commonalty of this realme and Kingdome. For all you knowe (or should knowe) that the high and mightie Prince King Richard the seconde, was the true and vndoubted heyre, to the valiant Conquerour, and renoumed Prince King Edward the thirde, as sonne and heyre to the hardy knight and couragious Captain, Edward prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitain and Cornewall, eldest sonne to the said king Edward the thirde, which King was not onely in deed, but also of all men reputed and taken, as the very true and infallible heyre, to the wise and politique prince king Henry the thirde, as sonne and heyre to king Edward the seconde, sonne and heyre to King Edward the first, the very heyre and first begotten sonne of the sayde noble and vertuous prince, king Henry the thirde. Which king Richarde of that name the second, was lawfully and iustly possessed of the Crowne, and Diademe of this Realme and Region, till Henry of Darby, Duke of Lancaster, and Herforde, sonne to Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, the fourth begotten sonne, to the sayde king Edward the thirde, and yonger brother to my noble auncester Lyonell Duke of Clarence, the thirde begotten sonne of the sayde king Edward, by force and violence, contrary both

A parliamēt holden at Westminster.

The Duke of Yorkes Oracio made to all the Lords of the Parliament.

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to the duetie of his allegiaunce, and also to his homage, to him both done and sworne, raysed warre and battaile, at the Castell of Flynt in Northwales agaynst the sayde king Richard, and him apprehended and imprisoned within the Tower of London. Duryng whose life and captiuitie, he wrongfully vsurped and entruded vpon the royall power, and high estate of this realme and region, takyng on him the name, stile, and auctboritie of king & gouernor of the same. And not therewith satisfied and contented, compassed and accomplished the death and destruction of his naturall Prince, and most worthy soue-reigne Lord, not as a common homicide and butcherly murderer, but as a regicide and destroyer of his king. After whose piteous death and execrable murder, the right and tytle of the Crowne, and superioritie of this realme, was lawfully reuerted and returned to Roger Mortimer, Erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to Lady Philip, the onely childe of the aboue rehearsed Lionell, Duke of Clarence, to which Rogiers daughter called Anne, my most derest and welbeloued mother, I am the very true and lyneall heyre, which discent all you cannot iustly gayne say, nor yet truely denie. Then remember thys, if the tytle be mine, why am I put from it: if I be true heyre to the crowne (as I am in deede) why is my right witholden: if my clayme be good, why haue I not iustice; for surely learned men of great science and knowledge, say and affirme, that lyneall discent, nor vsurped possession can nothing preuayle, if continuall clayme be lawfully made, or openly published. For auoyding of which scruple & ambiguity: Edmond Erle of Marche, my most welbeloued Vncle, in the time of the first Vsurper, in dede, but not by right, called king Henry the fourth by his Cosyns, the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde Percy, he being then in captiuitie with Owen Glendore, the rebell in Wales, made his tytle and righteous clayme, to the destruction of both the noble persons. Likewise my most deerest Lorde and father, so farre set forth that right and tytle, that he lost his lyfe and worldly ioye, at the towne of Southampton, more by power, then indifferent iustice. Sithe whose death, I comming to my full age, haue neuer desisted to pursue my tytle, and require my right, which by meanes of sinister counsaile and iniust detention, I can neyther obteyne nor recouer. So that of fine force, I am compelled to vse power in stede of prayer, and force in stede of request (not as I sayde before) for my priuate emolument and peculiar profite, but to restore peace, loue, and quietnesse to this our naturall region: which euer sythe the first vngodly vsurpation of the forenamed Henry, vntruely called king Henry the fourth, hath bene cleerely banished, and out of the same iniustly exiled. What murders and manslaughters hath bene perpetrated and committed within this Countrey, sythe the beginning of that vngracious vsurpation: what number of noble men haue beene slayne, destroyed, and executed, sithe that vnfortunate day: it is to lamentable and to manifest. For although Henry of Lancaster Erle of Derby, tooke vpon him the Scepter and the crowne, and wrongfully beare the name and style of a king, and was not much tyckeled with mine Vncle, the Erle of Marche, at that time being within age: Yet was hee neuer in suretie of himselse, nor had, or enioyed any perfite quietnesse, eyther in minde or in body: for surely a corrupt conscience feeleth neuer rest, but looketh when the sworde of vengeaunce will discend and strike. His sonne also called King Henry the fift, obteyned notable victories, and immortall prayses, for his noble actes done in the realme of Fraunce: yet God for the offence of his vntrue parent sodainely touched him, vnbodiyng his soule in the flower of his youth, and in the glorie of his conquest. And although he had a fayre sonne, and a yong apparant heyre: yet was this Orphan suche a one, as preachers saye, that God threatned to sende, for a punishment, to hys vnrulye and vngracious people: saiyng by his prophet Esay: I shall geue you children to be your princes, and infaunts without wisdome, shall haue the gouernaunce of you. The prophet lyed not, if you note all things in an order: For after this Henry the fift (whose fame no man can iustly reproue or deface) succeded his sonne whom all we haue called our naturall prince, and obeyed as his heyre: in whose time and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligently to consider, with what great torments, and afflictions God hath

whypped and scurged this miserable Isle, yea, with such and so many scourges and plagues, as no nation (the Egyptians onely except) were euer tormented, or afflicted withall. I will not speake of rebellious murders and oppressions, which of late haue bene done, and exercised here among vs: but I will declare and manifest to you how the crowne and glorie of this realme, is by the negligence of this silly man, and his vnwise counsayle, minished, defaced, and dishonored. Is not Normandy, which his father gat, regayned and conquered agayne, by the insolencie of him, and his couetous counsayle? Is not the whole Duchy of Aquitayne by two hundred and odde yeres, peaceably possessed by the kings of this realme, in one yere and a little more, gotten out of our hands and seignioric? What should I speake of Angeow & Mayne, or the losse of the Isle of Fraunce, with the riche Citie of Paris. Alas it is to apparaunt, neither will I molest you with the recitall of all the perticulers thereof: But nowe in the middes of this affliction, and to make an ende of the same, God of his ineffable goodnesse, looking on this countrey, with his eyes of pitie and mercie, hath sent me in the truth to restore againe his decayed kingdome, to his auncient fame and olde renoume. Whereof here in open parliament, according to my iust and true title, I haue and do take possession of this royal throne, not putting diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his deuine ayde, & the assistance of you the peeres of this realme, I shall bewtifie and maintaine the same, to the glorie of hym, honor of my blood, and to the publique wealth, as well of you all here present, as of all the poore commons and subiectes, of thys kingdome and Regiment.

When the Duke had thus ended his Oration, the Lordes sate still lyke Images grauen in the wall, or dumme Gods, neither whispering nor speaking, as though their mouthes had beene sowed vp. The Duke perceyuing none answere to be made to his declared purpose, not well content wyth their sober silence, aduised them well to digest and ponder the effect of that which he had sayde, and so neyther fully displeased, nor all pleased, departed to hys lodgyng in the kings Palace.

Whyle he was thus declaryng his tytle in the Chamber of the Peres, there happened a straunge chaunce in the very same time, amongst the commons in the nether house, then there assembled: for a crown which did hang in the middle of the same to garnishe a braunche, to set lights vpon, without touch of any creature or rigor of winde sodainely fell downe, and at the same time also fell downe the crowne, which stoode on the toppe of the Castell of Douer: as a signe and prognostication that the crowne of the realme should be deuided and changed, from one line to another, such was the iudgement of the common people.

The Lordes of the realme, forgate not the Dukes demaunde, nor long protracted the time, to see some good ende, in so waightie a cause: wherfore diuers Lordes, as well spirituall as temporall, with many graue and sage persons of the comnionaltie daylie assembled at the black Friers and other places, to treate and common of this matter, being of no small importaunce. During which time, the Duke of Yorke, although he and the king, were both lodged in the Palace of Westminster, yet for no prayer or intercession, he would once visite or see the king, till some perfite conclusion were taken, in this great and waightie purpose, saiyng and affirming, that he was subiect to no man, but onely to God, and he was his Lord and superior, and none other, I will a little space leaue the Lordes consultyng together, and speake of outward attemptes and forreyn doings.

This ciuill discention within the realme of Englande, did much animate and incourage Iames the seconde of that name, king of Scottes, to make warre on the Englishe nation, partly for the displeasure which he conceyued for the death of Edmond Duke of Somerset hys mothers brother, and partly to shew himselfe amongst his people, to be both valyaunt and couragious. Thys king Iames from his first rule, beganne to enter into suspition with Wylliam Erle Douglas, a man both of great kinne and more power, euer mistrusting that he nothing more desyred, then to depriue hym from his auctoritie, and to vsurpe the same. This cancard suspicion was so rooted in the kings harte, that sodainely

dainely it branched out, in so much that the king sending for the Erle (which trusting on his awne innocencie, humbly came to his presence) caused him shamefully to be slayne and murdered, with which iniury, his two brethren, Archibald Erle of Murrey, and Hugh Erle of Ormount, not a little pricked and incouraged with the Erles of Angus and Morthone, being all of one line and surname, made open warre on the saide king Iames: but in conclusion he preuailed, and suppressed the great power of the Douglasses. And then thinking himselfe a king, without eyther peere or fere, assembled a great armie, and entred into the Marches of Northumberlande, and besieged the Castell of Roxborough, and there caused his newe Bumbard lately cast in Flaunders, called the Lyon and dyuers other peeces to be shot agaynst the Castell, whereof one being weake and slender, brake in peeces, and one of the fragmentes slue the king, standing amongest a great companye of his people, and wounded the Erle of Angus. The Scottes not dismayed with the death of their King, seyng the Castell easie to be wonne, manfully assaulted and with much paine gat it, and the same long defended, till Rychard Duke of Gloucester it conquered and destroyed. This king Iames of Queene Mary his wyfe left three sonnes, Iames which succeeded him, Alexander Duke of Albany, and Iohn. This yong king Iames, was put vnder the tuition of Iames Kenede, Byshop of Saint Andrewes, whi[illegible]uring his none-age, ruled the realme to the kings great honor, but more to his awne p[illegible] and peculiar gayne: For he made sumpteous houses, and builded Colleges, which t[illegible]yong pupill king Iames, neyther could, nor was able to do.

William Erle Douglas murdred.

King Iames of Scotland slayne with a peece of a Gonne.

About this very season, and during this vnnaturall controuersie within the [illegible]alme of Englande: Charles the French king, which onely by trouble and calamitie gat to him a perpetuall name, and amongst his Nation aboue the starres exalted, ended the point of his fatall fine, which Prince in hys youth, neuer regarded wanton pastyme, nor lasciuious dalliaunce, for his wittes were set, and his industrie onely applied, to recouer agayne hys Princely inheritaunce: So that more plainely then in a Glasse, all men may perceyue that paine often profiteth, and labor commonly auayleth, but ydlenesse sildome, and dalliaunce neuer. To this Charles succeded king Lewys, of that name the. xj. of whose doings you shall heare after: and shall both study and marueile, at the straungenesse of his demeanor, and the craftie policie of his secret compasses. Now I will returne to the great counsayle of the Lordes, celebrate about London, for the Duke of Yorkes claime.

The death of Charles the french Kyng.

After long arguments made, and deliberate consultation had among the Peeres, Prelates, and commons of the realme: vpon the vigile of all Saintes, it was condescended and agreed, by the three estates, for so much as king Henry had beene taken as king, by the space of. xxxviij. yeres and more, that he should enioy the name and tytle of king, and haue possession of the realme, during his life naturall: And if he eyther died or resigned, or forfeited the same, for infringing any point of this concorde, then the sayde Crowne and auctoritie royall, should immediatly dissende to the Duke of Yorke, if he then lyued, or else to the next heyre of his line or linage, and that the Duke from thenceforth should be Protector and Regent of the land. Prouided alway, that if the king did closely or apertly studie or go about to breake or alter this agrement, or to compasse or imagine the death or destruction of the sayde Duke or hys bloud, then he to forfeit the crowne, and the Duke of Yorke to take it. These articles with many other, were not onely written, sealed and sworne by the two parties: but also were enacted in the high court of Parliament. For ioy whereof, the king hauing in his company the sayde Duke, rode to the Cathedrall Church of saint Paule, within the Citie of London, and there on the day of all saintes, went solempnly wyth the Diademe on his head in procession, and was lodged a good space after in the Bishops Palace, nere to the sayd Church. And vpon the Saturday next ensuyng, Richard Duke of Yorke, was by the sound of a trumpet, solempnly proclaimed heyre apparaunt to the crowne of Englande, and Protectour of the realme.

1461

39

Articles of agreement betwene king Henrie the sixt, and Rychard Duke of Yorke.

After

After thys, the Parliament kept at Couentry the laste yere, was declared to be a deuilishe counsayle, and onely celebrate for the destruction of the nobility, and no lawfull Parliament, because they which were returned, were neuer elected, according to the due order of the law, but secretly named by them, which desired more the destruction, then the aduauncement of the publique wealth and common profite. When these agreements were done and enacted, the king dissolued his parliament, which was the laste parliament that euer he ended. Such was the pleasure of almightie God, that king Henry beyng a good and verteous man, which had tasted innumerable aduersities and calamities of the worlde, should be depriued of his terrestriall crowne, to be recompensed with an heauenly garlande, and a ioyfull place: for surely a perfite good man, although he be plagued with a thousande displeasures cannot be but blessed.

The Duke of Yorke well knowyng, that the Queene would spurne and impugne the conclusions, agreed and taken in this Parliament, caused her and her sonne, to be sent for by the king: but she being a manly woman, vsyng to rule and not to be ruled, and thereto counsayled by the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset, not only denyed to come but also assembled together a great armie, intendyng to take the king by fine force, out of the Lordes handes, and to set them to a newe schoole. The Protector liyng in London, hauyng perfite knowledge of all these doynges: assigned the Duke of Norffolke and the Erle of Warwike, his trustie friendes, to be about the king, and he with the Erles of Salisbury and Rutland: with a conuenient companie, departed out of London the seconde day of December, Northwarde, and sent to the Erle of Marche his eldest sonne to folowe him with all his power. The Duke by small iourneys came to his Castell of Sandall, besyde Wakefielde on Christmasse eue, and there began to assemble his tenantes and friendes. The Queene beyng therof asserteyned, determined to couple with him while his power was small, and his ayde not come: And so hauyng in her companie, the Prince her sonne, the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset, the Erle of Deuonshire, the Lorde Clifforde, the Lorde Rosse, and in effect all the Lordes of the Northpart, with. xviij. thousande men, or as some write. xxij. thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield, and bad base to the Duke, euen before his Castell, he hauyng with him not fully fiue thousand persons, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies, and although sir Dauy Hall, his olde seruaunt and chiefe Counsaylor, aduised him to kepe his Castell, and to defend the same, with his small number, till his sonne the Erle of Marche were come with his power of Marchmen and Welshe soldiors, yet he would not be counsayled, but in a great fury sayde, a Dauy, Dauy, hast thou loued me so long, and nowe wouldest haue me dishonoured? Thou neuer sawest me kepe fortresse when I was Regent in Normandie, when the Dolphyn himselfe, with his puyssaunce came to besiege me, but lyke a man, and not lyke a birde inclosed in a Cage, I issued and fought with mine enemyes, to their losse euer (I thanke God) and to my honour: If I haue not kept my selfe within walles, for feare of a great and strong Prince, nor hid my face from any man liuyng, wouldest thou that I for dread of a scoldyng woman, whose weapon is onely her tongue, and her nayles, should enclose my selfe, and shut my gates? Then all men might of me wonder, and all creatures may of me report dishonour, that a woman hath made me a dastard, whom no man euer to this day could yet proue a coward: and surely my mind is rather to die with honor, then to liue with shame, for of honour commeth fame, and of dishonour ryseth infamie: Their great number shall not feare my spirites, but encourage them, for surely I thinke that I haue there, as many friendes as enemies, which at ioinyng, will eyther flie or take my part: Therefore auaunce my Banner, in the name of God and saint George, for surely I will fight with them, though I should fight alone. The Erle of Salisbury and other his friendes, seyng his courage, resolued themselues to his opinion, and ordered their men, and set them forth in warlike fashion, for their most aduauntage. The Duke of Sommerset and other of the Queenes part, knowyng perfectly, that if the Duke gat the victorie, their dayes were minished,

nished, and their liuyngs left bare, like men quickned and pricked forwarde, for the safegarde of their lyues, and defence of their goodes, determined to abide the chaunce, and to espie their most aduauntage and so appoynted the Lorde Clifforde to lie in the one stale, and the Erle of Wilshire in the other, & they themselues kept the maine battaile. The Duke of Yorke with his people, discended downe the hill in good order and array, and was suffered to passe forwarde, towarde the maine battaile: but when he was in the plaine ground, betwene his Castell and the Towne of Wakefielde, he was inuironed on euery syde like a fishe in a Net, or a Deere in a Buckstall: so that he manfully fightyng, was within halfe an houre slaine and deade, and his whole army discomfited, and with him dyed of his trusty friendes, his two bastard Vncles, sir Iohn and sir Hugh Mortimer, sir Dauy Hall his chiefe Counsaylor, sir Hugh Hastyngs, sir Thomas Neuel, William and Thomas Aparre, both brethren, and two thousand and eight hundreth other, whereof many were yong Gentlemen, and heyres of great parentage in the South part, whose linages reuenged their deathes, within foure Monethes next and immediately ensuing. In this conflict was wounded and taken prisoner, Richard Erle of Salisbury, syr Richard Limbrike, Raufe Stanley, Iohn Harow, Capitaine Hauson, and diuers other. While this battaile was in fightyng, a priest called Sir Robert Aspall, Chaplaine and Scholemaister to the yong Erle of Rutland, the second son to the abouenamed Duke of Yorke, scarce of the age of xij. yeres, a fayre Gentleman, and a maydenly person, perceiuyng that flight was more sauegard, then tariyng, both for him and his Mayster, secretly conueyed the Erle out of the field, by the Lorde Cliffordes bande, towarde the Towne, but or he could enter into a house, he was by the sayde Lorde Clifforde espyed, folowed, and taken and by reason of his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yong Gentleman dismayde, had not a worde to speake, but kneeled on his knees crauyng mercy, and desiryng grace, both with holdyng vp his handes, and makyng a dolorous countenaunce, for his speeche was gone for feare. Saue him sayd his Chapleyn, for he is a Princes sonne, and paraduenture may do you good hereafter. With that worde, the Lorde Clifforde marked him and sayde: by Gods blood, thy father slue mine, and so will I do thee and all thy kinne, and with that worde, strake the Erle to the hart with his Dagger, and bad his Chapleyn beare the Erles mother and brother worde what he had done and sayde. In this act the Lorde Clifforde was accompted a tyraunt, and no gentleman, for the propertie of the Lion, which is a furious and an vnreasonable beast, is to be cruell to them that withstand him, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate themselues before him. Yet this cruell Clifforde, not content with this, came to the place where the deade corps of the Duke of Yorke lay, and caused his head to be striken off, and set on it a Crowne of Paper, and so fixed it on a pole, and presented it to the Quene, not liyng farre from the fielde, in great despite and much derision, saiyng: Madame, your warre is done, here is your kinges raunsome, at which present was much ioy, and great reioysing, but many laughed then, that sore lamented after, as the Queene her selfe, and her sonne: And many were glad then of other mens deathes, not knowyng that their awne were nere at hande, as the Lorde Clifforde, and other.

The battaile of Wakefield.

The duke of Yorke slaine.

But surely, mans nature is so fraile, that thinges passed be sone forgotten, and mischiefes to come, be not foresene. After this victorie by the Quene and her part obteyned, she caused the Erle of Salisbury, with all the other prisoners, to be sent to Pomfret, and there to be behedded, and sent all their heddes, and the Dukes head of Yorke, to be set vpon poles, ouer the gate of the Citie of Yorke, in despyte of them, and their linage: whose children shortly reuenged their fathers quarrell, both to the Queenes extreme perdicion and the vtter vndoyng of her husband and sonne. This ende had the valiant Lorde, Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke.

The Erle of March so commonly called, but after the death of his father in dede and in right very Duke of Yorke, liyng at Gloucester, heeryng of the death of his noble father, and louyng brother, and trusty friendes, was wonderfully amased, but after comfort

fort geuen to him, by his faythfull friends and sure allyes, he remoued to Shrewesbury, and other townes vpon the Riuer of Seuerne, declaryng to them the murder of his father, the ieopardie of himselfe, and the vnstable state and ruyne of the Realme. The people on the Marches of Wales, which aboue measure fauored the linage of the Lorde Mortimer, more gladly offered him their ayde and assistance, then he it eyther instantly requyred, or hartily desyred, so that he had a puyssaunt armie, to the number of. xxiij. thousand, redy to go agaynst the Queene, and the murderers of his father. But when he was settyng forwarde, newes were brought to him. that Iasper Erle of Penbroke, halfe brother to king Henry, and Iames Butler, Erle of Ormond and Wilshire, had assembled together a great number, both of Welshe and Irishe people, sodainly to surprise and take him and his friendes, and as a captiue to conuey him to the Quene. The Duke of Yorke called Erle of Marche, somewhat spurred and quickned with these nouelties, retired backe, and met with his enemies in a fayre plaine, neere to Mortimers crosse, not farre from Herford East, on Candlemasse day in the mornyng, at which tyme the Sunne (as some write) appered to the Erle of Marche like three Sunnes, and sodainely ioyned all together in one, and that vpon the sight thereof, he tooke such courage, that he fiercely set on his enemyes, and them shortly discomfited: for which cause, men imagined that he gaue the Sunne in his full brightnesse for his Cognisaunce or Badge. Of his enemyes were left deade on the ground, three thousand, and. viij. hundreth. The Erles of Penbroke and Wilshire fled, and Sir Owen Tewther, father to the sayde Erle of Penbroke, which Owen had maryed king Henryes mother (as you haue heard before) with Dauid Floyde, Morgan ap Reuther, and diuers other were taken and behedded at the Citie of Harforde. Duryng this season the Queene was greatly encouraged with the victory, obteyned late at Wakefielde, partly because the Duke of Yorke, her vtter enemie was rid out of the worlde, and partly, because she perceyued the Lordes of the North Countrie to adhere and cleue to her part and faction: Wherefore with a great multitude of Northren people, she marched toward London, of whose approche the Londoners were nothyng glad: For some affirmed that she brought that rustie companie, to spoyle and rob the Citie: other sayde that she would be reuenged of such as fauoured the Duke of Yorke. So the poore Citizens hangyng betwene the water and the fire, were much amased, but the Magistrates and gouernours caused great watches to be kept, and good order to be obserued. The Queene still came forwarde with her Northren people, entendyng to subuert and defaict all conclusions and agreementes, enacted and assented to, in the last Parliament. And so after her long iourney, she came to the towne of Saint Albones: whereof the Duke of Norffolke, the Erle of Warwike, and other whom the Duke of Yorke had left to gouerne the king in his absence, beyng aduertised, by the assent of the king, gathered together a great host, and set forward toward Saint Albons, hauyng the king in theyr company, as the heade and Chieftain of the warre, and so not mindyng to deferre the tyme any farther, vpon Shrouetuesday early in the mornyng, set vpon their enemies. Fortune that day so fauored the Queene, that her part preuayled, and the Duke & the Erle were discomfited, and fled: leauyng the King accompanied with the Lorde Bonuile, and Sir Thomas Kiryell of Kent, which vpon assuraunce of his promise, taryed still and fled not, but theyr trust them deceyued. For after the victorie obteyned, and the King brought to the Queene, they two were deteyned as prisoners, and so continued till the Kinges departing from that towne. In this battaile were slaine. xxiij. hundreth men, and not aboue, of whom no noble man is remembred, saue Sir Iohn Gray, which the same day was made Knight, with. xij. other at the Village of Colney. Happy was the Queene in her two battayles, but vnfortunate was the King in all hys enterprises, for where his person was present, there victorie euer fled from him to the other part, and he commonly was subdued and vanquished. When Queene Margaret had thus well sped, first she caused the King, to dubbe Prince Edward his sonne Knight, with. xxx. other persons, which in the mornyng fought on the Queenes syde, agaynst his part. After she sent to the Maior of London,

Mortimers Crosse.

The battaile of Saint Albons.

cōmaundyng him without delay, to send certaine Cartes, laden with Leuten vitail, for the refreshing of her and her army. The Mayor, incontinent made prouision, laded Cartes, and sent them towarde the Queene. But the moueable Commons, which fauoured not the Queenes part, stopped the Cartes at Cripplegate, and boldely sayd, that their enemies which came to spoyle and robbe the Citizens, should neyther be relieued, nor victayled by them. And notwithstandyng gentle aduertisement to them geuen, of the mischiefes which might ensue of their doyngs: yet they remayned still in one obstinate minde and wilfull will, not permittyng the caryages to passe or go forwarde. Duryng which controuersie, diuerse of the Northren horsemen came and robbed in the Suburbes of the Citie, and would haue entred at Creplegate, but they by the Commoners were repulsed, and beaten backe, and three of them slaine: whervpon the Mayor sent the Recorder to the kinges Counsaile to Barnet, to excuse the matter, and the Duchesse of Bedford, and the Ladie Scales, with diuers sad fathers of the Spiritualtie, went to the Queene to mollifie her rancor, and asswage her melancoly, which she had conceyued agaynst the Citie. At this humble request, the Queene and her Counsaile appoynted certaine Lordes and Knightes, with foure hundreth tall persons, to ryde to the Citie, and there to viewe, and see the demeanor and disposition of the people: and diuers Aldermen were appoynted to mete them at Barnet, and to conuey them to London. But whatsoeuer man purposeth, God disposeth: for al these deuises were shortly transmuted into an other forme, because true report was brought, not onely to the Citie, but also to the Queene, that the Erle of Marche had vanquished the Erles of Penbroke and Wilshire, and that the Erle of Warwike, in whome rested the chiefe trust of that faction, after the last conflict had at Saint Albones, had met with the sayde Erle of Marche at Chippyng Norton, by Cottesolde, and that they with both their powers were commyng towarde London. These true tales turned the Queenes purpose, and altered all her long deuised entents, insomuch that she little trustyng Essex, and lesse Kent, but London least of all, with her husband and sonne, departed from Saint Albones, into the North Countrie, where the roote and foundation of her ayde and refuge onely consisted. But at the day of her departyng, she caused the heades of the Lorde Bonuile, and Sir Thomas Kiriell, to be cut of, in the presence of her sonne, contrary to the minde and promise of her husband, but amongest men of warre, fayth or othe, seldome is performed.

The Duches of Yorke, seyng her husbande and sonne slayne, and not knowyng what should succeede of her eldest sonnes chaunce, sent her two yonger sonnes, George and Rychard ouer the sea, to the Citie of Vtrechte in Almayne: where they were of Philip Duke of Burgoyne well receyued and feasted, and so there they remayned till their brother Edwarde had obteyned the realme, and gotten the regiment. During which time diuers Marchaunts mistrusting the mutation of the worlde, fled out of the realme, amongst whome, one Philip Malpas a man of great ryches, sailyng into Flaunders, was taken by Iohn Column a French man, and payde foure thousand Markes for his raunsome. The Erles of Marche and Warwike, hauing perfite knowlege, that the king and Quene with their adherentes, were departed from saint Albones, determined first to ryde to London, as the chiefe Key and common spectacle to the whole realme, thinking there to assure themselues of the East and West parte of the kingdome, as king Henry and his faction nesteled and strengthened him and his alies, in the North partes: meaning to haue a bucklar against a sworde, and a southrene Byll, to counteruayle a Northren bastard. And so these two great Lordes, resoluyng themselues upon thys purpose, accompanied with a great number of men of warre, entred the Citie of London, in the first weeke of Lent. What should I declare how the Kentishmen resorted: howe the people of Essex swarmed, and how the Counties adioyning to London, daylie repayred to see, ayde, and comfort this lustie Prince and flower of Chiualrie, as he in whome the hope of their ioy, and the trust of their quietnesse onely then consisted. Thys wise and prudent noble man, perceyuing the most parte of the Realme, to him friendly and adherent, minding to take time when

Philip Mal taken.

time serued, called a great counsail both of Lordes spirituall and temporall, and to them repeated the tytle, and right that he had to the realme, and dignitie royall: rehersing the articles of the agreement, not only concluded betwene King Henry, and hys Noble father, Rychard Duke of Yorke, by their writings signed and sealed: but also corroborated and confirmed by auctboritie of the high Courte of Parliament: the breaches whereof, he neither forgat, nor omitted vndeclared. After the Lordes had considered and weighed his tytle and declaration, they determined by auctboritie of the sayde counsayle, for as much as king Henry contrary to his othe, honor and agreement, had violated and infringed the order taken and enacted in the last parliament, and also because he was insufficient to rule the realme, and vnprofitable to the common wealth, he was therefore by the aforesayde auctboritie, depriued and deiected of all kingly honor, and regall souereintie. And incontinent, Edwarde Erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to Richarde Duke of Yorke, was by the Lordes in the sayde counsayle assembled, named, elected, and admitted, for king and gouernour of the realme: on which day, the people of the Erles parte being in their muster in saint Iohns field, and a great number of the substantiall Citezens there assembled to beholde their order: sodainely the Lorde Fawconbridge which tooke the Musters, wisely declared to the multitude, the offences and breaches of the late agreement done and perpetrated by king Henry the sixt, and demaunded of the people, whether they would haue the sayde king Henry to rule and reigne any longer ouer them: To whome they with a whole voyce, aunswered nay, nay. Then he asked them, if they would serue, loue, and obey the Erle of March, as their earthly prince, and souereigne Lorde. To which question they aunswered, yea, yea, criyng king Edward, with many great showtes and clapping of handes. The Lordes were shortly aduertised of the louing consent which the commons frankely and freely of their free will had geuen, whervpon incontinent, they all with a conuenient number of the most substanciall commons, repaired to Baynardes Castell, making iust and true reporte to the Erle of their election and admission, and the louing assent of the faythfull commons. The Erle after long pausing, first thanked God of his great grace and benefite, then to him declared and shewed, and the Lordes and commons also, for their hartie fauour, and assured fidelitie, and notwithstanding that like a wise prince, he alleged his insufficiencie for so great a rome and weyghty a burden, as lacke of knowlege, want of experience and diuers other qualities to a gouernour apperteyning: yet in conclusion he beyng perswaded by the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, the bishop of Excester and other Lordes, then being present, graunted to their petition, and tooke vpon him the charge, and vpon the next day, beyng the fourth day of Marche, he as king rode to the Church of Saint Paule, and there offered. And after *Te deum* song, with great solempnitie, he was conueyed to Westminster, and there sat in the Hall, with the Scepter royall in his hand, where to all the people which there in great number were assembled, his tytle and claime to the crowne of England was declared by two maner of waies: the first, as sonne & heyre to Duke Richard his father, right enheritor to the same: the second, by auctboritie of Parliament and forfeiture committed by king Henry. Whervpon it was againe demaunded of the commons, if they would admit and take the sayde Erle as their prince and souereigne Lorde, which all with one voyce cryed, yea, yea. Which agreement concluded, he entred into Westminster Church vnder a Canapy, with solempne procession, and there as king offred and after the homages taken of all the nobles there present, he returned by water to London, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace: daylie making prouision to go Northwarde agaynst his aduerse faction and open enemies, and on the morow he was proclaymed king, by the name of king Edwarde the fourth, throughout the Citie. While these things were in doyng in the Southpart, King Henry being in the Northcountrie, thinking because he had slayne the Duke of Yorke, the chiefe Capitayne of the contrary lynage, that he had brought all thing to purpose and conclusion as he would, assembled a great

King Edwarde the fourth proclaymed king of England.

great armie, trusting with little paine, and small losse, to destroy the residewe of his enemies, whome he esteemed to be of no force. But he was sore deceyued: for out of the dead stock, sprang a strong and mighty braunch, which by no meanes could either be brokē, or made sere: which was this king Edward the fourth, which was so beloued and fauored of the people, that no man was spoken of, no person was remembred but onely he: for he was so much estemed, both of the nobility & commonalty, for his liberality, clemency, integrity, and courage, that aboue all other, he was extolled & praised to the very heauen. By reason wherof men of al ages & of all degrees to him daylie repayred, some offering themselues and their men to ieopard their lifes with him, & other plenteously gaue him money, to support his charges and maintaine his war. By reason wherof, he assembled together a puyssant army, to the intent to geue to his enimies a fierce and a sharpe battaile, & so in one day to obtein his purpose, & make an ende of al his trouble. When his army was redy, & al things prepared, he departed out of London the. xij. day of March, and by easy iourneis came to the Castel of Pomfret, where he rested, apointing the Lord Fitzwater to kepe ŷ passage at Ferybridge, with a great number of talle personages. Let no man thinke or yet imagine, ŷ either the counsayle of king Henry, or his vigilāt Quene, either neglected or forgat to know or serch what their enimies did, but they prepared to their power al the inen, that they eyther could perswade or allure to their purpose to take their part. And thus thinking themselues furnished, cōmitted the gouernance of the armie to the Duke of Sommerset, the Erle of Northumberland, & the Lorde Clifford, as men desiring to reuenge ŷ death of their parents slain at the first battaile of S. Albons. These noble Captaines, leauing king Henry, his wife & sonne, for their most safegard in ŷ City of Yorke, passed the riuer of Wharfe with all their power, entending to prohibite king Edward to passe ouer the riuer of Ayre, & for the more expedition & exployt of their purpose (after many comparisons made betwene the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde Clifford, both being in lusty youth, & of franck courage) the Lord Clifford determined with his light horsemē, to make an assay to such as kept the passage of Ferybridge, & so departed from the great armye on the Saturday before Palmsonday, & early or his enimies were ware, gat the bridge, and slue the kepers of the same, & all such as did withstand him. The Lord Fitzwater hering the noise, sodainly rose out of his bed, and vnarmed, with a Pollax in his hand, thinking that it had bene a fray amongst his men, came down to appese the same, but or he eyther began his tale, or knew what the matter ment, he was slaine, & with him the bastard of Salisbury, brother to the Erle of Warwike, a valiant yong gentleman, & of great audacity. When the Erle of Warwike was informed of this feat, he like a man desperate moūted on his hackney, & came blowing to king Edward, saiyng: syr, I pray God haue mercy of their soules, which in ŷ beginning of your enterprise haue lost their liues, and because I see no succours of the world, I remit the vengeance & punishment to God our creator and redemer, & with that lighted down and slue his horse with his sword, saiyng: let him flie ŷ wil, for surely I will tary with him that wil tary with me. The lusty king Edward, perceiuing the corage of his trustie friend the Erle of Warwike made proclamation that al men, which were afraid to fight, should incontinent depart, & to al them that taried the battaile, he promised great rewards with this addition, that if any Souldiour, which voluntaryly would not abyde, & in or before the conflict flye, or turne his back, that then he that coulde kyll hym, shoulde haue a great rewarde, and double wages. After this proclamacion ended, the Lorde Fawconbridge, sir Water Blont, Robert Horne wyth the foreward, passed the ryuer at Castelforde three mylēs from Ferebridge, entendyng to haue enuyroned, and enclosed the Lorde Clyfforde, and hys company, but they being thereof aduertised, departed in great haste towarde kyng Henryes armye, but they met with some that they looked not for, and were attrapped or they were ware. For the Lorde Clyfforde, eyther for heate or payne, putting of his Gorget, sodaynely wyth an arrowe (as some say) wythout an hedde, was striken into the throte and incontinent rendered his spirite, and the Erle of Westmerlandes brother and all his company almost were there slayne, at a place called Dintingdale, not far from Towton. This

The conflict at Ferebridge.

ende had he which slew the yong Erle of Rutlande, kneelyng on his knees: whose yong sonne Thomas Clifforde, was brought vp with a Shepperd, in poore habite, and dissimuled behauiour euer in feare, to publish his linage or degree, till king Henry the. vij. obtayned the Crowne, and gatte the diademe: by whome he was restored to hys name and possessions. When this conflict was ended at Ferebridge, the Lorde Fawconbridge, hauing the forewarde, because the Duke of Northfolke was fallen sick, valiauntly vpon Palmsunday in the twylight, set forth his army, and came to Saxton, where he myght apparauntlye perceyue the host of his aduersaryes, which were accompted. lx.M. men, and thereof aduertised kyng Edwarde, whose whole armye, they that knewe it, and payed the wages, affirme to be. xlviij.M.vj.C. and. lx. persons, which incontinent with the Erle of Warwike set forward, leadyng the rereward vnder the gouernaunce of Sir Iohn Wenlock, and Syr Iohn Dynham and other. And first of all he made proclamation, that no prisoner should be taken, nor one enemie saued. So the same day about nine of the clock, which was the. xxix. day of Marche, beyng Palmesunday, both the hostes approched in a plaine fielde, betweene Towton and Saxton. When eche parte perceyued other, they made a great showte, and at the same instant time, there fell a small snite or snow, which by violence of the winde was driuen into the faces of them which were of king Henries parte, so that their sight was somewhat blemished and minished. The Lord Fawconbridge, which led the foreward of king Edwardes battayle (as before is rehersed) being a man of great pollecie and of much experience in marciall feates, caused euery archer vnder his standard, to shoote one flight (which before he caused them to prouide) and then made them to stand still. The Northren men feeling the shot, but by reason of the Snowe, not well vewyng the distaunce betwene them and their enemies, like hardy men shot their sheafe arrowes as fast as they might, but all their shot was lost, and their labor vaine, for they came not nere the Southren men, by. xl. Taylors yardes. When their shot was almost spent, the Lorde Fawconbridge marched forwarde with his archers, which not onely shot their whole sheues, but also gathered the arrowes of their enimies, and let a great parte of them flie agaynst their awne Maisters, and another part they let stande on the ground, which sore noyed the legges of the owners, when the battail ioyned. The Erle of Northumberland, and Andrew Trollop, which were chiefetaynes of king Henries Vawgard, seyng their shot not to preuayle, hasted forward to ioyne with their enimies: you may be sure the other parte nothing slacked, but valyauntly fought with their enimies. This battaile was sore foughten, for hope of lyfe was set on side on euery parte, and taking of prisoners was proclaimed as a great offence, by reason whereof euery man determined, eyther to conquere or to die in the field. This deadly battayle and bloudy conflict, continued ten houres in doubtfull victorie. The one part sometime flowing, and sometime ebbing, but in conclusion king Edwarde so courageously comforted his men, refreshing the werie, and helping the wounded, that the other part was discomfited and ouercome and like men amased fled toward Tadcaster bridge to saue themselues: but in the meane way there is a little brooke called Cock, not very broad, but of a great deepenesse, in the which, what for haste of escaping, and what for feare of folowers, a great number were drent and drowned, in so much that the common people there affirme, that men alyue passed the ryuer vpon deade carcasses, & that the great riuer of Warfe, which is the great sewer of that brooke, & of all the water comming from Towton, was coloured with blood. The chase continued all night, and the most parte of the next daye, and euer the Northren men, when they sawe or perceyued any aduauntage, returned againe and fought with their enemies, to the great losse of both parties. For in thys three dayes were slayne (as they that knew it wrote) on both partes. xxxvj.M.vij.C.lx. and. xvj. persons, all Englishe men and of one Nation, whereof the chiefe were the Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, and the Lorde Dakers, the Lorde Welles, syr Iohn Neuel, Andrew Trolop, Robert Horne, and many other Knightes and Esquiers, and the Erle of Deuonshire taken prisoner, but the Dukes of Sommerset and Excester fled from the field and saued themselues. This conflict was in maner vnnaturall, for in it the sonne

The conflict at Saxton on Palme sonday.

The battaile of Towton or Sherborne.

A great slaughter of Englishmen.

fought agaynst the father, the brother agaynst the brother, the Nephew agaynst the Vncle, and the tenaunt agaynst hys Lorde, which slaughter did sore and much weaken the puyssance of thys realme, considering that these dead men, when they were liuyng had force ynough to resist the greatest princes power of all Europe: But also gaue a courage to outward enimies, and forreyn Potentates, to inuade and make warre in this realme, which thing was not vnlikely to haue ensued, if eyther Lewys the french king had bene at this time quiet in his realme, or Iames king of Scottes had bene of age and Maister of himselfe, yet thanked be God, for although the gate of a conquest were opened, yet it was shut againe or it was espyed.

After this great victorie, king Edwarde rode to Yorke, where he was with all solempnitie receyued: and first he caused the heades of his father, the Erle of Salisbury, and other his friendes to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodyes. And there he caused the Erle of Deuonshire and three other to be behedded, and set their heades in the same places. After that, he sent out men on light horses, to espie in what part king Henry lurked, which heering of the discomfiture and losse of his friendes, departed incontinent with his wyfe and sonne, to the towne of Barwike, and leauing the Duke of Sommerset there, came to the Kinges Court of Scotland, requiring of him and his counsaile, ayde, succour, reliefe and comfort. The yong king hauing compassion on the miserable fate and great mischance of this sorowfull man, not onely comforted him with fayre words and friendly promises, but also assigned to him a competent pencion to liue on, during the time of hys abode within the Realme of Scotland. King Henry considering the great humanitie, shewed to him by the Scottish king, in whome onely nowe consisted the whole hope and especiall trust of his ayde and succour, thought to binde the sayde king with some great benefite to his parte, and for ỹ cause deliuered to him the towne of Barwike vpon Twede: which towne the Scottes many yeres had desired, but yet they neyther by force nor fayre promises, could obteyne their desire or purpose before that time. Some wryters affirme that he not voluntarily, but constreyned by necessitie, rendered the same towne, or else he coulde not be permitted once to enter, or haue any succour in the realme of Scotlande. But whatsoeuer the cause was: after king Iames had taken possession of the towne, he friendly entertayned and faythfully supported the part and faction of king Henry, and concluded a mariage betwene his sister and the yong prince of Wales, which mariage, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, enemie to Quene Margarets father, labored much to breake and interrupt: but by the consent of both the friends the matrimony was agreed, but it was neuer solempnised, as after you shal heare. When king Henry was somewhat setteled in the realme of Scotland, he sent his wyfe and hys sonne into Fraunce, to king Reyner her father, trusting by his ayde and succour to assemble a great armie, and once agayne to possesse his realme and dignitie, and he in the meane season determined to make his abode in Scotlande, to see and espie, what waye his friendes in Englande woulde studie or inuent for his restitution and aduauncement. But whether it were his destinie or his follie, he so imprudently demeaned himselfe, that within short space, he came into the handes of his mortall enimies. Quene Margaret thus being in Fraunce, did obteyne and impetrate of the yong French king, that all fautors and louers of her husband and the Lancastreall bande, might safely and surely haue resorte into any part of the realme of Fraunce, prohibityng all other of the contrary faction, any accesse or repaire into that Countrie.

King Henry the sixt deliuered the towne of Barwike into the handes of Iames king of Scotlande.

Thus you haue hearde the variable chaunce and lamentable history of King Henry the sixt, which had reigned ouer this realme. xxxviij. yeeres and odde Monethes, which the tenth yere after his deposicion, was agayne erected to his throne and estate royall, as after shall be declared. Now leauing kyng Henry with the Princes of his faction, consultyng together in Scotland, and Queene Margaret his wyfe gathering men together in Fraunce, I will returne to the actes of King Edwarde.

END OF VOL. I.

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